Bible. O.T. Apocrypha. English. Authorized. 1888

THE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611).

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY CLERGY OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

EDITED

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1888.

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PREFACE.

THE scope and limits of this addition to the SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY on the Holy Bible are so lucidly explained in the General Introduction by Dr. Salmon, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, that little need here be added in presenting these two volumes to the reader. "The Books called Apocrypha" formed an integral part of the Authorized Version of the Holy Bible in 1611, and it was thought therefore that the design of a Commentary on that Version would not be completely carried out unless these books received a similar treatment with those which are recognised as Canonical, while their inherent interest and importance rendered it desirable that the English reader should be furnished with a much more complete edition and explanation of them than any he has hitherto possessed. The plan and principles of the SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY have been as far as possible adhered to; and it is hoped that these volumes will afford the latest information which modern learning has supplied on the subject of the Apocryphal books, and will furnish a trustworthy guide in their study.

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§ I. Claims of the Apocrypha on the attention of Christian readers.

1. *The interval between Old Testament and New Testament times.*—The Christian religion has its roots in Judaism: its Founder and its first preachers were Jews, who all held in profound reverence the sacred books of the Jewish nation, and transmitted that reverence to the Church which they founded. Consequently Christians have always felt a deep interest in the study of these books, and of the history of the Jewish people which they contain. Many a Sunday School child would find it easier to tell rightly the succession of the Kings of Judah than of the Kings of England. But there is a great gap in popular knowledge of Jewish history. That knowledge is now almost exclusively derived from the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments; but between these two collections of writings there is an interval of about 400 years concerning which these authorities are almost quite silent. And yet during that interval important changes took place; as we discover when we compare the state of Jewish religious feeling in Old Testament and in New Testament times. In the latter times we find no hankering after idolatry, no desire for the worship of strange gods; monotheism has become the passionate faith of the people. Their universal conviction is, There is one God, and there is none other but He. Again, we find that at the time of our Lord's appearing the study of the ancient prophetical writings had produced a universal belief in the advent of a Messiah, and a general persuasion that His coming was then close at hand. The doctrine also not only of a future life, but of the Resurrection of the Body, though disputed in the schools, had become the firm conviction of the most religious part of the nation. It is surely an interesting study for a Christian to trace the historical continuity of Jewish religious faith; and if there is a period of the history which the Inspired Volume leaves comparatively obscure, he ought not to disdain to inquire what light ca-

be thrown on that period from other trustworthy sources.

2. *Value of the books called Apocrypha as throwing light on that interval.*—The books which in the Authorized Version are designated as "the books called Apocrypha," and which form the subject of the present volumes, include the most authentic and most valuable remains of Jewish literature belonging to the period between the prophesying of Malachi and the birth of our Lord. These books, then, present sources of information which evidently cannot be neglected by any one who desires to study the history of the preparation which God made, through the religious training of the Jewish nation, for the reception of the revelation which His Son was to communicate to the world. The use of the books from this point of view is so obvious that they could scarcely have fallen into so much neglect as they now generally have done among English-speaking Christians, if it were not for a reaction against extravagant claims that have been made for them. The Council of Trent set the whole collection, with three exceptions (viz. the two books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses), on a level of complete equality with the books of the Hebrew Bible and of the New Testament. This decision was so much at variance with learned opinion in the earlier Church, that the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles had no difficulty in producing the authority of the most learned of the Western Fathers, St. Jerome, in support of their assertion that the Church reads the Apocryphal books for example of life and instruction of manners, but does not apply them to establish any doctrine.

3. *Prevalent neglect of these books.*—These books were not only for the reasons just mentioned retained in the public reading of the English Church, but were commended in the authorized editions of the Holy Bible to the private study of her members. But in the earlier part of the present century, objections which had been heard of before, against the circulation of the Apocrypha as part of the sacred volume, took formidable shape. It was urged that the circulation of the Apocrypha, bound up with the canonical books in the same volume, if it did not amount to an acknowledgment of the Romish claims for the Apocrypha, at least would induce the less learned to accept all the books so presented to them as possessing like authority. It is not necessary to enter here into the history of the controversy that ensued; but the practical outcome of it has been that for the greater part of the present century the Bibles in common use no longer contain the Apocrypha; and so these books have come to be really "hidden away," and are practically unknown to the bulk of our people.

In order to judge dispassionately what the claims of these books really are, we must study the history of their reception in the Christian Church; nor can that history be understood without going further back, and studying the history of the Greek Bible.

§ II. History of the Greek Bible.

4. *Jewish use of the Greek language.*—If it were proposed to compare the books of the Old and of the New Testament with the view of ascertaining what changes had passed on the nation during the interval between the two dispensations, the first thing that presents itself at the outset of the inquiry is the difference of the language in which the two collections of books are written. This difference corresponds to a fundamental difference between the two dispensations. As long as Judaism was but the religion of a single nation, which, content with admitting some casual proselytes, made no systematic effort at extending itself beyond the borders of its own land, so long the Hebrew language could well suffice for its needs. But out of Judaism was developed a religion which aimed at nothing less than making a conquest of the whole world. It would have been, humanly speaking, impossible to gain this victory through the instrumentality of Hebrew, which was barely known by name to the most cultured peoples of the time, as one of the languages spoken by those whom they called barbarians. Greek, on the other hand, was universally spread over

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the eastern part of the Roman world, where it afforded the means of communication between the ruling nation and its subjects. In the West also Grecian traders had established settlements. Greek cities had been founded in the South of Italy; and one of the most interesting Christian remains of the second century[1] affords evidence that Greek-speaking settlers had made their way up the Rhone from Marseilles to Lyons. Besides the use of the language for the purposes of business, its noble literature made acquaintance with it a necessity to every man of culture and education. When the Jews looked outside the boundaries of their own nation, it seemed to them as if all else were Greeks. In the New Testament the antithesis "the Jew and the Greek" is of frequent occurrence, exhibiting the feeling that all who were not Jews might be roughly described as Greeks. If, then, Jewish missionaries were to go forth, converting the other nations of the world to own that He whom the Jews worshipped was the only God, it seems a necessary condition for their success that they should be able to use the instrumentality of the Greek language.

5. *Providential result of the calamities of the Jewish nation.*—But how did it happen that Jews were found in considerable numbers possessing this accomplishment, and how indeed did they come to take such interest in foreign nations as to be anxious to labour for their conversion? We find that it was the temporal calamities of the Jewish people, though to the eye of men they seemed certain to crush out their national existence, which really in the providence of God were made the means of training them to become the teachers of the world. Had their sovereign continued to retain his independence, sitting at Jerusalem on the throne of David, they would have had little inducement to acquire a mastery of foreign languages, and it is likely that they would have cared as little as in former times to propagate their faith in distant lands. But their capital was taken, their king slain, all their leading men carried off to foreign captivity. The policy of the conquerors of those days included extensive deportations of the conquered peoples. No cruelty was intended: the involuntary exiles were assured the move would be for their good. "Make an agreement with me," said Rabshakeh, "and come out to me, until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards." (Isaiah xxxvi. 17.) That these were no delusive promises may be gathered from Jeremiah's subsequent letter to the Babylonian exiles, counselling them to settle down contentedly in the land of their captivity. "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take wives, and beget sons and daughters; take wives to your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters, that ye may be increased there and not diminished. And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." (Jer. xxix. 5–7.) These counsels were so acted on that, when seventy years afterwards the decree went forth that the exiles might return to their own land, only a fraction of them cared to remove, and Babylonia continued for centuries to include a large Jewish population.

6. *Pressure of Hellenism on Judaism.*—But Nebuchadnezzar was far indeed from being the last of the conquerors of the Jewish nation. Those who returned from the Babylonian exile found successive waves of foreign conquest to pass over their land, the same policy of deportation being persisted in. For example, the city of Alexandria is said to have had its first population provided for it by a forced migration of many thousand Jews. It is needless to trace minutely the history of these compulsory removals, because they were rapidly succeeded by voluntary migrations, as the intelligence which Jews at home received from their brethren abroad made them acquainted with greater facilities for commercial enterprise enjoyed in other countries. Thus, in one way or the other, so many of the people removed

[1] The story of the martyrs of Lyons (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1).

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that there came to be more Jews outside Palestine than within it. Meanwhile the victories of Alexander had made Grecian influence potent in Palestine, as in other parts of what had been the Persian Empire; so that not merely did Jews go largely out into the heathen world, but the heathen world pressed in upon Judæa. Those who were zealous for their own law grieved at the difficulty of maintaining Jewish exclusiveness under the increasing pressure of Hellenism. But God's providence ordained that the throwing down the barriers which had hedged in the Jew from contact with foreign nations should result, not, as had been feared, in the swamping of Judaism by heathenism, but in spreading reverence for the law of Moses over every part of the civilized world.

7. *The Greek Old Testament.* — We have now to speak of one of the chief means used in spreading this reverence for the Mosaic Law. It is a piece of theological information so elementary as to be possessed by every educated person, that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, the New Testament in Greek: but not every one who knows so much as this knows, or at least often happens to think, that between the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament there was a connecting link; namely, the Greek Old Testament. In fact we have a Greek New Testament because there had been a Greek Old Testament. And yet this commonly forgotten Greek Old Testament has left very distinct traces on our English Bible. On first opening it, we find the several books designated by Greek titles, Genesis, Exodus, and so on. These names tell a story. They tell that the Old Testament was originally translated into Latin, not out of Hebrew, but out of Greek, so that the Greek titles of the books passed into the Latin; and again that it was first translated into the modern languages of Europe, not out of Hebrew, but out of Latin, so that the same Greek names have passed into our current use. This remark lies on the surface; but when the student of our English Bible goes deeper, he finds other phenomena which would perplex him if the explanation were not at hand that the New Testament writers used a Greek Old Testament. To take one of the most striking examples: any one who compares with the Old Testament the quotation from the 40th Psalm in Heb. x. 5, must be struck with the difference; the words "mine ears hast thou opened," in our translation of the Psalm, being replaced by "a body hast thou prepared me" in the quotation in the New. The former represents correctly the reading of the Hebrew text; the latter gives the rendering of the old Greek translation. There are several other passages where a careful reader even of the English Bible may discover traces of the influence of the old Greek version, and it need scarcely be said that the theological student who desires to trace the influence of the Old Testament on the New is bound to keep his eye constantly on the Greek Old Testament.

8. *Read by heathen.* — Mention has already been made of the preparation which in God's providence was made for the propagation among other nations of the religious truths which the Hebrews had preserved. In consequence of the captivity and dispersion of the Jewish nation, it came to pass that the first Christian missionaries found, in every city which they visited, a Jewish colony, which had already taught many of the thoughtful of the surrounding Gentiles to scorn the follies of the popular polytheism and to admire the purity and simplicity of the Hebrew faith. The agency through which had been effected this leavening of the Gentile world by Jewish doctrines was the Greek Bible, which has been truly described as the first Apostle that went out from Judaism to the Gentile world. The Jews boasted that their nation had records reaching back to an antiquity far superior to any historical documents the Greeks could shew, and laws of greater excellence than the legislation of any other state. Thus they were proud to impart their sacred books to any whose curiosity they had been able to excite, and the extent to which the Jewish books were read is proved by the prominence that the argument from prophecy presents in the early Christian apologies. Justin Martyr, for example, had been educated

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in Grecian philosophy: though born and bred in Palestine, he shews no knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, and does not even seem to have had a very accurate copy of the Greek version on which he is entirely dependent. But that book seems to have saturated his thoughts and to have furnished him with all the conceptions of the Messiah which he found fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth.

9. *The medium through which the Christian Church generally knew the Old Testament.*—We might expect to find more knowledge of Hebrew in an Epistle ascribed to the Apostle Barnabas; yet in this work the writer discovers mysteries in the letters by which a numeral is expressed in the Greek translation of an Old Testament text; and he seems never to have reflected that the Greek was not the original, or to have suspected that on going back to the Hebrew the grounds for his exposition would completely disappear. In later Fathers, it is an exceptional thing to find one with any knowledge of the Hebrew Bible. And, as has been already said, it was from the Greek Old Testament that the Latin versions were made, so that it was through the Greek book, known either directly or indirectly, that the Christian Church for centuries obtained its knowledge of the Old Testament.

10. *Differences between the Greek and Hebrew Bibles.*—After a time, however, it came to pass that some who, either through intercourse with Jews or from acquaintance with Hebrew, had the means of comparison, became aware of a difference between the Greek Bible which they used and the Bible of the Jews. And this difference did not merely affect the meaning of single texts, but there were large passages and whole books contained in the one volume which were absent from the other. In particular the Canon of the Jews did not include the books which we know as 'Apocrypha,' and which found extensive reception in the Christian Church, because they had come to be included in the Greek collection of sacred books. This is why a history of the reception of the Apocrypha must include a history of the Greek Bible.

§ III. Palestinian Canon of the Old Testament.

11. *Melito.*—The earliest indication we find of uncertainty in the Christian Church as to the Old Testament Canon is contained in an interesting extract preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26) from the Preface to a work of Melito of Sardis, who died somewhere about A.D. 180. It appears hence that Melito's book had been written in compliance with the request of a friend named Onesimus, who had frequently asked him to make selections from the Law and the Prophets, of passages concerning our Saviour and concerning all our faith. Onesimus had also asked Melito to give him accurate information concerning "the old Books;" how many their number and what their order.

12. *Conception of a closed Canon of Scripture.*—We may remark here in passing that this question of Onesimus shews that the idea of a definite closed Canon of Scripture had then become familiar to the mind of the Church. It will be readily understood that when the books of the New Testament were first written, each of them separately might be venerated by those who became acquainted with it and who acknowledged its apostolic authority; but that the formation of a definite collection of sacred books, admitted to be superior in authority to all other books, could not take place until each of the books, though it may be originally intended for local use, had become the property of the universal Church. It is clear that in the mind of Onesimus, his Old Testament ought to consist of a definite collection of books arranged in a definite order; and he wished to be assured what those books were and what their order. It may reasonably be inferred that he who asked this question about "the old Books" had already obtained similar information about "the new."

13. *The list of Melito.*—In answer to Onesimus, Melito, praising the pious motives which had prompted the request, declares that he had been earnest to comply with it, and states that he had travelled up to the East and had arrived at the place where the things

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had been preached and done; and that he had there accurately learned the books of the Old Testament. And then he gives their names as follows: Five books of Moses, — Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers,[1] Deuteronomy; Joshua the son of Nave, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Chronicles; the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon also called Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job; the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. This list pretty nearly agrees with the Canon of our Church; for Jeremiah no doubt included Lamentations, and Esdras the Book of Nehemiah, so that the only point of difference is that there is no mention of Esther. The Old Testament books are here called by their Greek names, and the order is not the same as the Jewish order. We have therefore no reason to think that Melito made his lists from personal knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, or from consulting with those who used it. But, as his narrative implies, his list gives the contents of the Greek Old Testament which he found in use in the Christian churches of Palestine at the time of his visit.

14. *Josephus.*—This list of Melito furnishes proof that, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, the Canon of the Christian Church in Palestine agreed with that of their Jewish brethren. Concerning the Canon of the Jews of Palestine towards the end of the first century, we have information in a passage of Josephus, which, though it has been frequently quoted, cannot be omitted from this account. The passage is taken from the treatise against Apion, on the antiquity of the Jews, in which Josephus undertakes to prove that the Jewish records are more ancient and more trustworthy than those of the Greeks. And one of the points he urges is, that among the Greeks the composition of histories was taken up by every man who felt inclined to it: by one man in order to shew off his literary skill, by another with the view of writing a panegyric on some kings or cities, or of throwing discredit upon others; but that among the Jews the framing of historical records was no volunteer work, but was the special business of the priests and prophets, and the faithful preservation of the truth their only object. And he goes on to say, "For we have not thousands of books discordant and conflicting, but only twenty-two, containing the record of all time, which have justly been believed to be divine. And of these, five are the books of Moses, which embrace the laws and the tradition of the creation of man, reaching to the death of Moses. This period is little short of three thousand years. And from the death of Moses down to the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who succeeded Xerxes, the prophets who came after Moses related the things done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and practical directions for men. From the time of Artaxerxes to our own time, each event has been recorded, but the records have not been deemed worthy of the same credit as those of earlier date, because the exact succession of the prophets was not continued. But what faith we have placed in our own writings is seen from our conduct; for though so long a time has now passed, no one has dared either to add anything to them or to take anything from them, or to alter anything. But it grows up with Jews from their very birth, to regard them as decrees of God, and to abide by them, and if need be gladly to die for them."[1] He goes on to say how often Jews had given their lives in defence of their sacred books; and he asks what Greek would die, or even submit to a trifling loss, in defence of any book of his; nay, even of his whole literature. And in fact there was no reason why he should. He knew that the authors of his books wrote each on his own mere motion, and there was no reason to think the ancient writers more trustworthy than the modern, who notoriously wrote books recklessly, about things they had neither witnessed themselves nor knew from authentic information.

15. *Means of identifying the twenty-*

[1] Some very ancient authorities for the text transpose Leviticus and Numbers.

[1] *Cont. Apion.*, i. 8; Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 26.

two books of Josephus.—Josephus does not name his twenty-two books; but this count of twenty-two books according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet became usual among the Jews; and we can obtain their names from other sources, of which two in particular deserve attention. Origen gives the list of the twenty-two books in a passage preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25); and Jerome gives the names in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Bible, called the 'Prologus Galeatus.' We have thus no difficulty in defining the Canon of Josephus. There can be no question about his first division, the five books of Moses; and the four of his last division are no doubt the Psalms of David, and the three books ascribed to Solomon. The thirteen that remain in Jerome's list are Joshua, Judges and Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, Ezekiel, the twelve minor prophets in one book, Job, Daniel, Esdras, Esther, and Chronicles. We have no reason to imagine that the list of Josephus was different.

16. *The theory and the practice of Josephus.*—It appears from the extract just quoted, that besides the twenty-two books which Josephus accounted sacred, he knew of other Jewish books, composed later than the time of Artaxerxes, which he did not hold in the same consideration. It deserves to be mentioned that if we had not this explicit statement of the difference which Josephus put between the two classes of books, and had been left to infer his theory from his practice, we might have come to a different conclusion. In his account (*Antt.* xi. 1–5) of the return of the Jews from the captivity, he chiefly follows, not the canonical Book of Ezra, but the apocryphal First Book of Esdras, telling the story peculiar to that book, of the contest between the three young men who were members of King Darius's guard. In telling the story of Haman and Esther (*Antt.* xi. 6), he gives at length a letter bearing the name of Artaxerxes, taken from the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther. And in his account of Judas Maccabæus (*Antt.* xii. xiii.) he employs the First Book of the Maccabees. This example teaches us the necessity of discriminating in other cases between proofs which merely establish that a writer was acquainted with disputed books, and proofs that he ascribed to them canonical authority.

17. *Agreement as to the Canon between the Christians and the Jews of Palestine.*—The agreement of the Canon of Melito with that of Josephus proves that late in the second century the Christians of Palestine were in substantial agreement with their Jewish neighbours as to the Old Testament Canon. This is only what might have been expected, since it is plain from the New Testament, that our Lord and His apostles had no difference with the Jews on this subject of the Canon. In every part of the New Testament the authority of the sacred books of the nation is assumed as undisputed; and in all controversy with the Jews these books are common ground. Our Lord appeals to these Scriptures as testifying of Himself (John v. 39). The Apostle Paul enumerates it as among the highest privileges of the Jewish nation that to them had been committed the oracles of God (Rom. iii. 2). No hint is given that they had been unfaithful to their trust by adding to or subtracting from the sacred deposit.

If it were only proposed to trace the history of the Hebrew Bible, the investigation might stop at this point, for the Jews to this day count no books as sacred but those which were reverenced in the time of Josephus. A few of the books which we know as Apocrypha appear to have been originally written in Hebrew, but they have not been preserved in that language, nor do they appear ever to have been set, by those who used it, on a level with their ancient sacred books. The claims of the books called Apocrypha depend altogether on the place which these books found in the Greek Bible; and therefore it has become necessary to speak of the history of that translation, and of the authority attributed to it in the Christian Church.

18. *Origin of the Septuagint.*—All authorities agree in naming Alexandria as the birthplace of the Greek Bible. Mention has already been made of the multitudes of Jews who resided outside the limits of

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the Holy Land, and who came to be technically known as "the Dispersion" (ἡ διασπορά: see John vii. 35; James i. 1). This "Dispersion" had centres in Babylonia, in Syria, in Egypt, and with the last of these we are here concerned. Of all the Jewish foreign settlements it was the greatest, possibly in numbers, certainly in influence. The Jews had received every encouragement to settle in Alexandria, and had largely availed themselves of it. Philo tells that in his time the Jewish inhabitants of the city numbered a million, and that they occupied almost exclusively two of the five districts into which the city was divided, and were not altogether absent from the remaining districts. The quarter they occupied was close to the river, much of the commerce along which was in their hands. The majority of them used Greek as the language of their daily life, and read their sacred books in a Greek translation.

19. *The story told by the so-called Aristeas.*—Concerning the origin of this version, a marvellous tale was told, which came to be generally accepted. Its earliest form is to be found in a letter purporting to be written by one Aristeas, an officer in the court of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second, and perhaps the most distinguished of the Ptolemies, who reigned B.C. 284–246. The letter relates that this king, having founded the celebrated library at Alexandria, felt that his collection would be incomplete if it did not include the laws of the Jews, of the fame of which he had heard from his librarian. And it goes on to tell, how the king acquired the desired volume at a cost unparalleled in the history of literary enterprise. We are told that, in order to conciliate the favour of the Jews for the request he was about to make, the king began by proclaiming the liberty of every Jewish captive in his dominions, paying the owners 20 drachmae for each slave. The number of captives had been calculated at over 100,000, and the estimated cost of redemption was over 400 talents; but as the king in his liberality included even the sucking children, paying for them at the rate of adults, the sum actually spent swelled to 660 talents. He then sent an embassy to Jerusalem with gifts of gold, silver, and precious stones, on quite as liberal a scale, praying the high priest to send him seventy-two elders, six out of each tribe, who should make for him a faithful translation of the Jewish laws. The letter relates that this request was complied with. It gives the names of the elders sent; it tells the splendid entertainment provided for them in Egypt, and the magnificent fees with which they were rewarded on the conclusion of their work.[1]

20. *Later improvements on that story.*—The story as originally told went no further than this; but an improvement subsequently made to it obtained general credence. It was said that the king, wishing to test the fidelity of the seventy-two interpreters, locked them up in separate cells; and that afterwards when they came to compare the translations which each had made separately, they were found to agree not only in sense, but word for word. This story was known to Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii.). It was believed by Irenæus and several other Fathers of the Church. Justin Martyr had even been shewn at Alexandria the cells in which the work had been done.

21. *Fictitious character of the whole story.*—When in a more critical age the story came to be scrutinised, it was found that in its earliest form it had not contained any mention of the seventy cells, and therefore that part of the story was cleared away as a later embellishment.[2] Next it was seen that the story, even as told by Aristeas, bears the marks of being enriched with much fictitious ornamentation—the extraordinary profusion of treasure, for example, lavished on the accomplishment of the work being unlike anything we read of in real history, but natural enough in a romance, the author of which can, at no cost to himself, endow his characters with boundless riches.

[1] The letter of Aristeas is printed by Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus.*

[2] "Nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarunt, cum Aristeas ejusdem Ptolemæi ὑπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore Josephus nihil tale retulerint." (Hieron. *Præf. in Pent.*)

22. *More probable account of the origin of the Septuagint.*—Finally, the authority for the story being found to be entirely untrustworthy, modern criticism rejects it altogether, and regards the Greek Bible as having not originated in any royal command, but as having sprung up to supply the wants of the many thousands of Jews who resided permanently at a distance from the land of their fathers, and who habitually used Greek as the language of their daily life. These foreign Jews in wealth and numbers surpassed the parent stock; but they all looked to Jerusalem as their religious centre. We know, from Acts ii. 5–11, what multitudes of them collected to celebrate the feasts at Jerusalem, and, from Acts vi. 9, that there were in Jerusalem synagogues specially frequented by foreign Jews. The need for these special places for religious instruction probably arose from the employment in them of the Greek language. The reading of the books of Moses was everywhere part of the synagogue service on every Sabbath day (Acts xv. 21), and among those who were known as Hellenists (Acts vi. 1) it was only in the Greek language that these books could be read with advantage. At least, if the Hebrew text was read aloud, it needed to be followed by an interpretation; and in any comments that might be made on what had been read, the Greek language would in these synagogues be employed. Thus, in the account (Acts xiii.) of St. Paul's visit to the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia, we are not told in what language took place the reading of the law and the prophets, related *v.* 15; but we find that in Paul's immediately following address to the assembled congregation it is from the Greek translation that he quotes the Old Testament.[1] Thus, then, the Greek translation being required for the religious wants of the dispersed Jews themselves, it is irrational to suppose that it took its origin from a desire to satisfy heathen curiosity, however true it be that in point of fact the Greek Bible proved to be a principal agent in the conversion of the heathen world.

23. *Diversities of Jewish opinion as to the merits of the work.*—Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii.) tells that the Jews of Alexandria held an annual feast in commemoration of the Greek translation, when they made a pilgrimage to the island of Pharos, where, according to tradition, the cells for the seventy interpreters had been built. On the other hand, we find from Rabbinical authorities that there were at a somewhat later time in Palestine stiff maintainers of Jewish exclusiveness, who held in abomination the whole conception of a Greek version. They said that it had been forbidden to write the law on the skin of an unclean beast: surely it was ten times forbidden to pollute it by the language of the heathen. Consequently that which was in Alexandria a day of feasting was turned by them into one of mourning; and they commemorated by a fast what they regarded as a day of apostasy, like that when the people danced round the calf which Aaron had made. Little did these short-sighted rigorists consider that it was owing to this book, the making of which they deplored, that their brethren who lived among the heathen were preserved from learning any of their ways; and, even though they might lose the use of their national language, held fast to their national religion as a thing with which none of Jewish race could ever bear to part.

24. *Literary activity of Hellenistic Jews.*—We learn, however, that in judging of Jewish opinion we must take separate account of Palestine and Alexandria, as distinct centres of religious thought, which conceivably might develop itself differently in the two places. The Alexandrine Jews might well regard themselves as entitled to hold an opinion of their own. Alexandria was one of the foremost cities of the world, as a centre both of commerce and of literature. Its inhabitants boasted that theirs had been a great city when Rome was as yet but a village, and that even then Rome must starve if it did not receive supplies of corn from Egypt. The Jews held a leading place in the commerce of the city, and many of them were deeply

[1] The quotation "Behold, ye despisers," &c. (*v.* 41), is from the Greek, not the Hebrew, of Hab. i. 5; and in the "sure mercies" of David (*v.* 34) the words of the LXX. translation of Isaiah lv. 3 are also followed.

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tinctured with Hellenic culture. They were forced, in a way that Palestinian Jews were not, to take account of Grecian speculative systems, and were naturally desirous to present their religion in the form most likely to attract a philosophic inquirer, and were solicitous to smooth away difficulties which might be expected to repel him. Some of the Greek-speaking Jews were active in literary composition. Eusebius, in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Book ix.), gives extracts from several writers who had arrayed the facts of the Old Testament history in a Grecian garb. One writer named Ezekiel had turned the history of the Exodus into a drama, in which Moses and Zipporah and Raguel hold dialogues in iambic verse; and even the scene at the burning bush, in which God Himself is a speaker, is thrown into like form. Another writer, Theodotus, told in hexameters the story of the rape of Dinah and the destruction of Shechem (*Ev. Praep.* ix. 22). Another, who in distinction from his better-known namesake is called the elder Philo, wrote a description of Jerusalem, also in hexameters. Others, as Demetrius and Eupolemus, retold in prose the Scripture narrative of the early history of the Jewish nation. Some of these are treated by Josephus and by Eusebius as if they were heathen writers bearing independent testimony to the truth of the Old Testament narratives; but an examination of the extracts which have been preserved proves decisively that the writers in question obtained their knowledge solely from the Old Testament. It is reasonable to think that those who exhibited so intimate an acquaintance with that volume were probably Jews. If any of them were heathen, we have indirect evidence how successful Jews had been in commending their literature to Greek-speaking people.

25. *Additions made by them to the Canonical books.*—But Jewish literary activity did not limit itself to the reproduction or recasting of the sacred histories. It displayed itself also in the composition of narratives, some entirely fictitious, such as probably the story of Susanna; others, such as the books of the Maccabees, recording the history of times later than those treated of in the books of the Palestinian canon. It is intelligible that many who might set little value on works which merely told over again with less authority the story told in the canonical books might be ready to give a different reception to writings which appeared really to supplement the Scripture history, and might regard such works as at least edifying for private reading, even though not possessed of canonical authority. Thus, for example, in Scotland, where in modern times there has been no disposition to receive apocryphal writings, the works of Josephus have been admitted to rank as edifying Sunday reading. Certain it is that several works, to which there was nothing corresponding in the Hebrew Bible, came to be joined in the current use of Greek-speaking people with the translations of the canonical books.

§ IV. Alexandrian Canon of the Old Testament.

26. *Generally coincident with Palestinian.*—It has been already said that we are not at liberty to assume that Alexandrian opinion was always identical with Palestinian, and therefore that the question what value was attached to the later books at Alexandria is not decisively settled by our knowledge that they were not regarded as canonical in Palestine. But we hear nowhere of any difference between native and foreign Jews on the subject of the Canon; and as far as the Apocrypha is concerned, no difference is exhibited in our great source of information as to Alexandrian religious thought; namely, the writings of the great Alexandrian Jew, Philo.

27. *Philo: prominence given by him to the Pentateuch.*—Indeed, on comparing Philo's Scripture quotations with those of the New Testament writers, we are conscious of one difference. The New Testament quotations range freely through all the books of the Old, and seem to treat all as of like authority. The Law and the Prophets alike furnished materials for synagogue reading (Acts xiii. 15; Luke iv. 17), and even the title "the Law" ceases to be ex-

clusively given to the books of Moses. St. John in his Gospel three times cites the Psalms as "the Law" (x. 34, xii. 34, xv. 25), and St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 21) gives as from the Law a quotation from the prophet Isaiah. In the writings of Philo, on the contrary, the books of Moses have such prominence that it requires attentive examination to discover what value he set on other Old Testament books. The subjects of the great majority of Philo's treatises are expositions of parts of the Mosaic writings: not one of his treatises formally professes to explain any other part of Scripture. And, again, there are in Philo's writings about fifty quotations from the Pentateuch for one from any other part of the Old Testament. We are thus led to put to ourselves the question, Can it be that Philo and the Alexandrian Jews did not include in their Canon any books but those of the Pentateuch; and that thus the books of the Apocrypha found it easy to establish themselves, not indeed on a level with the Pentateuch, but on a level with other Old Testament books? The result, however, of careful examination is to answer this question in the negative, by proving that Philo did attribute inspiration to the later Old Testament books, and that he did not set the Apocrypha on a level with even these latter books.

28. *According to the original story, the Seventy Interpreters translated the Pentateuch only.*—There can be no doubt, however, of the special authority attributed in Egypt to the Pentateuch. On turning back to the letter of Aristeas already referred to, it is proved that the original story of the Seventy Interpreters limited their work to the translation of the Pentateuch. It is only of the Mosaic laws that the fame is described as having reached the Egyptian king. It is only the Book of the Law that is said to have been sent from Jerusalem, and this only is mentioned through the whole story. Indeed, the length of time which the translation is said to have taken, viz. 70 days, suits well enough for the work of rendering the Pentateuch, but would be altogether inadequate for that of translating the whole Old Testament. Josephus, who tells the story after Aristeas, not only like him makes mention only of the Law as having been sent to the King of Egypt, but in the preface to his *Antiquities* expressly says that no other part of the Scripture had been so sent. But setting aside the story of the Seventy Interpreters, internal evidence proves that the Pentateuch was translated by different hands from those that worked on the other books. Not only is the style of the translation different, the rendering of the Pentateuch being the more close and literal, but many proper names (for example, Philistines, Mesopotamia, Idumæa) are differently rendered in the earlier and the later books; and so are several technical words, such as Urim and Thummim. It is quite true that the Christian Fathers generally lost sight of this distinction, and commonly thought of the Greek Old Testament which they used, as a work translated all at one time, and that they ascribed the origin of the entire collection to the seventy elders who, according to the current story, had been sent to the King of Egypt. But the earlier version of the story only referred to the Pentateuch, and, as has been already said, the different books are proved by internal evidence to have been translated at different dates.

29. *The Pentateuch probably came into synagogue use before the other Old Testament books.*—That this should be so is quite intelligible if we believe, as there is every reason to do, that the Greek translation took its origin in the needs of the synagogue worship in places where Jews habitually spoke Greek. There is a current story that until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes only sections from the Law were read in their synagogue worship, but that under his tyranny the public reading of the Law being forbidden, the rulers of the synagogue substituted for use in their worship a selection of lessons from the Prophets. When on the death of Antiochus the reading of the Law was restored, the reading of the Prophets was still continued. This story, however, rests on no good authority;[1] and the true date of the introduction into the

[1] The earliest authority seems to be Elias Levita, who lived at the end of the fifteenth century.

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synagogue worship of readings either from the Law or the Prophets is lost in obscurity. But at least there is every reason to think that the public reading of the Pentateuch was much the older of the two; and therefore it is quite intelligible that the need of a Greek version of the Pentateuch would occur before one of a translation of the other books became necessary. With this agrees the fact that existing copies of the Greek of the Pentateuch differ but slightly from each other, and not very much from the current Hebrew text, while there is much more uncertainty about the Greek text of the later books, and the variations from the Massoretic Hebrew text are often considerable. And evidently the text of a book only employed in private reading might be liable to corruptions from which one constantly used in public worship would be secure. The proofs have been already given that the prophetical books furnished materials for synagogue reading in the apostolic times, not only in Judæa but in Asia Minor. But it is possible enough that the public reading of the prophetical books may have been of later introduction in Egypt than in these countries, and may not have been very ancient in Philo's time.

30. *Recognition of these other books by Philo.*—In this way we can account for the very great prominence which Philo gives to the Mosaic writings; but though his use of the other books is comparatively small, it is only by comparison that it is so, for he quotes these books some fifty times, and he clearly treats them as inspired.[1] He quotes the words addressed to Joshua, "I will never leave thee or forsake thee," as a λόγιον or inspired utterance; he treats the whole story of Gideon or of Samuel like the narratives in the Pentateuch, making it a source of mystical deductions; the Book of Judges is quoted with the formula, ὡς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησί; the song of Hannah is cited as inspired; the Psalmist is several times described as "that divine person" (ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀνήρ), as "no common person, but a prophet whom it is good to trust" (οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀλλὰ καὶ προφήτης ᾧ καλὸν πιστεύειν, ὁ τὰς ὑμνωδίας ἀναγράψας, *De Agric.* i. 308, Mangey's edition); and the prophetical writings are cited with such formularies of quotation as the following:—"An inspired member of the prophetic choir" (τοῦ προφητικοῦ θιασώτης χοροῦ, *De Conf. lingg.* p. 411); "one of the old prophets who in divine inspiration said" (τις τῶν παλαίων προφητῶν ὃς ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν, *Quod a Deo mittantur Somnia*, p. 681); "the father of the universe uttered by prophetic mouths" (ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων διὰ προφητικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων, *De Profugis*, p. 575; see also p. 293). One passage of Philo (*De Vit. Contemp.* 3) has been quoted as indicating his Canon. He describes the Therapeutæ as bringing into their holy place none of the things needed for nourishment of the body, but only *laws*, and oracles delivered by *prophets*, and *hymns* and other writings by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected. And no doubt the well-known threefold division of sacred books appears to be here recognised; but the passage itself determines nothing as to the authority ascribed by Philo to each of these sections.

31. *His silence as to the Apocrypha.*—Philo exhibits his sense of the predominant authority of Moses, by describing the later prophets, even one so late as Zechariah, as companions (ἑταῖροι) of Moses, as if they owed their authority to having been the scholars and successors of the great legislator. If it is to be inferred from this that Philo did not set the historical and prophetical books on quite the same level as the Pentateuch, it is still plainer that he did not set the Apocrypha on a level with the historical and prophetical books. These latter books he quotes far less frequently than the Pentateuch, but still very often; and quotes them in such a way as to exhibit his reverence for them: the Apocrypha he never quotes at all. This silence is truly remarkable, because Philo repeatedly quotes profane authors; so that even if he ascribed to the books called Apocrypha no canonical authority, we

[1] Quite similar features present themselves in another Alexandrian writing, the Book of Wisdom. That work exhibits the writer as strongly influenced by the prophecies of Isaiah, by the Psalms, and by the Book of Proverbs: but the histories which he makes the subject of direct comment are taken exclusively from the Pentateuch.

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might still expect that he should shew some signs of acquaintance with them. When we join to the evidence afforded by Philo the fact that we never hear of any difference of opinion between Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews as to the books to which they ascribed inspired authority, we are warranted in concluding that the Canon of both was the same; and that though the Greek-speaking Jews used in private reading non-canonical books which they found to be edifying, they did not set these on the level of the ancient Scriptures.

§ V. The Old Testament as used by the Christian Church.

32. *Non-recognition of the Apocrypha in the New Testament.*—Philo's silence with regard to the Apocrypha harmonizes with the fact that in the New Testament writings which quote freely all the parts of the Canon recognised by Josephus, there is no formal quotation of any of those other books which, according to Josephus, were later than the reign of Artaxerxes, and which he regarded as inferior in credit to the earlier writings. It is true that in the New Testament there are some half-dozen passages where the formulæ of Scripture citation are used, but where the passages quoted can either not be identified at all, or not with any certainty, with anything found in our Old Testament. Such passages are Matt. ii. 23, Luke xi. 49, John vii. 38, 1 Cor. ii. 9, Eph. v. 14, 2 Tim. iii. 8, James iv. 5. But the singular thing is, that if we fail to find the originals of these passages in the books of the Hebrew Canon, we equally fail to find them in the works commonly called the Apocrypha, in no part of which can anything resembling these passages be found. If indeed the Book of Enoch had formed part of the Canon of the Council of Trent, we should be bound to consider what inference ought to be drawn from the fact that that book is quoted by St. Jude; but except Tertullian, no one in the Christian Church seems to have owned the Book of Enoch as canonical; and the fact remains that among the books which were anywhere admitted into the Canon of the Christian Church, none but those of the Hebrew Canon are directly quoted by New Testament writers. In fact the Apostles appear to have been in full agreement with their Jewish brethren as to the Old Testament Canon; and Jewish tradition on the subject has never wavered down to the present day.

33. *Patristic use of the Old Testament.*—But the Gospel was rapidly propagated among men unacquainted with Jewish tradition, and unable to read the Hebrew Bible. The Greek Bible had been a chief instrument in their conversion, and continued to be a principal means of sustaining their religious life. Many of them had not the qualifications for discriminating between the claims of the different parts of the Greek book which they used. It has been already remarked, that ordinarily the Christian Fathers apply to their whole Greek Bible the account which Aristeas gave of the origin of the Pentateuch, and imagine that the translation of all the books was the work of the Seventy Interpreters. So, for example, Irenæus (iii. 21), when he tells the story of the seventy cells, tells it concerning the translation, not of "the Law," but of all the books of the Scriptures. And at an earlier time, Justin Martyr, in his controversy with Trypho, accuses the Jews of having taken away many Scriptures from the translation effected by the seventy elders who were with Ptolemy; and when he is asked to specify these mutilations, they turn out to affect passages in Isaiah, in Jeremiah, in the Psalms, and in Esdras; and the idea does not appear to occur, either to Justin or to his Jewish interlocutor, that these books had not been translated by the same hands as the Pentateuch.

34. *The Christian Fathers were acquainted with the books called Apocrypha.*—But the Greek Bible which passed into the hands of the Gentile converts to Christianity included whole books not to be found in the Hebrew Canon; and it is not wonderful that where the Hebrew language was unknown, and where there was no contact with Jewish tradition, all should have been received indiscriminately. Numerous instances can be produced of the use of the books of the Apocrypha by Christian Fathers from the

earliest times; and in many cases the quotations are made with the usual formulæ of Scripture citation. Judith is cited as a pattern of female heroism in the Epistle of Clement of Rome (c. 55): in the Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas (xix. 9) a saying of the Son of Sirach (iv. 31) is incorporated; and the occurrence of the same passage in the lately discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* has led many critics to believe that Barnabas here copied a still earlier document. The homily which goes by the name of Clement's Second Epistle exhibits (ch. 16) a reminiscence of the Book of Tobit (iv. 11, xi. 9), though with much freedom of alteration. The same passage of Tobit was clearly also known to Polycarp (ch. 10). The Story of Bel and the Dragon is cited by Irenæus (iv. 5).

35. *And frequently quote them as Scripture.*—The instances just produced only exhibit acquaintance with the books of the Apocrypha, and determine nothing as to the consideration in which they were held by those who quoted them. And perhaps we cannot lay much stress on the fact that Irenæus (v. 35) ascribes to the prophet Jeremiah a quotation really taken from the apocryphal Book of Baruch. But Clement of Alexandria, who was omnivorous in his reading, not only, like Irenæus, quotes Baruch as Jeremiah (*Strom.* i. 10), but repeatedly quotes apocryphal books as Scripture. Thus he quotes Tobit as Scripture (*Strom.* vi. 12), Ecclesiasticus (i. 8), 2 Esdras (iii. 16), Wisdom (v. 14), ascribing the last-named book to Solomon (vi. 14). Clement was not very critical; and if, in deference to his authority, we were to add the books just named to our Old Testament Canon, we should be bound in consistency to add the Epistles of Clement and of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and other books to our New Testament Canon. Tertullian ascribes the Book of Wisdom to Solomon (*Adv. Valent.* 2), and quotes Ecclesiasticus with the formula "sicuti scriptum est" (*Exhort. ad Cast.* 2). In this style of quotation Clement and Tertullian are followed by many succeeding writers, popular usage constantly tending to make no discrimination between the different books which circulated as component parts of the current Greek Bible.

§ VI. Learned Eastern opinion concerning the Old Testament Canon.

36. *Origen.* — But whatever popular usage might be, learned opinion constantly remained cognizant of the distinction between those books which the Hebrews recognised as part of their Bible, and those which owed their circulation to the Greek version. The Christian world was, no doubt, much indebted for its wide knowledge of this distinction to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. In this the historian had inserted not only the testimonies of Josephus and Melito which we have already quoted, but also that of Origen, than whose authority none stood higher on questions of biblical criticism. He quotes (vi. 25) a passage from Origen's commentary on the First Psalm, in which it is stated that the canonical books of the Old Testament are, as the Hebrews have handed down, twenty-two in number, answering to the number of letters in their alphabet; and then the Hebrew as well as the Greek names of these books are given. Of the books of the Apocrypha, the only mention in this place is that Origen adds that, besides the twenty-two books which he has enumerated, there are the books of the Maccabees.

37. *Africanus.*—But Origen himself affords a curious example of the conflict between popular and scientific opinion. He used a Greek Bible himself; and though he has shewn himself aware that some of the things included in it formed no part of the Hebrew Canon, he habitually conformed to what, in Alexandria at least, was the popular usage. Thus he read the Story of Susanna as part of the Book of Daniel, and he appealed to it in a public discussion which he held in Palestine. For this he was taken to task by Africanus, at that time the most learned scholar in Palestine; and since, in the question what Canon was recognised by the Apostles, it is with the Palestinian tradition we are mainly concerned, it is interesting to find that the Canon which is attested as recognised in Palestine, by Josephus in the first century and

by Melito in the second, appears now from Africanus to have been in the third century still in exclusive possession. Africanus writes, that having been present when Origen had quoted that part of the Book of Daniel which contains the Story of Susanna, he was not so discourteous as to interrupt at the time; but he expresses his surprise that Origen could fail to be aware that this section of the book was spurious. The story was a pretty one, but was a modern addition, as might be shewn by many proofs, of which he proceeds to give a summary. Only one of the arguments he uses need here be noticed: viz. that all the books of the Old Testament had been translated from the Hebrew, but that the original of this story was plainly Greek, as appears from a certain play on words. The story tells how Daniel convicted the two false witnesses by asking each separately under what tree he had seen Susanna commit adultery. The one answers, Under a mastich-tree (σχίνος); and Daniel replies, God will cut thee asunder (σχίσει). The other answers, Under a holm-tree (πρῖνος); and Daniel replies, The angel of the Lord is ready to saw thee asunder (πρίσαι). Origen replies *seriatim* to the objections stated by Africanus; and in answer to this one, he refuses to accept the paronomasia as proof that the Story of Susanna was not originally written in Hebrew. He challenges Africanus to tell the Hebrew names of the two trees in question; a thing which he himself, notwithstanding many inquiries from Jews, had never been able to find out. How, then, could Africanus tell that the Hebrew names might not have admitted the same play on words? Or at least might there not have been a play on words in the Hebrew, which, though incapable of literal translation, had yet, by a change in the names of the trees, been skilfully represented by the Greek translator? If Origen is right here, the Greek translator must not only be complimented for his skill, but congratulated for his good fortune in being able to find Greek names of trees so admirably suited to his purpose.

38. *Origen's reply to Africanus.*—But a more fundamental question was raised with regard to the principle assumed by Africanus, that no books were to be recognised as belonging to the Old Testament but those which had been originally written in Hebrew. The admission of this principle would evidently be fatal to the claims of many of the books of the Apocrypha. Origen points out what revolutionary consequences would follow if the Christian Church were required then to alter its Canon into conformity with the Hebrew text. It was not only the Story of Susanna that must be cut out: not only the other additions to the Book of Daniel, the Song of the Three Children, and the Story of Bel and the Dragon, but there were also passages in the Book of Esther, in the Book of Job, and indeed in many other parts of the Old Testament, which, though found in the Greek text, had nothing corresponding in the Hebrew. Must all these be also excised? Must we reject the sacred books current among the brotherhood, and pay humble court to the unbelieving Jews, entreating them to impart books free from spurious admixture? Can we suppose that Divine Providence, which had given in the sacred Scriptures edification to all the churches of Christ, did not care for those whom He had bought with a price, for whose sake God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, that He with Him also might freely give us all things. It were well if Africanus would remember the precept, "Thou shalt not move the everlasting landmarks which those before thee have set up."

39. *Athanasius.* — However Origen's practice may have tended to obliterate the distinction which his theory acknowledged, between the books extant in Hebrew and the additions made to them in the Greek Bible, that distinction was not lost sight of even in Alexandria. The century after Origen presents us with the testimony of the great Alexandrian bishop Athanasius. In the letters which, in conformity with ancient custom, he annually issued to announce the date of Easter to the churches of his province, it was his wont not to confine himself to that notification, but to take a wider range of instruction. In that which he issued in the

year 365, he gives a list of the books of Scripture, stating that the books of the Old Testament, whose names he gives, were twenty-two, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. He then gives a list of New Testament books, agreeing with our own Canon, and adds, "These are the fountains of salvation, so that he who thirsts may satisfy himself with the oracles in these. In these alone the lesson of piety is proclaimed. Let no one add to these, nor take anything from them." Apparently, however, the books of the Canon were reserved as the exclusive property of members of the Church; for Athanasius goes on to say that there were other books not included in the Canon used for the instruction of catechumens, viz. the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Tobit, Judith, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. It will be observed that Esther is placed, not among the canonical books, but with those of the Apocrypha, and that the books of the Maccabees are not mentioned at all. Athanasius, being ignorant of Hebrew, used a Greek Bible; and though he was aware of the inferior authority of the books which he names as not belonging to the Canon, it is very possible that he may not have been equally aware of the spurious character of some of the additions made in the Greek text to some of the books which he acknowledged. He certainly counted Baruch as part of Jeremiah; and in this he was followed by several succeeding writers.

40. *Other Eastern authorities.* — It would be tedious to quote other Eastern Fathers, such as Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius, Epiphanius. Nor need time be spent in discussing the Council of Laodicea, a small council which met about A.D. 363, and which appears to have been the first council to make decrees on the subject of canonical books. The list of books commonly appended to their decrees omits the Apocrypha, but its authenticity cannot be relied on. The exclusion of the Apocrypha is so completely in accordance with Eastern learned opinion, that it is immaterial whether the list as we have it was drawn up at the council itself, or afterwards appended as expressing general church usage. Suffice it, then, to say that when Eastern writers undertake formally to enumerate the books of the Old Testament, they ordinarily reckon only the books of the Hebrew Canon; but that, in practical use, all the books of the Greek Bible are apt to be indiscriminately employed. It is worth while to mention that this practical use applies quite as much to the apocryphal First Book of Esdras, which is not recognised by the Council of Trent, as to any of the apocryphal books which that council has admitted. There is no story more frequently cited by the Fathers than the tale of the three young men at the court of Darius, which is told in the book just mentioned. It may be added that the *Apostolic Constitutions*—a work which in its present form may be dated as of the latter part of the fourth century—gives a list (ii. 57) of books to be used in church reading, and in this is quite silent as to any books but those of the Hebrew Canon. The *Apostolic Canons* is a compilation to the earlier part of which may be assigned the date just given for the present form of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but which has received additions of uncertain later date. The last of the Canons so added gives a list of Scripture books, which adds to the books of the Hebrew Canon three books of Maccabees, and mentions on a lower level the Book of Ecclesiasticus as useful for the instruction of the young.

§ VII. The Old Testament Canon in the West.

41. *Augustine.*—We turn now to the West, and there, as might be expected, we find an echo of Greek opinion. The Latin Old Testament was, at least for some three centuries, only a translation from the Greek, so that popular usage in the West, as well as in the East, tended to an indiscriminate use of all the books which possessed ecclesiastical authority. The story that the Seventy Interpreters had evidenced their inspiration by the exact agreement of their separate works was very generally believed; and with those who accepted that story, the Greek Bible was evidently an inspired book of au-

thority, fully equal to that of the Hebrew original. Nor was this belief shaken when, in process of time, it came to be known that there were passages in which the Greek did not faithfully represent the Hebrew. Augustine held that, if the Greek differed from the Hebrew, it was because God had inspired the translators to make it different. The Hebrew book was written for the use of Jews: no doubt some changes were necessary to adapt it to the use of the Gentile world. If there was even a direct contradiction between the Greek translation and the original, Augustine held that this contradiction was to be regarded as a signal indicating that in the passage in question we were not to rest satisfied with a literal interpretation. And going beneath the letter to look for an allegorical interpretation, he was always able to shew that the same truths were taught in both books, though under different figures. Augustine, who has no pretensions to rank as a learned scholar, habitually used a Latin Bible which contained the books of the Apocrypha; and he frequently appeals to the authority of these books, though he sometimes shews himself aware that their authority was questioned, and that they were not included in the Canon of the Jews. In the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, at which he was present, a list of canonical Scriptures was drawn up, agreeing with that afterwards adopted by the Council of Trent. In fact, this African Council of Latin-speaking bishops is the best authority which the Trent divines can produce for their decision. There is reason, however, to think that the Council of Carthage did not intend to exclude, as was done at Trent, the apocryphal First Book of Esdras from their list of canonical books. Augustine certainly, when he spoke of Esdras, intended to include this book, and acknowledged it as Scripture (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36). In copies of the Septuagint the First Book of Esdras meant the apocryphal first book; the second book meant the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah regarded as making a single book. We can scarcely doubt that these were the two books of Esdras acknowledged at Carthage; and it would seem to be from not understanding this point that the apocryphal First Esdras escaped recognition at Trent.

42. *Rufinus.* — Scholars, however, in the West could not help being acquainted with Greek learned opinion as to the inferior authority of some of the books in Church use, and they made that opinion known to their countrymen. Rufinus, for example, in his Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, gives a list of Old Testament books agreeing with the Hebrew Canon; and then he adds, "Yet it must be known that there are other books which have been called by the ancients not canonical, but ecclesiastical;" and he then specifies the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, the books of Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees; and in the New Testament, the Shepherd of Hermas and the Two Ways or Judgment of Peter. These, he said, the Fathers wished should be read in churches, but not alleged to establish any article of faith.

43. *Jerome.*—For the emphatic enunciation of the inferior authority of those Old Testament books, or parts of books, which were not extant in Hebrew, the Western world was indebted to Jerome, who was the first Western scholar to acquire a knowledge of Hebrew himself, and who even made the study of that language fashionable in Rome. He shewed that the story of the seventy cells was wanting in historical authority; and he altogether rejected the notion of the inspiration of the Greek translators, pointing out that the work of a translator was quite different from that of an inspired prophet, and required different qualifications; human learning and knowledge of languages being the essential qualifications of a translator. By the help of the Hebrew, Jerome revised the former Latin version, and in the prefaces to the books of his revised version he insisted on the claims of the "Hebrew verity." But the authority of the books previously current in Latin was by this time so well established, that this department of Jerome's labours drew on him an amount of opposition and calumny of which he repeatedly complains bitterly. He says in the preface to his version of the Book of Job, "If I occupied myself in basket-making"—then a common employment of monks — "in

order to eat my bread by the sweat of my face, nobody would assail me. But now, because according to the Saviour's command I choose to labour for the meat that perisheth not, and strive to clear of briar and thorns the way of the sacred volume, I am violently attacked. When I correct faults, I am treated as a forger, and I am accused of introducing errors when I am taking them away. Such is the force of custom, that many like even what are acknowledged to be faults, and are more anxious to have their copies beautifully written than correctly written."

44. *Augustine's expostulation with Jerome.*—It was, however, neither personal animosity nor stupid ignorance which inspired the dislike that many pious men then felt to the attempt to supersede the current Latin Bible by one translated directly from the Hebrew. Augustine, for example, made friendly expostulation with Jerome. He protested against the immodesty of correcting the translation of the seventy interpreters. If the passage in the original was plain, they could not well have gone wrong; if it was obscure, they were as likely as any modern translator to give the true meaning. He pointed out that the adoption of a new translation would not only set the Latin Churches at variance with the Greek, but would cast uncertainty on the whole text of Scripture. If a question arose as to the accuracy of a translation from the Greek, that language was so generally known that there would be no difficulty in obtaining skilled and trustworthy opinion as to which translation was right. But who knew Hebrew in the West besides Jerome himself? If they scrupled on his word to reject renderings sanctioned by prescriptive use, to whom were they to resort in order to test his assertions? Were they to go to the Jews? What a humiliation to have the authority of the Greek and Latin Churches set aside in deference to these Jewish judges! Perhaps they might give some translation different both from the Septuagint and from Jerome's, and who was then to decide between them? And how could you ever be sure that they were not purposely giving false information? Who could trust the good faith of those enemies of the Cross of Christ?

45. *The story of the gourd.*—In illustration of the practical inconvenience of translation from the Hebrew, St. Augustine told a story which has been often quoted. An African bishop having adopted Jerome's translation in his church, there came to be read the lesson about Jonah's gourd, when, instead of the "gourd" to which the people had been accustomed, there was read Jerome's word "ivy." On this there arose a tumult in the congregation, the Greeks among them especially accusing the translation of falsification. The bishop was obliged to consult the Jews, who, St. Augustine tells Jerome, "either through ignorance or malice," answered that it was "gourd" in the Hebrew copies, as it was in the Greek and Latin, so that, in short, the bishop was compelled to correct this reading as a fault; for, if he had not done so, he would have been left without a flock. In fine, Augustine pressed on Jerome the great scandal which a new translation would cause the people, by shaking the credit of the Septuagint, to which their ears and hearts had become accustomed, and which had been approved by the authority of the Apostles.

46. *Rufinus assails Jerome for rejecting the Apocrypha.* — The remonstrances which Augustine made, courteously and respectfully, were repeated by Jerome's antagonist Rufinus angrily and scurrilously. Jerome had learned Hebrew from a Jew named Baranina, —a name which, for the purposes of invective, was made to take the form Barabbas.[1] "What wickedness," cries Rufinus, "to violate the deposit of the Holy Ghost! The History of Susanna, who afforded an example of chastity to the Church of God, has been cut out and rejected by you. The Song of the Three Children, which is sung on festivals in the Church of God, has been removed from its place. Why need I name separately changes the number of which is too great to be counted? Are we to pay more respect to the one and harmonious

[1] In fact Barrabanus, instead of Baranina, is the reading of many MSS., and probably the name was so read by Rufinus.

voice of Seventy Interpreters, guided in their separate cells to uniformity by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or to what one man utters at the instigation of Barabbas? Peter presided over the Church of Rome for twenty-four years, and no doubt gave the Church the same books which were used when he himself sat and taught. Did he deceive the Church by handing over to it books full of falsehood; and, though he knew the Jews had the truth, wish Christians to have falsehood? Perhaps you will say, Peter was unlearned, and was not well enough skilled in languages to make a new translation. What, did the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost confer nothing on him? Well, Paul at least was not without letters. When he taught his disciples 'to give heed to reading,' would he not care that they should have correct readings? He ordered his disciples to beware of the circumcision, and to give no heed to Jewish fables. How was it that he did not foresee by the Spirit that the time would come when the Church should discover that the truth of the Old Testament had not been delivered to her by the Apostles, and when she must send ambassadors to the circumcision acknowledging that she had been 400 years in error, and imploring them of their charity to impart some of the truth which had been in their keeping; when she would be obliged to own that she, who had been chosen as the bride of Christ, had been decked by the Apostles with false jewels, and must beg the Jews to send Barabbas, whom once the Church had rejected in order to wed Christ, that he might replace the false with true ornaments?"

47. *The arguments of Rufinus derived from Origen.*—It is to be observed what a close relation there is between the line taken by Rufinus in this controversy with Jerome, and that taken by Origen in his controversy with Africanus. Their arguments would have great weight if their assumption were correct that the Apostles had guaranteed the authority of what passed in the fourth century as the Septuagint version; but we have already seen that there is no reason to think that the Canon of the Apostles included the books of the Apocrypha. It is also to be observed that what was involved in the assumption was not merely the claims of the books not extant in Hebrew: the correctness of the Septuagint translation of all the recognised books was equally supposed to be guaranteed. But that no such guarantee was given, is plain from the number of passages where New Testament writers cite the Old Testament, and do not use the Septuagint translation.

48. *The practice of St. Jerome as to the use of the Apocrypha.*—It has been remarked in the case both of Josephus and of Origen, that the practice of these writers does not agree with their theory; and we are therefore led to inquire whether Jerome has been more consistent. The result is found to be that when Jerome is using the books of the Apocrypha, "for example of life and instruction of manners," he does not scruple to quote them with the formula "sicut scriptum est," and even on one occasion with the epithet "scriptura divina." But when he is writing controversially and using testimonies to establish doctrine, he is careful to mark the inferior authority of these books (see, for example, *Cont. Pelag.* 31, 33). There is a like difference between the theory of the Church of England stated in her 6th article, and her practice evidenced by the approval given in the 35th article to the use of the First Book of Homilies, in which books of the Apocrypha are quoted as Scripture.

49. *Ultimate success of Jerome's translation.*—What has been stated as to the opposition Jerome's revision met with, entitles us to say that there seldom has been a case where the results of scientific investigation had to encounter stronger dislike, opposed as they were to long-received opinion, sanctioned by highly venerated authority. And yet, in the end, Jerome's work had a singular success, —a success, indeed, involving the abandonment of the principle for which Jerome contended, viz. that the authority of the most approved translation must bow to that of the original. For Jerome's own translation not only triumphed over the hostility which had threatened to suppress it at its birth, but gained an authority which only the original could rightly claim. In the cele-

brated Complutensian Polyglot[1] the Latin was placed in the middle, the Hebrew and Greek on each side,—as the Preface said, like Christ between the two thieves; the idea being that we could rely on the Latin text, which had been in the keeping of the Roman Church, but not on those in the other two languages, which had been in the custody, in the one case of unbelieving Jews, in the other of schismatical Greeks. The thesis that the Vulgate is far closer to the original than either the Hebrew or Greek text was elaborately maintained by Morinus in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Vulgate was pronounced "authentic" by the Council of Trent; and what is implied by that epithet to those who acknowledge the authority of that council, may be gathered from the dictum of a Jesuit writer of the present day, that "the Greek and Hebrew texts are of the greatest value, *as means in order to arrive at the genuine sense and full force of many passages in the Latin Vulgate.*"[2]

50. *The Middle Ages.*—But the Latin Bible which passed into general circulation was not altogether Jerome's work. He had declined to translate the books of the Apocrypha, but ultimately allowed himself to be persuaded by the urgency of two bishops, his friends, to make a hasty version first of the Book of Tobit, then of Judith. His version of the former book, he tells us, was the work of a single sitting, performed under the guidance of an instructor skilled in Hebrew and Chaldee. Latin-speaking Christians, when adopting Jerome's versions of the canonical books, were still unwilling to be without the books which they had been accustomed to read in their Bibles. They therefore joined to the translations revised by Jerome (including Tobit and Judith) the translations of the other books which had been current before Jerome's labours. The Latin Bibles therefore in general use represented at once popular usage and learned opinion: popular usage because they contained all the books commonly regarded as Scripture; learned opinion because they also contained Jerome's prefaces, in which he repeatedly insists on the distinction between the "canonical Scriptures" and the books which were read in the Church for the edification of the people, but not for the authoritative confirmation of doctrine. The consequence was that this distinction was never lost sight of, and it would be easy to cite a long list of writers, all through the Middle Ages and down to the very epoch of the Reformation, who shew themselves aware of it.[1] It will suffice here to name three.

51. *De Lyra.*—Nicolaus de Lyra, who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century, was one of the most popular of the pre-Reformation commentators on Scripture. He begins his commentary on the Book of Tobit as follows: "Now that I have, by the help of God, written on the canonical books of Holy Scripture, beginning from Genesis and going on to the end of the Apocalypse, I proceed now, trusting in the same help, to write on the other books which are not of the Canon; viz., Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, and Maccabees.... The books which are not of the Canon are received by the Church to be read for instruction in morals, but their authority is reckoned less fit for proving matters which come into dispute, as Jerome saith in his prologue to the Book of Judith, and in his prologue to Solomon's Proverbs; wherefore they are of less efficacy than the canonical books.... The books of Holy Scripture which are called canonical are of such authority, that whatsoever is contained there is firmly held to be true; and consequently also whatsoever is plainly inferred from them. For as in philosophic writings the truth is known by reduction to first principles known of themselves, so in the writings of Catholic doctors the truth in matters which are to be held by faith is known by reduction to the canonical Scriptures which have been given by Divine revelation, so that nothing false can be contained in them. ... The truth written in the canonical books is for the most part prior in time, and always superior in dignity and

[1] Published in 1517.

[2] Humphry, *The Written Word*, p. 228.

[1] In Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon* will be found in successive chapters (chaps. vi.–xvii.) testimonies from each century, from the fourth to the sixteenth.

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authority, to that which is written in the non-canonical books." Similarly in the preface to Ezra he had said, "The books of Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, though they be historical, I yet pass by for the present, because they are not of the Canon, either among the Jews or among Christians. Moreover Jerome says of them . . . that they are reckoned among the Apocrypha."

52. *Cajetanus.* — The second writer whom it is worth while here to cite brings us down to the very epoch of the Reformation, del Vio, better known as named from his birth-place, Cajetanus, the papal legate before whom Luther was summoned to appear in 1518. He was a man of the greatest reputation in his day,[1] and the fact that he was a strenuous defender of papal prerogatives and of the parts of the Romish system assailed by Luther makes his testimony the more valuable, to the authority enjoyed, down to the time of the Council of Trent, by Jerome's ruling on the subject of the Canon. He says, "In order not to err in our discrimination of canonical books, we follow the rule of St. Jerome. What he handed down as canonical we accept as canonical; what he separated from the canonical we hold outside the Canon" (*Comm. in cap. i. ad Hebr.*). In his dedicatory preface addressed to Pope Clement VII. he says, "The whole Latin Church owes very much to St. Jerome, not only on account of his noting in the books of the Old Testament the small portions which are either spurious or doubtful, but also on account of his separation of the canonical from non-canonical books. For he has thus freed us from the reproach of the Hebrews that we invent books, or parts of books, of the old Canon which are quite unknown to them." Accordingly Cajetan refuses to include in the canonical books on which he comments, Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, stating that they had been put among Apocrypha with the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (*Comm. in ult. cap. Esther*). And he adds, "The words both of councils and of doctors must be brought to the file of St. Jerome: and according to his opinion these books (and if there be others like them in the Canon of the Bible) are not canonical as respects establishment of doctrines of faith, but may be called canonical as respects the edification of the faithful. For with this distinction you can reconcile what is said by Augustine in his second book *De Doctrina Christiana*, and what is written in the Council of Florence under Eugenius IV. and in the provincial councils of Carthage and Laodicea, and by Popes Innocent and Gelasius."

53. *The Complutensian Polyglot.*—To the same epoch belongs the third authority which we cite, Cardinal Ximenes, who, in the Preface to the Complutensian Polyglot published in 1517, echoes St. Jerome's language, and describes the books of which he can only print a Greek, not a Hebrew text, as "the books *outside the Canon*, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical dogmas."

54. *The Reformation.*—From what has been stated it appears that in refusing to place the books of the Apocrypha on a level with the earlier canonical books the Reformers made no innovation, but were in accordance with the best learned opinion of their day. But Luther gave emphasis to the doctrine of the inferior authority of the Apocrypha, by the place he assigned them in his German Bible. In Latin Bibles, as in the Greek books from which the Latin translation was made, they had been mixed up, according to their subjects, with the canonical books. Thus Tobit and Judith are treated as historical books, coming between Nehemiah and Esther; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus follow the canonical books of Solomon; the Song

[1] "Cavete ne lumen Ecclesiæ exstinguatis," is said to have been the exclamation of Clement VII. when he saw the Cardinal in peril in the capture of Rome in 1528. The following is the character given of him by Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*, i. 544; Venice, 1717):—"Hic ille est alter Thomas, ingeniorum extrema linea, doctorum virorum miraculum, hæreticæ pravitatis terror, sacrarum Scripturarum lumen ac fax, scholastici pulveris athleta invictus, Thomisticæ doctrinæ galeatus defensor, sincerioris doctrinæ propugnaculum, arx ac promptuarium subtilium argumentorum, cathedræ demum splendor ac decus, cujus adeo immortalia scripta sunt ut tamdiu videantur perennatura quamdiu divinam sapientiam scholastica subsellia personabunt."

of the Three Children, and the Stories of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon, take their place as parts of the Book of Daniel. In Luther's translation the disputed books were placed by themselves[1] as an appendix at the end of the Old Testament, with the title, "Apocrypha; that is, books that are not held as equal to the Holy Scriptures, and yet are good and useful to read." This separation of the disputed books, and the use of the name Apocrypha as their title, was followed by Coverdale in the first English Bible that contained them, and in subsequent English translations. Cranmer's Great Bible had "Hagiographa" as a separate titlepage for this section, but "Apocrypha" as the running heading on each page.

55. *The name Apocrypha.*—From this period dates the use of the word "Apocrypha" as a technical name for the disputed books of the Old Testament Canon. In the earliest Christian use of the word it appears to have retained its etymological meaning "secret." Thus Clement of Alexandria speaks of the secret books of Zoroaster (*Strom.* i. 15). It was common with heretical sects to throw an air of mystery about their books: partly in order to flatter their disciples with the belief that they were in possession of secrets known only to the initiated; but partly also because those who forged books in the names of Apostles found that the fiction that these books had been intended to be kept secret was convenient, as affording an explanation why they had not been heard of before. It is almost exclusively with regard to heretical books that the word "apocryphal" is first used. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4) applies it to a Gnostic book from which he cites a passage; see also Tertullian (*De Anima*, 2).

56. *The twofold division of books as to Canonicity — Cyril of Jerusalem.*—Cyril of Jerusalem is, as far as we know, the first to apply the name Apocrypha to the books added in Greek Bibles to the books of the Hebrew Canon. In his fourth Catechetical lecture, he says, "Learn diligently and from the Church which are the books of the Old Testament and which of the New, and read not, I pray, any of the Apocrypha. For why shouldest thou, who knowest not those which are acknowledged by all, take needless trouble about those which are questioned? Read the Holy Scriptures, those two-and-twenty books of the Old Testament which were interpreted by the seventy-two interpreters." Then, having related the current story of the origin of the Septuagint, he proceeds: "Read the two-and-twenty books of these Scriptures, and have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. Those books only study earnestly which we read confidently even in church. Far wiser than thou and more devout were the Apostles and the ancient bishops, the rulers of the Church, who have handed down these: thou, therefore, who art a child of the Church, tread not on their sanctions." He goes on to teach his disciples the names and order of the twenty-two books. We may gather from this, as well as from the passage already quoted in which Athanasius describes the books outside the twenty-two as only used in the instruction of catechumens, that in the fourth century lessons from the Old Testament Apocrypha were not read in the Eastern Church. Cyril's own practice shews that he did not regard the study of these books as unlawful; and the object of his lecture would seem to be to exhort the less learned members of his flock to confine their reading to the books about whose authority there was no dispute.

57. *The threefold division—Rufinus.*—In the West, however, lessons were read in church not only from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, but of the New, including such books as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Two Ways. Accordingly Rufinus, in his *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* (37), where he appears to be following the guidance of Athanasius, makes a threefold division[1]

[1] The separation, however, had previously been made in an edition of the Septuagint published at Strasburg in 1526.

[1] With regard to the well-known threefold, or rather fourfold, division of books made by Eusebius in treating of the New Testament Canon (*H. E.* iii. 25), it may be remarked that he does not apply the name Apocrypha to any of them; but elsewhere (iv. 22) he employs incidentally the phrase τῶν λεγομένων ἀποκρύφων, having apparently only heretical books in view.

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of books. First, the books which the Fathers included in the Canon, and out of which they willed that assertions of our faith should be established. This list contains only the twenty-two Old Testament books. Secondly, books not canonical, but called by our ancestors Ecclesiastical, which they willed should be read in the Church, but not alleged as authority for the establishment of doctrine. The rest they called Apocryphal, which they did not admit to be read in the churches.

58. *Jerome's adoption of the twofold division.*—Jerome, however, conformed to the usage of Cyril, and only recognised the twofold division—canonical and apocryphal. That in his language "apocryphal" may fairly be translated "non-canonical" appears from what he says about the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, which in his *Catalogue* he accepts as a genuine work of that Apostle, but says of it, "Barnabas composed one epistle tending to the edification of the Church, which is read among apocryphal Scriptures." But there is no doubt that the word Apocrypha in Jerome's use of it contained a note of disparagement. His feelings with regard to these books are indicated beyond mistake in his letter to Læta (*Ep.* 107), giving her instruction as to her daughter's education. Having given his advice as to the order in which the child is to be made to read the books of the Old and New Testament, among which none are mentioned save those recognised by the Church of England as canonical, he goes on to say, repeating Cyril's warning, "Let her beware of all apocrypha (*Caveat omnia apocrypha*). And if at any time she should wish to read them, 'non ad veritatem dogmatum sed ad signorum reverentiam,'[1] let her know that they are not the works of those whose names they bear, that many faulty things are mixed up in them, and that it needs great prudence to look for gold in mire."

It has been suggested that St. Jerome had only in his mind New Testament apocryphal books falsely ascribed to Apostles, and that he did not mean to apply the name Apocrypha to the disputed books of the Old Testament. But he expressly does so apply the name in his prefaces. Cyril of Jerusalem had done so before him; for as Cyril contrasts the Apocrypha with the twenty-two books, it is clearly the Old Testament he has in view. In St. Jerome's enumeration of sacred books in the letter just quoted, the exclusion of the disputed books from mention is very marked. The same feature presents itself in his letter to Paulinus (*Ep.* 53). He there goes regularly through the books of the Old and New Testament, leaving out the books not included in the Hebrew Canon, and then adds, "oro te frater carissime inter hæc vivere, ista meditare, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere." St. Jerome's attitude of mind towards the disputed books is that he not only did not regard them as canonical Scripture, but that he thought a Christian's time might be more profitably spent than in reading them. It was the persistence with which St. Jerome used the name Apocrypha in speaking of the non-canonical books of the Old Testament which led to the adoption of it by the Reformers. In what precedes we have retained the use of the noun "Apocrypha" in the technical sense, but have avoided the adjective "apocryphal," which in modern English conveys a different meaning.

59. *The Council of Trent.*—It was just at the time of the death of Luther when, in 1547, the question of the Canon came under consideration at Trent. There were some of the Council who advocated the following the authority of St. Jerome, by making two classes of books differing in authority; others who would have evaded controversy by making a mere list of books, and defining nothing as to the authority of each; but the view which ultimately prevailed, and which was embodied in the canon adopted by the Council, put all the books that had been popularly regarded as belonging to the Old Testament on a footing of perfect equality. The Council declared that it received alike the books of Old and New Testament, since one God was the author of both; as well as also the traditions relating to faith or conduct, dictated by Christ or the Holy

[1] I am not sure that I rightly understand the last two words; and as they are irrelevant to the present discussion, I leave them untranslated.

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Spirit, and preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church; and that it accepted all with equal regard and reverence. Then, lest any doubt should arise as to the books of Scripture intended, a list is given, such as that already described, in which the books of both classes are intermixed without any hint of difference of authority. In modern times learned Roman Catholics have found it impossible to avoid making a division of Old Testament books into proto-canonical and deutero-canonical. But since the Council gives no warrant for such a division, they are obliged to explain that the term "deutero-canonical" is not intended to imply any inferiority of authority, but only a later date of admission into the Canon. Finally the Council passed an anathema on any one who does not receive as sacred and canonical these books, entire with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church and are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition. The effect of this "entire with all their parts" is that though in the list of canonical books only the Book of Daniel, for example, is mentioned by name, any one would come under the anathema who should reject the Song of the Three Children or the Story of Bel and the Dragon.

60. *What weight to be attached to the ruling of this Council.*—To any one who regards the Council of Trent as infallible this decree closes the controversy. It may be perfectly true that this decision, equalizing the authority of all the books, is quite opposed to the judgment of all the most learned divines of previous times; but it can be said that these divines had not been privileged to hear the voice of the Church declaring the truth on this subject. But one who thinks that the Church had not to wait till the 16th century for its knowledge of the Canon of Scripture will find that if he cannot attribute to the Council of Trent inspired and infallible authority, he will be unable to acknowledge it as possessing any authority whatever.

In questions of criticism requiring learning for their determination, merely official position conveys no title to respect. In these islands the authority of Parliament is supreme; yet if both Houses of Parliament were to pass unanimous votes that Sir Philip Francis wrote the letters of Junius (or that he did not write them), such votes would count for nothing as affecting the judgment of critics, except so far as they furnished evidence what was the prevalent opinion at the time when they were passed, and except also so far as it could be shewn that persons had joined in these votes whose knowledge and skill entitled them to be listened to with respect. But when inquiry is made as to the knowledge and skill of those who passed the Trent decree, no favourable answer can be given. It would be out of place here to give any account of the political difficulties which impeded the assembling of the Council of Trent. Suffice it to say that when, after some futile attempts to bring a council together elsewhere, the Pope's legates proceeded to Trent, they found no prelate there but the bishop of the place. And for some ten months afterwards the number of bishops assembled remained so few that it was felt they could not without manifest indecency venture to describe themselves as an Œcumenical Council. Nor was it any high standard of numbers at which they at length arrived. When the Council actually opened, there were present, besides the legates, only four archbishops and twenty-eight bishops; and some of these were titular bishops, pensioners of the Pope, and having no real connection with the dioceses which they nominally represented. The subject of the Canon was the first matter of controverted doctrine with which the Council dealt, and it was discussed in congregations at which not more than thirty persons were present. By the time the decree was actually promulgated in a meeting of the Council, the total number had not risen above fifty-three. But though the Council was not strong in numerical representation, its weakness was far greater as respects the quality of those who took part in it. Though the Council called itself Œcumenical, no part of the world was really represented in it except Italy. The great bulk of the bishops were Italian: of the rest the majority were Spanish; there were a couple from

France, none from Germany, Switzerland, or the Northern countries. But a still worse account has to be given of the scholarship of its members. None knew Hebrew; only a few knew Greek; there were even some whose knowledge of Latin was held in but low repute; not one had eminence as a learned divine. Westcott's summing-up of the case is completely justified. "This fatal decree, in which the Council, harassed by the fear of lay critics and 'grammarians,' gave a new aspect to the whole question of the Canon, was ratified by fifty-three prelates, among whom there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished by historical learning, not one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of antiquity. How completely the decision was opposed to the spirit and letter of the original judgments of the Greek and Latin Churches; how far it was at variance, in the doctrinal equalization of the disputed and acknowledged books of the Old Testament, with the tradition of the West; how absolutely unprecedented was the conversion of an ecclesiastical usage into an article of belief, will be seen from the evidence which has been already adduced." [1]

61. *Controversial inducements to its recognition of the Apocrypha.* — It has been said, and probably with truth, that the majority at the Council, being men who took much more interest in the polemical discussions of their own day than in learned research as to the opinions of earlier times, were mainly induced to give so high a rank to the Apocrypha, by the controversial use to be made of a few texts in it. Thus, in controversy concerning the help or intercession of angels, use might be made of the Book of Tobit (see in particular xii. 12, 15), and so concerning the intercession of departed saints (2 Macc. xv. 12–14; Baruch iv. 4). On the question of prayers for the dead, appeal might be made to 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45: and concerning the merit of almsgiving and other good works, to Tobit iii. 10, iv. 7; Ecclus. iii. 30.

62. *The acceptance of the Apocrypha as inspired necessitates a low theory of Inspiration.*—If the Tridentine divines were influenced by such considerations as these in ascribing canonical authority to these books, the Reformers' reasons for refusing to do so were far more fundamental than were suggested by any possible use to be made of them in particular controversies. It ought never to be forgotten that the question concerning the authority of the books of the Apocrypha is intimately connected with the question how much is meant by the inspiration and authority ascribed to the books of the Hebrew Old Testament. The two classes of books can be put on the same level, either by magnifying the authority ascribed to the former, or depressing that ascribed to the latter. Thus, for example, the rationalistic critic of the present day, who does not ascribe inspiration, as the Church understands the word, to any books, has no inclination to set the books of the Apocrypha in any inferior position. Jewish literature of one age has as many claims on his regard as Jewish literature of another. The Jewish literature now extant in Hebrew may be, speaking generally, of earlier date than that only extant in Greek; but he regards the one as no more above his criticism than the other; the older no more than the later, an authority to which he is bound to defer. Where a somewhat higher view of the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures is held, it is still evident that the more of error and imperfection is imagined to be compatible with inspiration, the less difficulty is there in ascribing that attribute to the books of the Apocrypha, or to any other books. Now the Reformers felt it to be a necessity of their position to hold a very high doctrine of Inspiration. They rejected the infallibility claimed for the authority of the Church, but they taught that Christians were not left without the security of an unerring guide. This they found in the Bible; and if they rejected decisions made by high Church authority, it was because they found them opposed by authority which they recognised as superior.

Now some of the books of the Apo-

[1] *Bible in the Church*, p. 257.

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crypha are plainly indefensible by any one who holds any high theory of Inspiration. It is not merely that they are wanting in external attestation; there are many passages where the moral tone falls distinctly below the dignity of Scripture. The Book of Wisdom, which is one of the finest, is certainly not Solomon's, and probably is one of the latest in the collection; the Second Book of the Maccabees is disfigured by several anachronisms and historical blunders; the books of Tobit and Judith, not to speak of the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, cannot possibly be maintained as historical, and must be relegated to the class of edifying fiction. And even in the latter point of view they are unacceptable to a modern reader. It is hard, for instance, for such a reader to take seriously the story of the demon Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit. This demon is capable of sexual lust, and is able to take the lives of the men of whom he is jealous; but is unable to bear the stench of the burning of a fish's liver, and flies off to the upper parts of Egypt. Any controversy concerning the books of the Apocrypha in modern times will be found really to regard not so much the credit due to these books as that due to the books of the older Scriptures. No one can now venture to demand for the statements found in the books of the Apocrypha that unhesitating deference which the men of the early Church accorded to the books which they recognised as Scripture; and therefore it is not possible now to bring the Apocrypha to the level of the Old Testament Scriptures through any process of raising the authority of the former books. If the books of the Apocrypha are to be called sacred and canonical, it can only be by maintaining that these epithets can be bestowed on books full of blunders and false conceptions, which the early Church would have thought it scandalous to attribute to any books which they regarded as inspired. It has already been observed, that when the prerogatives of Inspiration are denied or extenuated, the controversy concerning the authority of the Apocryphal books ceases to have any practical meaning.

§ VIII. The Use of the Apocrypha in the Church of England.

63. *The Apocrypha formerly used extensively in public.*—When the Reformers denied the inspired authority of the books of the Apocrypha, it was by no means their intention to exclude them from use either in public or in private reading. The Articles of the Church of England quote with approbation the ruling of St. Jerome, that though the Church does not use these books for establishment of doctrine, it reads them for example of life and instruction of manners. Accordingly, lessons from the Apocrypha were appointed to be read on the week-days during two months of the year; and these books are once or twice quoted as Scripture in the Homilies set forth by authority. Not only was this the view of the cautious men who held high office in the Church of England, but it was not dissented from by a more extreme section of Reformers. The Geneva Bible, which, until it came to be superseded by King James's Authorized Version, was the most popular and widely circulated of English Bibles, prefixed the following Preface to the section containing the Apocrypha: "The books that follow in order after the Prophets unto the New Testament, are called Apocrypha; that is, books which were not received by a common consent to be read and expounded publicly in the Church, neither yet serve to prove any point of Christian religion, save inasmuch as they had the consent of the other Scriptures called Canonical to confirm the same, or rather whereupon they were grounded: but as books proceeding from godly men were received to be read for the advancement and furtherance of the knowledge of the history, and for the instruction of godly manners: which books declare, that at all times God had an especial care of his Church, and left them not utterly destitute of teachers and means to confirm them in the hope of the promised Messiah, and also witness that those calamities that God sent to his Church were according to his providence, who had both so threatened by his prophets, and so brought it to pass for the destruction of

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their enemies and for the trial of his children."

64. *And in private.*—Abundant references to the books of the Apocrypha in our elder literature testify the extensive use that for some time continued to be made of them, and in many cases by men who cannot be suspected of sympathy with Romish teaching. Perhaps the most interesting illustration of the acquaintance with them possessed by the less learned of the people is afforded by what John Bunyan tells in his Autobiography,[1] how he was roused from a state of religious despondency by the recollection of a text from the Apocrypha, though for some time he could not remember where he had met with it, "Look at the generations of old and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded?" (Ecclus. ii. 10.) He probably knew the words from having heard them read in church; but it appears from his account that he had the means by his private study of discovering the source of the quotation.

In the present general neglect of the Apocrypha, young readers require a commentator to explain to them why Shylock should exclaim, "A Daniel come to judgment," or why Milton should describe Raphael as the "affable Archangel;" or as

> "the sociable spirit that deigned
> To travel with Tobias, and secured
> His marriage with the seven-times-wedded maid."

Of those who quote the saying, "Magna est veritas et prævalebit," probably a majority could not tell whence it was derived. Christian names still in use—Susan, Toby, Judith—bear witness to the influence once exercised by the books which bear these names, but which would now be seldom thought of in connection with them, if it were not that pictures have made the stories familiar to many who do not care to study the books themselves.

65. *The Lectionary.*—A somewhat fuller account may now be added of the public and the private reading respectively of these books in the Reformed Church of England. The Lectionary, which in the main continued in use down to the present reign, not only declined to use the two books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses, which are not recognised in the Tridentine Canon, but also with less apparent reason the books of the Maccabees, although they contain information concerning a most interesting period of Jewish history, which might well with advantage have been made popularly known. The remainder of the books were read with scarcely any attempt at curtailment or selection. Among the Puritan complaints in the reign of Elizabeth, objections to the public reading of the Apocrypha had no prominent part. The great anxiety of the objectors was that the time available for the ordinance of preaching should not be encroached on, and therefore their dislike extended to the reading of any fixed Scripture lessons beyond the passages which the officiating minister might choose as the subject of comment. They objected likewise to the use of the Homilies. The futility of their objections was easily shewn by Whitgift and Hooker; but the latter, while shewing the unreasonableness of refusing to submit to the decision of authority in such a matter, allows it to be seen that, according to his private judgment, he would have preferred confining church reading to the canonical Scriptures. At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, the objections made to the Apocrypha lessons did not raise the general question of the propriety of reading non-canonical books, but were only directed against particular passages in the lessons read; and these it was attempted to meet by a revision of the Lectionary. The history of Bel and the Dragon, which had been read as part of the Book of Daniel, was now omitted; and so were also some of the less credible chapters of the Book of Tobit, though with considerable damage to the story. A few of the lessons for instruction in manners were also omitted as not conformed to modern ideas. Thus the writer of the Book of Ecclesiasticus exhibits a very low opinion of the female sex, and this led to the omission of the whole of his 26th chapter in the Prayer Book for 1604. In the revision under

[1] *Grace Abounding*, § 62.

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Charles II. half the 25th chapter was left out besides. A few specimens will sufficiently indicate the reasons for the omission :—"Give me any plague but the plague of the heart, and any wickedness but the wickedness of a woman. . . . All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman : let the portion of a sinner fall upon her. As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man. . . . A woman, if she maintain her husband, is full of anger, impudence, and much reproach." "Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die. Give the water no passage ; neither a wicked woman liberty to gad abroad. If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh, and give her a bill of divorce, and let her go."

66. *Changes in the reign of James I.* —One other of the omissions of 1604 is curious for its leaving out a single verse of a chapter (Ecclus. xlvi. 20), the thing asserted in this verse being the reality of the appearance of Samuel when called up by the Witch of Endor. Although Justin Martyr and some other ancient authorities had explained the prophet's complaint, "Why hast thou disquieted me and brought me up?" by a theory as to authority exercised by evil spirits over souls in the departed state, such a theory was deeply repugnant to the general sense of the Church, which held to the doctrine expressed in the Book of Wisdom : "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them." And so the theory found more favour that the appearance to Saul was a demoniac illusion, in which powers were claimed for the evil spirits which they did not really possess. And this theory is evidently that which was adopted by the revisers.

67. *The Long Parliament.*—During the Long Parliament objections against the use of the Apocrypha became louder. The abolition of Apocrypha lessons was one of the concessions offered in 1641 by the Committee of the House of Lords presided over by Bishop Williams. In a sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1643 the well-known scholar Lightfoot complained of the custom of printing the Apocrypha between the books of the Old and New Testament. "Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between." "Like the two cherubins in the temple-oracle," the end of the Law and the beginning of the Gospel would touch one another, "did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder." He goes on to account for the reception so long given to the Apocrypha as due to the ignorance and superstition of the times, the Talmud being then unknown and the world being ignorant how impious and ridiculous were the doctrines and fables of the Jewish schools. But he wonders that Churches which had cast off the yoke of custom and superstition should do as first ignorance and then superstition had done before them. "It is true they have refused these books out of the Canon, but they have reserved them still in the Bible, as if God should have cast Adam out of the state of happiness, and yet have continued him still in the place of happiness." And he closes with the demand, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman may not be heir with the son of the free."

68. *The Savoy Conference.* — At the Savoy Conference it was asked that the use of Apocrypha lessons should be discontinued, as being inconsistent with the sufficiency of Scripture. To which the bishops replied that the same objection lay against the use of sermons, and that it were much to be wished that all sermons gave as useful instruction as did the chapters selected from the Apocrypha. And in the end, not only were the Apocrypha lessons retained, but the story of Bel and the Dragon, and all but one of the omitted chapters of the Book of Tobit, were restored to the Lectionary. The omission of Apocrypha lessons was one of the concessions contemplated in the abortive attempt made for the comprehension of Dissenters in the reign of William III.

69. *The revised Lectionary of* 1867.—Although the books of the Apocrypha were so largely employed in the Church's Calendar, it was only the week-day

lessons that were thence taken. The Sunday lessons were all taken from the canonical books; and owing to the very general disuse of attendance on week-day services, the consequence has been that there is a large number, perhaps a majority of members of the Church, who have scarcely ever heard a lesson from the Apocrypha. At the revision of the Lectionary by Convocation in 1867, the reading of Apocrypha Lessons was much diminished. The time during which such lessons were read on week-days was reduced from two months to three weeks. All the historical or quasi-historical books were put out of the Lectionary. It has been stated that there had previously been no lessons from the books of Esdras or Maccabees; and now the books of Tobit and Judith, and the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, were also removed. Thus, except that on one morning and one evening lessons are taken from the Book of Baruch, the only books read are Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; and these are not read continuously as before, but are only represented by some short selections. In fact, so small a portion of the apocryphal books has been retained in the present Lectionary that the retention of any would seem intended for little more than an assertion of the Church's right to use these books if she pleases in public reading. This is still more true of the American Church, which entirely discontinued the use of lessons from the Apocrypha on ordinary week-days; but still uses such lessons on two or three holy days. The Irish Church on its last revision of the Lectionary has not even retained so much as this.

70. *The Church's practice as to the public reading of uninspired books has been always determined by considerations of expediency.*—It must be owned that the English Church and its different branches have, with respect to the public use of the Apocrypha, departed a good deal not only from the practice of the ancient Church, but even from its own earlier practice since the Reformation. But it must be remembered that the public use of uninspired writings is a matter on which the Church has always used her liberty of change, according as expediency and regard for the edification of her children suggest. In the very early Church the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, and other writings were publicly read; but this use was afterwards so completely discontinued that these writings almost ceased to be copied, so that they have had a narrow escape of being lost to our time. One of these books, indeed, the Revelation of St. Peter, has almost entirely perished. In some cases the cause of the disuse of the public reading of books has been jealousy for the honour of Scripture, and a fear lest uninspired books should be placed in the minds of the people on the same level. It was this fear which led to the exclusion of some of the books which have been just named, while no scruple was felt as to the reading of acts of martyrdom or letters of living bishops, to which no inspired authority was likely to be attached. And no doubt the fact that the books of the Apocrypha have been set by the Church of Rome on exactly the same level as the canonical books has led many Protestants to desire that no possible countenance should be given to such an estimate of them by the public reading of the Church. But there are quite different reasons why compositions which at one period can be read with the greatest advantage, "for example of life and instruction of manners," cannot be used with equal advantage at another. The best sermons of the great preachers of former days, if now read without alteration or adaptation, would be found to tend little to edification. If there is one Article of the Church of England which commends the books of the Apocrypha as useful to be read, "for example of life and instruction of manners," there is another Article which commends the two books of the Homilies as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times; and which judges them "to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded by the people." And yet it may be doubted whether during the whole course of the year all over the kingdom a single homily is now so read. And it is not that the clergy who thus disregard the Church's recommendation have ex-

amined the Homilies and formed an unfavourable opinion of their teaching; but simply that they believe that more modern lessons can be delivered to the people with greater probability of edification. In former times some deemed it inexpedient to read lessons from the Apocrypha, lest the people should learn to look on these books with too much reverence: the late revisers of the English Lectionary had to take into account quite the opposite danger; namely, lest it might be inexpedient to read that towards which many of the people might be contemptuously disposed. Thus, for example, as long as the Book of Tobit was accepted as containing a history substantially true, it could be read with edification for the sake of the lessons of piety and charity which it conveys. But if the bulk of the hearers would be likely to take offence at the absurdity of the fable, it might be prudent to give useful lessons in a less questionable form.

71. *The Book of Ecclesiasticus.* — Similar considerations justify the large excisions from the Book of Ecclesiasticus made by the late revisers of the English Lectionary. The whole book may be read in private with great interest and advantage. It contains the wise counsels of a shrewd and pious Jew of former times, and the reader takes no offence even though some of his advice may be out of date and not adapted to our present circumstances. But it is different if the same things are read out as a sermon intended for the immediate edification of the hearers. If, indeed, these hearers have been trained to regard the lessons as possessing some kind of inspired authority, they may listen to all with undiscriminating reverence. But if the hearers regard what is read as a human sermon by no means above their criticism, there are some things from which they would be likely to dissent; other things which would provoke a smile and tend to disturb the attitude of deferential attention with which it is desirable Church Lessons should be listened to. Mention has already been made of this preacher's low opinion of the female sex, expressions of which break out continually. "From garments," he says, "cometh a moth, and from women wickedness" (xlii. 13). He describes the perpetual anxiety which the care of a daughter entails on her father. "The father waketh for the daughter, when no man knoweth; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated: in her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in her father's house; and having an husband, lest she should misbehave herself; and when she is married, lest she should be barren." The following is shrewd advice, but scarcely what one would expect to receive in church: "Give not thy son and wife, thy brother and friend, power over thee while thou livest, and give not thy goods to another, lest it repent thee, and thou entreat for the same again. As long as thou livest and hast breath in thee, give not thyself over to any. Far better it is that thy children should seek to thee than that thou shouldest stand to their courtesy." Still more wanting in dignity is the advice to guests at a feast. "If thou sit at a bountiful table, be not greedy upon it, and say not, There is much meat on it . . . Judge of thy neighbour by thyself: and be discreet in every point. Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated. Leave off first for manners' sake; and be not unsatiable, lest thou offend. When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all. A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured, and he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed. Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early, and his wits are with him: but the pain of watching, and choler, and pangs of the belly, are with an unsatiable man. And if thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest." It would be too long to quote other excellent advice about the choice of friends and about the lending of money: for example, "Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; but if thou lendest him, count it but lost." "Consult not with a fool; for he cannot keep counsel." "Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn.'

And the contrast is amusing which the preacher draws between the wisdom of the learned man who devotes his life to the knowledge of the law and the limited attainments of those whose time must be mainly occupied with the business of their craft. "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?"

72. *The Apocrypha unlikely to regain its former place in public reading.*—These few examples sufficiently illustrate the need of selection and excision, if it is desired that lessons from one of the most instructive books of the Apocrypha shall be listened to with serious reverence by ordinary congregations of the present day. And it becomes apparent that the use of this literature for purposes of public instruction is never likely to become as great as it was in the ancient Church, especially now that the very much increased use of preaching has provided such an abundance of sermons more likely to deal with the immediate wants of the people than anything written by a homilist of former days.

§ IX. The Value of the Apocrypha for private use.

73. *Undue neglect of the Apocrypha.*—But the difficulties which may be felt as to the public reading of the apocryphal books do not at all affect the private study of these books; and it must be pronounced not quite creditable to our people that, in the reaction against the claim for the Apocrypha books of inspired authority, they have permitted themselves to become so very generally completely ignorant of books which God's providence has for so many centuries employed for the instruction of His Church. There are many, even of those who would not like to be pronounced ill informed in theological knowledge, with whom the whole history of the Jewish nation is almost a blank for the 400 years from the close of the Old Testament Canon to the birth of our Saviour. What training the nation had received in order to fit them for the reception of the further revelation which our Lord was to communicate they have never cared to inquire. Yet the Apocrypha contains evidence that, in the later times to which it belongs, the doctrine of a future life had taken hold of the people as it had not done earlier. The third part of the Homily on the Fear of Death offers proofs of the belief in a future life held by "the holy fathers of the old Law;" but these proofs are taken exclusively from the Book of Wisdom. And it would not be possible to replace the two passages from that book selected as the lessons for All Saints' Day, by two other Old Testament chapters expressing the same belief with equal distinctness.

74. *The New Testament writers exhibit acquaintance with the Apocrypha.*—Again, can there be a matter of greater interest than to know what books our Lord and His Apostles are likely to have used, what literature they may have read which may at times have influenced their language or their trains of thought? Admirers of Shakespeare at the present day have tried to form a Shakespearian library: that is to say, a collection of the books which their favourite poet is likely to have used; very justly believing that, by a comparison of his works with these his sources of information, they will be better able to appreciate his genius. And though, in the case of the New Testament writers, the inspired books of the Old Testament were certainly the main subject of their study,—and therefore the knowledge of these books is to us the most important aid for understanding the New Testament,—yet the question is an important one, Did the Apostles and Evangelists read anything else besides the Scriptures? and if they did, may not the knowledge of this literature afford a useful subsidiary help to the full understanding of the sacred volume? The New Testament writers not only never quote the apocryphal books with the authority of Scripture, but they never make any direct reference or allusion to anything which these books relate. Yet there are

unmistakeable coincidences of language which make it plain that these books were not altogether unknown to them. Several instances will be found in the references given in the notes of the following commentary, and we can only here give by way of illustration what does not pretend to be an exhaustive list.[1]

With respect to these parallels, it must be observed that though it is always to a certain extent precarious to infer literary obligation from mere similarities of expressions; yet if we have independent knowledge that one writer was acquainted with the works of another, then we are justified in pronouncing it to be less probable that both independently should chance to hit on the same ideas or forms of expression than that the earlier writer should have suggested them to the later. The books we know as Apocrypha are nearly all earlier than the New Testament writers, who could not well have been ignorant of them; and therefore coincidences between the former and the latter are not likely to have been the result of mere accident. On this account we have allowed several coincidences to stand in the list which, separately considered, have little force as proofs of literary obligation.

75. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*—The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews habitually used the Greek Bible, and beyond doubt exhibits acquaintance with the disputed books. In the very opening of the Epistle (i. 3), the phrase "brightness of his glory" (*ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*) recalls a similar expression in the Book of Wisdom (vii. 26, *ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου*). In both cases we have the rare word *πολυμερής* in close neighbourhood (Wisdom vii. 22; Heb. i. 1). Other coincidences with the same book are Heb. iv. 12, 13 = Wisd. vii. 22–24; Heb. viii. 2, 9, 11 = Wisd. ix. 8; the description of temporal sufferings as *παιδεία*, Heb. xii. 6–11 = Wisd. iii. 5; *τόπος μετανοίας*, Heb. xii. 17 = Wisd. xii. 10; *ἔκβασις*, Heb. xiii. 7 = Wisd. ii. 17. It may be regarded also as put beyond doubt by several verbal coincidences that in the close of the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews reference is made to the martyrdoms in the times of the Maccabees. Thus *ἐτυμπανίσθησαν* (xi. 35) seems plainly to refer to *ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον προσῆγε* (2 Macc. vi. 19, 28); the word *ἐμπαιγμῶν* (xi. 36) is found also 2 Macc. vii. 7, 10; and for the hope of a "better resurrection" which animated the martyrs, see 2 Macc. vii. 9.

76. *St. James.* — St. James, in his Epistle, has many coincidences with books of the Apocrypha, one of the most striking of which is, "Be swift to hear, and with patience give answer" (Ecclus. v. 11; compare James i. 19, also Ecclus. xx. 7). What is said about the tongue (Ecclus. xxviii.) ought to be compared with the corresponding passage in James iii. In particular the use of the word *φλογίζω* (James iii. 6) seems to have been suggested by Ecclus. v. 22; and "out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing," by v. 12. The following other parallels between St. James's Epistle and the Book of Ecclesiasticus have been enumerated by Dean Plumptre:—

James i.	5 =	Ecclus.	xx. 15, xli. 22.
,,	i. 8 =	,,	i. 28, ii. 12.
,,	i. 12 =	,,	i. 11, 16, 18.
,,	i. 12 =	,,	xv. 11.
,,	i. 23 =	,,	xii. 11.
,,	i. 25 =	,,	xiv. 23, xxi. 23.
,,	v. 7 =	,,	vi. 19.

Dean Plumptre has also given a table of coincidences between St. James and the Book of Wisdom, as follows:—

James i.	11 =	Wisd.	ii. 8.
,,	i. 12 =	,,	v. 7.
,,	i. 17 =	,,	vii. 17–20.
,,	i. 20 =	,,	xii. 10.
,,	i. 23 =	,,	vii. 26.
,,	ii. 13–16 =	Wisd.	vi. 6, 24, &c.
,,	ii. 21 =	Wisd.	x. 5.
,,	iv. 14 =	,,	iii. 16, v. 9–14.
,,	v. 6 =	,,	ii. 12.

Bleek adds the use of the word *ὀνειδίζειν* with reference to benefits conferred (James i. 5; Ecclus. xviii. 18, xx. 15, xli. 28); the thought that God tempteth not to evil (James i. 13; Ecclus. xv. 11); for the Wisdom that descendeth from above (James iii. 15; Ecclus. vii. 25, &c.).

77. *St. Peter.*—Again, the opening of St. Peter's first Epistle (i. 6, 7) has many verbal coincidences with Wisd. iii. 5, 7, where also *ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν* may be compared with 1 Pet. ii. 12.

And St. Paul.—Of St. Paul's acquaintance with the Apocrypha perhaps the

[1] A long list of coincidences will be found in an article by Bleek (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1853).

most striking illustrations are obtained from the parallels between his description of the Christian armour (Eph. vi.) and a similar description, Wisd. v. 18–20; and between the illustration of the potter (Rom. ix. 21) and the same illustration, Wisd. xv. 7. What is said (Rom. ix. 22) about God's "long-suffering" with the vessels of wrath has a parallel in Wisd. xii. 20. The whole section, Rom. i. 20–32, has close affinities with thoughts in the Book of Wisdom; compare Rom. i. 20, Wisd. xiii. 1. See also Wisd. xiii. 8, xiv. 21. Other parallels are—

Rom. ii. 4	=	Wisd. xv. 1.
,, xi. 32	=	,, xi. 24.
1 Cor. vi. 2	=	,, iii. 8.
2 Cor. v. 4	=	,, ix. 15.
1 Thess. iv. 13	=	,, iii. 18.

For the combination χάρις καὶ ἔλεος, 1 Tim. i. 2, see Wisd. iii. 9, iv. 15. Coincidences with the Book of Ecclesiasticus have been found:

Rom. ii. 5–11	=	Ecclus. xxxii. 15, &c.
,, xii. 15	=	,, vii. 35.
1 Cor. vi. 12, 13	=	,, xxxvii. 28, xxxvi. 20.
2 Cor. vii. 10	=	,, xxx. 21, 23, xxxviii. 18.

78. *St. John.*—The prologue of St. John's Gospel has affinities with the thoughts in Wisdom, chaps. vii.–ix. Compare especially Wisd. viii. 3, ix. 1. The Johannine phrase "signs and wonders," σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, iv. 48, is found in Wisd. viii. 8, x. 16. Other parallels are John iii. 14 = Wisd. xvi. 5; John iii. 12 = Wisd. ix. 16; John xvii. 3 = Wisd. xv. 1. One passage of Ecclesiasticus presents a coincidence striking but perhaps accidental, οἱ ἐσθίοντες με ἔτι πεινάσουσι, καὶ οἱ πίνοντές με ἔτι διψήσουσι, xxiv. 21; John vi. 35. The phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, 1 John ii. 17, is found Wisd. v. 17; and the ἄξια γὰρ εἰσι of the Apocalypse (iii., iv., xvi. 6) may have been suggested by Wisd. iii. 5.[1]

The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus[2] are those of which we find the most distinct traces in New Testament writers; but one passage in the Book of Tobit bears on the interesting question whether any before our Lord had enunciated the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." For the rule as stated in this comprehensive positive form no earlier authority can be produced, but we find it in the negative form (Tobit iv. 15), "Do that to no man which thou hatest."

79. *Claims of the Apocrypha arising from its long-continued use in the Christian Church.*—Finally, it has been always the study of the Church of England to maintain continuity with the ancient Church. We use in our public worship no new-fangled forms of prayer, but make our petitions often in the very words which for centuries the Church has employed. We count the holy men of the earlier Church as ours, and we read their writings with edification. It cannot therefore be without interest for us to be acquainted with books to which so many divines of the earlier Church attributed high authority, and from which they drew many illustrations. It is this Christian use of the Apocrypha which accounts for the limitation of the contents of the present volumes. The writings included in them are not the only pre-Christian writings which may be studied with advantage in order to trace the religious progress of the Jewish people. Some materials for the study have indeed only recently come to light. The Book of Enoch has special claims on our attention; and there are some of the so-called Sibylline verses which are certainly pre-Christian, and which may be used to illustrate the history of Messianic expectations. But though a larger collection of Jewish apocrypha would certainly not be without interest, it would be hard to keep it within moderate limits; and whatever acceptance other apocrypha may have met with in Jewish circles, the books included in the present volumes have enjoyed a consideration in the Christian Church to which no others can lay claim.

[1] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, p. 30.

[2] See the Introduction to the Book of Ecclesiasticus in this edition.

Note on the Syriac Versions of the Books of the Apocrypha.

The following Note on the Syriac versions of the books of the Apocrypha has been contributed by the Rev. Dr. Gwynn:—

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1. *The Apocrypha in the Peshitto.*—It is a remarkable fact that, though the Peshitto Version of the Old Testament is (as regards the canonical Books) unquestionably rendered in the main from the Hebrew direct, every existing MS. of that version which makes the least approach to being a complete Old Testament contains most of the Apocrypha of the Greek. This is so alike in the oldest MS., which is of the 6th century, and in the latest (not including very recent transcripts made for European use), which is of the 17th. Even the smaller collections of O. T. writings which some MSS. exhibit shew this same feature. A volume of the Prophets usually gives Baruch with Jeremiah, and with Daniel its Greek interpolations. A 'Book of Women' always joins Susanna and Judith with Ruth and Esther. Moreover, in the Syrian order, which differs both from the Hebrew and the Greek, these Apocrypha are most of them classified with the rest according to their contents, and not relegated to an inferior place in any Syriac MS., but rather placed higher than is usual in Greek MSS. Thus, in the oldest and best Syriac Old Testament, the Ambrosian (Cod. B. 21 *inf.*), which is of the 6th century, the Book of Wisdom follows Proverbs and stands before Ecclesiastes and Canticles. The whole arrangement of the O. T. in this MS. is worthy of observation. The earlier Books (omitting only Ruth) are placed as in our Bibles, except that Job (as written by Moses) follows the Pentateuch, and (on the same principle) the Psalms follow the Books of Samuel, and the writings of Solomon (as above, including Wisdom) follow the Books of Kings. Next come the Prophets,—Isaiah, Jeremiah (with Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, *two* "Epistles of Baruch"), Ezekiel, the twelve Minor Prophets, and lastly Daniel (including the Prayer and Song of the Three Children, and with Bel and the Dragon appended); then the Book of Women,—viz. Ruth, Susanna, Esther, and Judith;[1] then Ecclesiasticus, the Books of Chronicles, the (otherwise unknown) "Apocalypse of Baruch"; then the Book known in English as 2 Esdras (in Latin 4 Esdras), which is here 1 Esdras; then the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah; and lastly, five Books of Maccabees, of which the first two are those given in the English Bible, the third is that which is found in most Greek MSS. of the LXX., the fourth is the history of Eleazar and Samona, ascribed to Josippus or Josephus, and the fifth is Josephus's 'De Bello Jud.,' bk. vi.

This order is in great measure followed in all the later MSS. of the Syriac O. T., as for example in the two very recent copies, now in the Bodleian Library, which Walton used for his Polyglot, both of the 17th century (viz. "Poc.," now Poc. 391; and "Uss.," now Bodl. Or. 141), dated respectively 1614 and 1627.[1] The latter of these differs from the order of the Ambrosian MS., in the earlier part, only in (1) omitting the Psalms altogether, (2) placing Chronicles next after Kings, and (3) giving Wisdom the last place among Solomon's writings. But it then proceeds to divide the Book of Women into two, placing Ruth and Susanna next to Solomon and before the Prophets, while Esther and Judith follow the Prophets. Among the Prophets, the twelve Minor come next after Isaiah; then Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel (Jeremiah and Daniel having the same apocryphal matter attached as in the ancient codex). After Judith follow the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, then Ecclesiasticus, and *four* Books of Maccabees. As a supple-

[1] The 'Book of Women' is sometimes found in Syriac collections as a separate volume. It is remarkable that two ancient Nitrian copies of this book (Brit. Mus. Add. 14,652, and 14,447) subjoin as a fifth book to the four above named, 'The History of Thecla,' being a very early Syriac version of the extant Greek 'Acts of Paul and Thecla.' The former of these two MSS. is of the 6th century—at least 400 years older than any existing Greek copy of these 'Acts,' and is thus the earliest known authority for their text.

[1] It is worth while to note here that the Cambridge MS., Ll. 2. 4 (formerly the property of Erpenius), cited as "Cant." in Walton's Polyglot, is wrongly described in his 'Prolegg.' xiii. (p. 89) as containing "Prophetas majores et libros *omnes* qui vulgo Apocryphi dicuntur." No Syrian, unless under Western influences, would so segregate the apocryphal books. The only parts of the Apocrypha contained in this MS. are the additions to Daniel in ch. iii., and Bel and the Dragon.

ment, the Book called in English Bibles "1 Esdras" (Greek 3 Esdras), and Tobit, are appended, each headed, "according to the Septuagint." Almost the same description applies to "Poc.," except that the Prophets are removed to the end, so that the four books of Women come together. In this copy there is a note at the end explaining that the Psalms are omitted merely because separate copies of that book are commonly to be met with. The great Cambridge MS. of the Syriac Bible, Oo. 1. 7, which is intermediate in age between the Ambrosian and the Bodleian copies, agrees substantially with the latter in its canon and arrangement of the books of the Old Testament.

It appears then that the early Peshitto Old Testament contained all the Books which form the English Apocrypha, except 1 [3] Esdras and perhaps Tobit, the apocryphal Additions to Esther, and the Prayer of Manasses, which also are wanting. In the more recent copies Tobit and 1 Esdras are supplied—the former partly, the latter wholly—from a later version. In this respect, as well as in the partial alteration of the order of the books, these copies shew signs of Western influences. Notably "Uss.," the later of the two Bodleian copies, was copied in 1627 at the order of Thomas Davis, a resident at Aleppo, for Archbishop Ussher, from a MS. belonging to the Patriarch of the Lebanon[1] in the Maronite Convent of Kanôbin, several years after the time when the authority of the See of Rome had become paramount within the Maronite Church. Western influences probably account likewise for the omission from the later MSS. of part of the additional apocryphal matter found in the earliest, viz. the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the book which stands as 5 Maccabees. But it is probable that neither of these books ever attained a permanent place among the Syriac pseudepigrapha. The third and fourth Books of Maccabees, however, held their ground; and so does the Book styled "First Epistle of Baruch," standing before the Baruch of the LXX. which is reckoned "second" to it.[1]

2. *The Apocrypha in the Syro-Hexaplar Version.*—The later Syriac version of the O. T., known as the Syro-Hexaplar, follows (so far as its existing remains enable us to judge) the text and arrangement of Origen scrupulously. It is known to have been made by Paul of Tella in Mesopotamia, a Jacobite bishop, at Alexandria, about the year A.D. 616–17. The former half of it is extant only in portions; the latter half is complete in another Ambrosian MS. (C. 313 *inf.*), of 8th century, and contains most of the apocryphal Books (all that are classed as poetical or prophetical), in their usual Greek order. The books of the Apocrypha wanting from this MS. are thus the quasi-historical ones: Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Esdras, the Maccabees, the Greek additions to Esther, to which is to be added the Prayer of Manasses. But a MS., now lost, which was in the possession of Andreas Masius in the 16th century, apparently containing exactly the books which are wanting to the Ambrosian, included Tobit; and the extracts from it printed by him in his 'Syrorum Peculium,' when compared with the earlier chapters of Tobit printed by Walton in his Polyglot from his 17th century MSS., identify these chapters as part of the Syro-Hexaplar Version. And the 1 [3] Esdras of the same Polyglot, derived from the same MSS., is similarly identified as Syro-Hexaplar by comparison with extracts from that version contained in a MS. collection of the 8th century (Brit. Mus. Add. 12,163). In both these Books, the internal evidence of the manner and diction entirely confirms this identification, agreeing perfectly with the other Books as rendered by Paul of Tella. No doubt the Book of Judith and the Maccabees (three Books) were comprised in this version, and also the Additions

[1] See Elrington's 'Life of Ussher,' Letter 125; and Payne Smith's 'Catalogus' of the Syrian MSS. in the Bodleian Library, p. 10. Walton (*ut supr.*) wrongly describes this MS. as copied from one in the possession of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

[1] For other MSS. of the Syriac O. T. containing the apocryphal books, see Rosen-Forshall's 'Catalogue' of the Syriac MSS. of the British Museum (pp. 3–7); Wright's 'Catalogue' (pp. 1–3); and Zotenberg's of those belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (pp. 1, 2).

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to Esther, and probably the Prayer of Manasses; but there is no reason to suppose that 2 Esdras was known to Origen or translated by Paul.

The Psalter in this version includes the apocryphal Ps. 151, which has passed hence into many Syriac Psalters. It is printed in the Paris and London Polyglots.

3. *Printed editions of the Syriac Apocrypha.*—The first printed edition of the Syriac O. T. is that contained in the Paris Polyglot of Le Jay (1645). It included, of our Apocrypha, only Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1 Maccabees, the Prayer (but not the Song) of the Three Children, and Bel and the Dragon, together with Ps. cli., and the above-mentioned "Epistle of Baruch" which is not found in Greek, distinguished as "the *first* Epistle." Walton, in the London Polyglot (1657), by the aid of Ussher's and Pococke's MSS., supplied all the wanting books, except 2 Esdras, the supplement to Esther, and the Prayer of Manasses; and also added the Third Book of Maccabees. Thus this edition gives two "Epistles of Baruch." It also gives two distinct recensions of Susanna, of which fuller particulars are added below.

The apocryphal Books as given in Walton have been reprinted, with emendations and various readings, by Lagarde (Leipzig and London, 1861).

The Ambrosian Peshitto MS. above mentioned (B. 21 *inf.*) has been published by Dr. Ceriani in photolithographic reproduction.

The Ambrosian Syro-Hexaplar MS. (C. 313 *inf.*) has also been issued by him in similar form. But no book of the Apocrypha in this version has been printed except Ps. cli., as already mentioned, Baruch (see below), and the Greek additions to Daniel, which are included in Bugati's 'Daniel Syriacè' (Milan, 1788), —also 1 Esdras and Tobit (see below).

4. *Notes on the several books of the Apocrypha in the Syriac Versions.*—Subjoined are a few additional notes on the Syriac versions of the Apocrypha, taking the books in their English order :—

1. 1 Esdras. This Book not being included in the Paris Polyglot, Walton's edition of it, based on the two MSS. above noted, is the first. It is also found in the Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 704, and in the great Cambridge copy, Oo. i. 17.

2. 2 Esdras. Contained only in the Milan MS. as above, but wanting the first two and last two chapters. This Book has been printed by Dr. Ceriani in 'Monumenta Sacra et Profana,' tom. v. fasc. i. p. 45.

3. All that is said above concerning MSS. and edition of 1 Esdras applies equally to Tobit. The text as we have it is Hexaplar down to ch. vii. 11; but the rest is of an earlier version.

4. For Judith, see above.

5. The apocryphal additions to Esther do not seem to exist in any Syriac MS. of either version.

6. Wisdom. Is headed in Cod. Ambr., 'The latter Book of the Great Wisdom;' in Uss., 'Book of the Great Wisdom, as to which it is doubtful whether it was written by Solomon or by some of the Hebrew wise men under his name.' But at the end we read, "Here ends the Great Wisdom of Solomon son of David king of Israel."

7. Ecclesiasticus. Deviates considerably from the Greek, as does also Wisdom;—both seeming as if they followed a different recension from any now known in Greek.

8. Baruch (including Ep. of Jeremy). The Peshitto version offers no points of note; but the Hexaplar is remarkable as having marginal readings marked as from Theodotion, which fact seems to imply the existence of a Hebrew original for the Book. This latter version has been printed by Dr. Ceriani in his 'Monumenta S. et P.,' tom. i. fasc. 1. The Syriac "1st Epistle of Baruch" is quite distinct. It is not found in Greek, and seems to have been extracted from the "Apocalypse of Baruch" (mentioned above among the contents of the Ambrosian Peshitto), in which it is found with immaterial variations; or perhaps that Apocalypse may have been a later work in which this Epistle was incorporated.

9. Song of the Three Children. This stands, in both versions, as part of Daniel iii. The older version substantially agrees with that of Theodotion as usually given in Greek Bibles. The later version is literally rendered from the Origenian (so-called Septuagint) version, as given in Cod. Chisianus. This agreement extends through the whole of Daniel, canonical or apocryphal; and the subscription of the Chisian Greek copy is word for word the same as that of this Syriac —"Written from the Tetrapla, whence also it was collated." As regards this Song, and the Prayer preceding, the two Greek texts agree closely, except in verses 22–25, 46–51, where the Tetraplar Greek, and the Syriac following it, are fuller.

10. Susanna. The case of this Book is peculiar. Not only is there a Tetraplar text,

given in Cod. Chis. and rendered in the version of Paul, distinct from that of Theodotion, but there is a double Syriac text, which must be (in part at least) of great antiquity. From the MS. noted by Walton "Poc.," he printed in his Polyglot two versions of this Book,—the first (also contained in his "Uss.") following pretty closely on Theodotion's text, the second varying from it not merely in language but in substance, to such a degree as to amount to a distinct recension. And, to add to the complication, the ancient text of the Ambrosian MS. seems to be a compromise between the two: for while its first 40 verses agree with the first of the two given by Walton from "Poc.," the next 10 partly agree and partly disagree with both; and from *v.* 51 to end it gives the text of Walton's second version. This version appears to be a later recension than the former, adding many details, and expanding considerably (in the latter part, though not in the earlier). Dr. Westcott's opinion that the Susanna and Bel and the Dragon of Theodotion are marked by "improvements in style and language" on the LXX. (Chisian) version, and "contain large additions which complete and embellish the story,"[1] is very open to question, and the contrary opinion might well be maintained. But that the second Syriac version of Susanna is an embellished and enlarged recension of that of Theodotion, or of an older original underlying Theodotion, seems certain. This second version is headed in "Poc.," the "Harkleian;" and some have therefore ascribed it to Paul of Tella's contemporary, Thomas of Harkel, the retranslator of the New Testament into Syriac. But the internal evidence is quite against this. The version bears no trace of the mannerism of Thomas, whose aim it was (like that of Paul) to force the Syriac into artificial conformity with the Greek. And the fact above noted, that part of this version is found in the Ambrosian Peshitto, is conclusive on the same side; for that MS. was written in the 6th century, whereas Thomas is known to have made his version of the New Testament in 616.

[1] Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 396.

The chief points peculiar to this second recension are:—(1) Daniel is *twelve years* old [*vv.* 1, 45]. (2) Helcana (in Hexapl. Chelcias), Susanna's father, is a *priest* [*v.* 2]. (3) She has withdrawn from *conjugal relations* with Joakim her husband [*v.* 4]. (4) The *synagogue* is held *in their house* [*ib.*]. (5) The elders are *named* Amid and Abid [*v.* 5]. (6) They are usually styled "*rulers of the synagogue*" [*v.* 16 and *passim*; once, "*chief priests*," *v.* 41], whereas in the other versions they are mostly described as "elders," which title in this recension is found only in *vv.* 51, 54. (7) Their *resort to Joakim's house* is thus accounted for [*v.* 6]. (8) The *accusation* is laid *before* "*the synagogue*" [*v.* 28 and throughout] in this and the Hexaplar; but in the other version, before "the people," except in *v.* 41. (9) She is *chained* [*v.* 27]. (10) After *three days* she is brought to trial [*v.* 28], not on the same day, as in the other versions. (11) Sentence is passed at the *ninth hour* [*v.* 41]. (12) She is to be *stoned* [*ib.*]. (13) Daniel declares himself a *prophet* [*v.* 48]. (14) *A chair* is brought for him from the Treasury, but he declines to sit [*vv.* 50, 51]. (15) The *names of the trees* differ from those given in the former version, and the Hexaplar differs from both [*vv.* 54, 58]. (16) The *invidious contrast* drawn in the other versions, especially in the ordinary one, between the daughters of Judah and those of Israel, is left out [*v.* 57]. (17) The concluding sentence, concerning *Daniel's growing fame*, is much enlarged [*v.* 64].

Of these points the first and last look like the result of a Christian rehandling (cp St. Luke ii. 42, 52). Possibly the same may be said of the third, which savours of the asceticism of some sects of the early Church.

The age of *twelve* is assigned to Daniel by Ignatius, 'Ad Magn.' iii.; and by Sulpicius Severus, 'Hist. Sacra,' ii. 1.

11. BEL AND THE DRAGON. See last.

12. PRAYER OF MANASSES. Is found in a Paris MS. (Anc. fonds 2, Biblioth. Nat.) See Zotenberg's 'Catal.' p. 5. It seems never to have been printed.

13, 14. 1 and 2 MACCABEES. See above.

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APOCRYPHA.

THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Title and Reception of the Work.

THE name and position assigned to this book have varied at different times. In our Authorized Version, as in the Genevan which preceded it, it is called the 'First Book of Esdras,' and is placed at the head of the Apocryphal Books. But in the list inserted in the sixth Article, it is called the 'Third Book of Esdras.' This difference corresponds, in the main, to that observed in the arrangement of the Greek and Latin Bibles respectively. In the former, as it may be well to remark at the outset, by 'First Esdras' is denoted the present Apocryphal Book, and by 'Second of Esdras' our canonical Ezra and Nehemiah together.

It will be convenient to trace briefly the changes in name and order, as they appear (*a*) in the oldest MSS., (*b*) in early Versions, (*c*) in lists of Councils, (*d*) in printed editions.

(*a.*) In what was believed by its discoverer to be the most ancient MS. of the Greek Bible known, the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, and Sinaiticus,[1] it is not found, but apparently so only through the fault of a transcriber. The error is so singular a one as to deserve noticing in some detail. The part of the MS. known as the Friderico-Augustanus begins with the quire numbered λϵ (35), and bears at the top of the first page the heading ϵϲΔρΔϲ ß, or 'Second Book of Esdras.' But, instead of containing this book, the first four leaves, down to line 26 of the fourth column on leaf 4 *verso*, are filled with a portion of the First Book of Chronicles, xi. 22—xix. 17. In the middle of that line, without any break or division whatever,[1] the text passes on to Ezra ix. 9, and is continued to the end of the canonical Ezra. The book we call Nehemiah then succeeds, with no more break than

[1] The first name was given by Dr. Tischendorf to the detached portion, consisting of 43 leaves, discovered by him in 1844, and published in facsimile in 1846. The rest of the MS., not obtained till 1859, was called Sinaiticus. The peculiar defect, referred to in the text, is noticed in the Prolegomena to the Cod. Frid.-Aug., p. 14; and also in Westcott's 'Bible in the Church,' App. B, p. 307.

[1] How abrupt and unexpected the transition is, can hardly be understood, except by a transcript of the actual lines :—

ΔϹΔΔΔΚΔΙΕΠΟΛϵ
ΔΔΗϹΕΠΔΤΤΟΠΚϹ

where the last word, ΚϹ (*κύριος*), is a word in the middle of Ezra ix. 9.

that of a single line. A note in a later hand, at the foot of the fourth column of this leaf 4 *verso*, calls attention to the error of "the seven leaves which are redundant and are not of Esdras." Of these seven, five can now be accounted for, by the first four of the Codex Frid.-Aug. itself, and one leaf of Codex Sinait., containing 1 Chr. ix. 27—xi. 22, which must have stood next before it; and further, by counting the lines requisite to fill the given space, it may be inferred that the first leaf must have begun at some point in 1 Chron. vi. Had the seven leaves, on the other hand, been filled with their proper matter, reckoning back from Ezra ('2 Esdras') ix. 9 at line 26 of leaf 4 *verso*, and assuming 1 Esdras to precede, the first of those leaves would have begun about 1 Esdras viii. By observing that each of these passages, 1 Esdras viii. 1 and 1 Chron. vi. 4, begins a genealogical list, it has been ingeniously conjectured that the scribe who made the mistake "had been led, on reaching the pedigree of Ezra in 1 Esdras viii. 1, to refer back to the genealogy of the High Priests down to the Captivity given in 1 Chron. vi. 4–15, and then inadvertently proceeded to transcribe that passage and what followed;" thus filling the seven leaves after 1 Esdras vii. with a repetition of part of 1 Chronicles.[1] It may thus be fairly presumed that in the archetype from which Cod. Sinait. was immediately derived there was a quire or roll containing 1 Esdras viii. 1—Ezra ix. 9; instead of which portion the transcriber inserted the passage of 1 Chron. equivalent in amount; and then, taking up the section he would have come to, if right, went on so blindly as to make the transition from 1 Chron. xix. 17 to Ezra ix. 9 in the same line, and without the least hint of any dislocation. In any case, the presence of the title 'Esdras B' may be taken as indicating the existence of an 'Esdras A.'

[1] For the conclusion thus drawn I am indebted to the Rev. John Gwynn, D.D., Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin, who has also most courteously allowed me to enrich this first section of the Introduction with several other notes prepared by him

In the Vatican MS. (Cod. B) the book is found as 'Esdras A,' and is followed by 'Esdras B,' that is, our Ezra and Nehemiah together; the division between these two latter books being indicated by no more than a small space in the same line.[1] The three stand between Chronicles and Tobit. In the Alexandrine MS. (Cod. A) 1 Esdras is found under the heading of ΟΙΕΡΕΥC (ὁ ἱερεύς, "The Priest"), but subscribed ΕΖΡΑC Α. It is followed, as in the former instance, by ΕΖΡΑC Β (Ezra and Nehemiah), having this title for subscription, but headed ὁ ἱερεύς, as the previous book was. The three stand between Judith and Maccabees. The division between the two parts of 'Esdras B' is here also marked by no more than the beginning of a fresh line.[2] It will thus be seen that in two of the three great MSS. the book is found, without anything to distinguish it, in point of canonicity, from the rest; and that in the remaining one, or rather in its archetype, there is clear evidence to shew that it once was present.[3]

(*b.*) In the Peshito, or old Syriac Version, the book was not found, so far as can be judged from the earliest extant copies. It appears, indeed, in Syriac in Walton's Polyglott, 1657, but had no place in that of Gabriel Sionita (Paris, 1645), the Syriac text of which is the basis of Bishop Walton's.[4] Walton himself does not clearly state from what source the Syriac text he prints is drawn;[5] but a Syriac note translated

[1] This is shewn in the facsimile of Vercellone and Cozza, p. 607 (of MS.), col. 1.

[2] Thanks to the photographed facsimile edited by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, the student can now turn over what are all but the actual leaves of the venerable MS. itself. 'Esdras A' ends in it on the reverse of leaf 172 (=447).

[3] A list of the later Greek MSS. containing 1 Esdras is given in Fritzsche's 'Einleitung,' § 8, on the authority of Holmes and Parsons.

[4] See Scrivener's Plain Introduction (1883), p. 315.

[5] In his Proleg. § xiii., p. 89, 'De lingua Syriaca,' &c., he speaks of having had the help of four Syriac MSS.,—two lent by Archbishop Ussher; one by Pococke; and the last, "the most ancient of all," belonging to the University of Cambridge. Walton describes this as containing all the Apocrypha, but in reality it contains only the Additions to Daniel. A con-

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by him at the beginning of the version states that it was made "ex traditione LXX."[1] It has, however, been ascertained that it is not in the Ambrosian MS. of the Peshito, one of the oldest and best extant; although that MS., curiously enough, contains 2nd (4th) Esdras. And, what is more important than this merely negative evidence, it has been discovered that the Syriac Version in question is taken from the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella (A.D. 616).[2] "It is cited as his," adds Dr. Gwynn, to whom I owe this information, "in one of the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum (Add. 12,168), written in the 8th century. And the fact that Paul included it in his version is a strong presumption that it was admitted by Origen as part of the LXX." It is in keeping with this that we find in Origen a quotation from iv. 59 ("From thee cometh victory," &c.) in his 'Homilia ix. in Josuam.'[3]

In the Old Latin the book is also met with,[4] bearing the same name and relative position as in the Greek; and it has been sometimes thought that this is the version now extant in copies of the Vulgate.[5] But the difference between them is apparent.[6] When we come to the work of St. Jerome, we find a distinct displacement of 1 Esdras from the position it has hitherto held. In the preface to his version of Esdras (Ezra) and Nehemiah, addressed to Domnion and Rogatianus,[1] he says: "Tertius annus est quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Esdræ librum et Esther vobis de Hebræo transferam." After stating various obstacles to the gratification of their wish, he continues: "Nec quenquam moveat quod unus a nobis liber editus est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur: quia et apud Hebræos Esdræ Nehemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur, et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de vigintiquatuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda. Si quis autem Septuaginta vobis opposuerit Interpretes, quorum exemplaria varietas ipsa lacerata et inversa demonstrat, nec potest utique verum asseri quod diversum est, mittite eum ad Evangelia," &c.

In this passage three points should be noticed: (1) that Jerome, in the sentence last quoted, appears to allow that this book was in the LXX.; (2) that he makes no difference between the "somnia" of the two apocryphal books of Esdras; (3) that he states that our Ezra and Nehemiah were commonly reckoned as one *volumen*. This last statement is of importance in its bearing on the question of what books were meant under the title of 'Esdræ Libri duo,' found in certain lists. In accordance with Jerome's somewhat arbitrary decision, 1 Esdras appears to be wanting in the older MSS. of the Vulgate.[2]

(*c*.) The only Councils that need be noticed here, as having come to decisions about the books to be included in

spectus of various readings from some of these MSS., drawn up by Herbert Thorndike, is given in vol. vi.

[1] In like manner at the end: "Hic autem liber primus est Ezræ: quem quia non invenimus *in exemplari simplici* (*i.e.* the Peshito), descripsimus secundum eum qui ex LXX. versus est."

[2] For the work of this Monophysite, see Dr. Tregelles' article VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC), in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1629.

[3] Eichhorn, 'Einleitung in die apokryph. Schriften' (1795), p. 376.

[4] At least in Sabatier's representation of it, in his 'Bibliorum sacrorum Versio vetus Italica,' &c., 1743–9.

[5] "The text of the remaining books of the *Vetus Latina*, not having been revised by Jerome, is retained in MSS. of the Vulgate." (Prof. Westcott, in art. THE VULGATE in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1692, b.)

[6] A comparison of readings from the Cod. Sangermanensis (containing a text similar to that of the Cod. Colbertinus which Sabatier used), so far as concerns the *Fourth* Book of Esdras, is given in Volkmar's 'Esdra Propheta,' 1863, pp. 304 *sqq*.

[1] This and other Prefaces by St. Jerome are prefixed to many editions of the Vulgate. In the one from which I quote (Paris, 1666) it stands at p. xiii. of the Prolegomena. In his 'Prologus Galeatus in libros Samuel,' &c. (*ib.* p. vii.) he also mentions certain books as not in the Canon ('Sapientia,' &c.), and among them ranks one called 'Pastor.' This has been sometimes thought to denote 1 Esdras, the superscription of which, in the Alexandrian MS., is, as before mentioned, ὁ ἱερεύς.

[2] As in the Codex Amiatinus (on which see Scrivener, *ubi sup.*, p. 353), and the MS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,546) known as Charlemagne's Bible, the contents of which are described by Dr. Westcott, in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1704.

the sacred canon, are those of Laodicea (the date of which is fixed by some at about A.D. 363, by others about 394), the Third of Carthage (397), and Trent (1546). In the Laodicean catalogue 'Esdras i. ii.' are enumerated, and are placed between the Books of Chronicles and the Psalms.[1] In the third Council of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, "two books of Esdras" are included in the list of 'Canonical Scriptures,' and are placed between Esther and "two books of the Maccabees."[2] That the first of these two Books of Esdras meant what we call 1 Esdras, and the second our Ezra and Nehemiah together, seems very probable, not merely from the statement of St. Jerome before referred to, but from two passages of St. Augustine ('De Doctr. Christ.' ii. 13, and 'De Civit. Dei,' xviii. 36), in one of which he speaks of *two* Books of Esdras, and in the other quotes a passage from what we call the First.[3]

The decision of the Council of Trent on the subject was promulgated during the fourth session of the Council, April 8th, 1546.[4] By this it was declared that the Synod "pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur" "omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti;" a list of which follows. 'Esdræ primus et secundus qui dicitur Nehemias' are inserted between Chronicles and Tobit; but the definition of 'Esdræ secundus' of course shews that by 'Esdræ primus' the canonical Ezra is meant. The book we are considering was accordingly left out. What were the precise grounds of its rejection we are not distinctly told. Sarpi, in his history of the Council,[1] relates the successive stages through which the subject passed in discussion, but says nothing to make it clear to us why the Additions to Daniel, for instance, were included in the Canon, and not this Book of Esdras. One thing at any rate seems certain. Whatever may have been the reason that weighed with the Tridentine Fathers in their decision, it cannot have been, as is sometimes suggested, that they were unaware of its existence in a Greek original. It stands plainly enough in the Aldine edition of 1518; in the Strasbourg edition of 1526, reprinted, with additions, from the former; and in the Basle edition of 1545.[2] A more natural conclusion is, that they were content to follow the course pursued by St. Jerome.

(*d.*) With regard to printed editions, we shall expect to find, as a rule, that those which appeared before 1546 contain 1 Esdras, and that those subsequent to that date do not. This is true in the main, but with some noticeable exceptions. The early Latin Bibles (Colon. 1474, Norimb. 1480, &c.) insert the book without remark. In the 'Copia Accentuum' of Franciscus Robles, 1532 (a guide to the pronunciation of the hard words in the Bible), the name and order of the four connected books are as follows:—'Primus liber Esdræ,' 'Secundus Neemiæ,' 'Tertius *Neemiæ*' (our 1 Esdras), 'Quartus Esdræ.' But De Lyra, 1498, while he leaves 1 and 2 Esdras after Nehemiah, notes that "de canone non sunt," and adds "apocryphus" to the title of each. Passing over many other editions, we may observe that in the first of Robert Stephens (Paris, 1528[3]) 1 Esdras comes after Nehemiah, but with

[1] The dispute as to the authenticity of this catalogue cannot here be entered upon. The subject is discussed in Westcott's 'Canon of the N. T.' (1866), pp. 384 *sqq.*

[2] Westcott, *ib.* p. 391. For the wider sense to be attached in this place to the word "canonical," see the Bishop of Bath and Wells' art. ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF, in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

[3] The former of these passages is cited at length by Westcott, *ubi sup.*, p. 507. In the latter, Augustine expressly refers to the episode filling chs. iii., iv. of 1 Esdras:—"nisi forte Esdras in eo Christum prophetasse intelligendus est, quod inter juvenes quosdam orta quæstione, quid amplius valeret in rebus," &c. If Augustine, by the way, really understood Zerubbabel to be the third of the σωματοφύλακες there described, his term *juvenes quosdam* sounds strange.

[4] This is the date given in 'Concilii Tridentini . . . Canones et Decreta' (Brux. 1714), p. 20. In Caranza's 'Summa Conciliorum' (1681), p. 420, it is April 5th.

[1] 'Historia,' &c., ed. 1629, lib. ii. p. 157.

[2] A copy of the Aldine edition is in the library of St. Paul's School. It is strange that even Eichhorn (*ubi sup.*, p. 377) should repeat the assertion that 1 Esdras is not in it: "In der aldinischen Ausgabe (Venedig, 1518) findet sich gar nicht."

[3] There is a short notice of this edition in Greswell's 'Early Parisian Greek Press,' i. p. 193.

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this title:—'Liber Esdræ tertius, qui inter Apocrypha ponitur.' The same note is prefixed to 2 Esdras; but to no other of the Apocryphal books (as we count them); and as this is repeated in later editions, we may understand how a sort of stigma had come to be attached to these two particular books by the time of the assembling of the Tridentine Council. Still more remarkably, in his edition of 1556–7,[1] which contained an alternative version by Sanctes Pagnini and Vatablus, a note by the latter translator was admitted, to the effect that no one, so far as he knew, had ever met with a Greek MS. of 1 Esdras, much less a Hebrew one.[2] This statement, extraordinary as it may seem, is in keeping with the total omission of both 1 and 2 Esdras from the Complutensian Polyglott (1514–1517), which admits even the Prayer of Manasses, though then supposed not to be extant in Greek.

The decision of the Council of Trent is first distinctly appealed to in the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate (Romæ, 1590). Prefixed to that is a letter of Pope Sixtus V. himself, dated 1588, in which he affirms his adherence to the principles of that decision:—"Merito sacra Tridentina Synodus veteris Vulgatæ editionis libros, non aliter quam prout in Ecclesia legi consueverunt, pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit. Nos autem, ut hæc editio quæ nunc prodit nostro excusa prelo, ejusdem Synodi præscripto modis omnibus responderet apocrypha rejecimus, authentica retinuimus. Nam tertium et quartum Esdræ libros inscriptos, et tertium Machabæorum, quos Synodus inter canonicos non annumerat . . . ab hac Editione prorsus explosimus. Orationem etiam Manassæ . . . repudiavimus." And yet, in the edition of the LXX. printed at Rome in 1587, under the authority of Sixtus V., and dedicated to him by its editor, Cardinal Carafa, the present book stands, as the First of Esdras, before the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.[3] The Preface to the Clementine Vulgate of 1592, written by Bellarmin, follows the same line as that of 1588, with the addition of a reason for excluding the Prayer of Manasses, "quæ neque Hebraice neque Græce quidem extat, neque in manuscriptis antiquioribus invenitur, neque pars est ullius Canonici libri." Accordingly, in modern editions of the Vulgate, while 3 Maccabees (specified in the Preface of Sixtus V.) is altogether wanting, the two Books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses form a kind of apocryphal appendix by themselves, with a note prefixed to them, setting forth that they are placed "hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem Canonicorum Librorum . . . ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur,[1] et in aliquibus Bibliis Latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis retinentur."

What remains to be said under this heading may be summed up in a few words. Luther did not translate the book,[2] so that it is entirely absent from the Bible of the Lutheran Church. In our own country, in the 'Great Bible' of 1539, it is placed at the head of "The Volume of the bokes called Hagiographa," under the title of 'The thyrde boke of Esdras,' and followed by the Fourth Book and Tobias. The declaration set before them has often been quoted, from the strange mistake it makes in the definition of "Hagiographa:"—"In consyderacyon that the bokes before are founde in the Hebrue tonge, receaued of all men: & that the other folowyng, which are called Hagiographa (because they were wont to be redde, not openly and in comen, but as it were in secret and aparte), are nether founde in the Hebrue nor in the Calde: in whych tonges they haue not of longe

[1] See Greswell, *ubi sup.*, i. p. 390.

[2] "Hujus libri ne Græcum quidem codicem, nedum Hebræum, nemini, quod sciam, videre contigit."

[3] The reason why, in editions of the LXX., this book bears the title of *First* of Esdras, and is placed before the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, is probably, as Sixtus Senensis says ('Bibliotheca Sancta,' lib. i. p. 9), because the events it relates precede in point of time, at least in part, those related in the other two.

[1] Citations of 1 Esdras by Origen and St. Augustine have been already referred to. To these may be added Justin Martyr, 'Dial. c. Tryph.,' p. 297; Cyprian, 'Epist. ad Pompeianum' (Ep. lxxiv.); and Athanasius, 'Contra Arianos,' Orat. ii. 20. For a supposed citation by Tertullian, see the note on v. 3 below.

[2] See Gutmann, 'Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments,' 1841, p. 213.

bene written...we haue separate them, & set them asyde, that they may the better be knowen." In the Geneva Version (1560), and in the Bishops' Bible (1568), 1 Esdras holds the same position as in our Authorized Version. In the notes which follow, the Geneva Version has not seldom been referred to, as in some respects closer to the Greek than that of 1611.[1]

It may be added that while for English readers the title 'First Book of Esdras' is distinctive enough, from our custom of calling the canonical book 'Ezra,' and not 'Esdras,' much confusion unavoidably arises when versions in other languages have to be referred to. On this account, 'The Greek Esdras' has been proposed as a suitable title.[2]

§ II. Form and Contents.

With one notable exception, to be mentioned presently, this book appears at first sight to be little more than a reproduction of parts of the Second Book of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. It begins, somewhat abruptly, with an account of the great Passover held by king Josiah at Jerusalem, in the 18th year of his reign; and it ends, or rather is broken off, in the middle of a sentence apparently beginning a fresh section, after an account of the public reading of the Law by Ezra. It thus includes portions of Jewish History from B.C. 623, before the Babylonish Captivity, to B.C. 445, when the people had been restored to their native land. A short abstract of the contents will make this plainer:—

(*a.*) 1 Esdras i. = 2 Chr. xxxv. 1—xxxvi. 21.

Account of the great Passover held by Josiah in Jerusalem, in the 18th year of his reign. His directions to the priests and Levites. The gifts presented for the occasion by the king and his nobles, helping to make it such a splendid celebration as had not been seen since the days of Samuel. Expedition of Pharaoh king of Egypt against the Assyrians, and Josiah's resolution to attempt to bar his passage. His defeat and death at Megiddo. The lamentations of his people for him. The short succeeding reigns of Joachaz, Joacim, and Zedekiah. Invasion of Judæa by Nabuchodonosor, and carrying away of the people into captivity. Their sins which had brought this judgment upon them. The Jews in bondage to the Assyrians till the reign of the Persians, that the words of Jeremiah might be fulfilled.

(*b.*) ii. 1–15 = 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1–15.

The spirit of Cyrus moved to restore the Jews to their own land. His proclamation. Patriotism of the leaders of the people; their gifts, and those of the people among whom they dwelt. Delivery of the sacred vessels of the Temple by Cyrus, through his treasurer, to "Sanabassar[1] the governor of Judea." Their number and weight.

(*c.*) ii. 16–26 = Ezra iv. 7–24.

Opposition to the rebuilding of the Temple (*v.* 20) and of the city walls (*v.* 24) on the part of officials of the Persian government residing in Samaria. Their letter to king "Artaxerxes." His reply, admitting the justice of their protest, and authorizing the stoppage of the works. Their speedy enforcement of the prohibition. The rebuilding abandoned till the "second year of the reign of Darius the Persian."

(*d.*) iii. 1—v. 6 (has nothing to correspond).

This section of the book is in some respects the most interesting of all, inasmuch as it is an episode, the source of which, whatever it may have been, is no longer known to us. Its beginning is not unlike that of the Book of Esther. Darius king of the Persians makes a great feast. When the guests have all departed, he retires to rest, but after a while is unable to sleep. Thereupon three "young men," the guards of the royal chamber, agree to compose each

[1] The names of the group of translators who shared the Apocryphal books among them, for this version, are given in Westcott, 'Hist. of the English Bible,' 1872, p. 115. The translator of 1 Esdras in the Bishops' Bible was Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester.

[2] For further details on this subject, see the Introduction to the Second Book of Esdras, § 1. It should here be stated, as explaining some possible repetitions, that the Commentary on 2 Esdras was finished before the present one was undertaken.

[1] The forms of words in the A.V. are kept for convenience in this abstract.

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one a "sentence" on a given thesis, and deposit it, written and sealed, under the king's pillow, to be read when he rises in the morning. The proposition maintained by the first is that Wine is the strongest; by the second, that the King is so; and by the third, that Women are strongest, but Truth above all. In the morning the king summons an assembly of his courtiers, and the three recite their "sentences" before them. The arguments for each tenet are given in detail; the supporter of the third ("this was Zorobabel," iv. 13) daring to borrow an illustration from the conduct of the sovereign himself, at which "the king and the princes looked one upon another" (*v.* 33). His conclusion that the truth "endureth and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for ever," is hailed with applause. The king bids him ask what he will, and he seizes the opportunity to remind the king of a vow he had made at his accession, to restore the Jews. Darius accedes to his wishes, and issues a firman granting licence to the Jews in his dominions to return, with grants of money and many privileges. Departure of the caravan from Babylon, with the names of the leading men who were in charge of it (v. 5).

(*c.*) v. 7–73 = Ezra ii.—iv. 5, 24.

Lists of the people who returned with Zorobabel and Jesus (v. 8), classified under their several heads, and the number of their servants and cattle. The altar of burnt-offering is set up in its old place (v. 48) and sacrifices offered upon it. The feast of Tabernacles is celebrated, and preparations made for the rebuilding of the Temple, by obtaining timber from Lebanon, and the like. The foundation is laid "in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to Jewry" (*v.* 57). Mingled joy and sorrow on the occasion. Offer made by the "enemies" of the people to co-operate in the work, and their hostility when the offer is rejected. Through their opposition the work is hindered all the time of king *Cyrus*, and "for the space of two years" until the reign of Darius (v. 73).

(*f.*) vi., vii. = Ezra v. 1—vi. 22.

In the second year of Darius the work is resumed through the prophesying of Aggeus and Zacharias. The provincial governors of the Persians again interfere, but not in a directly hostile manner, writing to the king for instructions. Darius makes inquiry about the matter, and finds at Ecbatana a copy of the decree of Cyrus. His rescript directs that the government officials in Syria and Phœnicia shall help, and not hinder, the work. And so the Temple is finished "in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians" (vii. 5). The solemnities at its dedication.

(*g.*) viii., ix. = Ezra vii. 1—x. 44; Neh. viii. 1–13.

Return of the Jews under Esdras, in the reign of Artaxerxes. His qualifications for the office of leader, and the royal commission given him. Privileges and immunities granted by the king. Lists of the families returning in this later migration. Halt at "the river called Theras" (viii. 41), and requisition for a larger number of priests and Levites. Safe arrival of the caravan at Jerusalem, with their silver and gold. Appeal of the rulers of the people to Ezra on the painful subject of mixed marriages. His grief at the intelligence, and the resolution taken (viii. 93). A national assembly called to hear the address of Ezra. The people agree to accept his decision, and to put away all wives of alien race. The arrangements for this purpose, and lists of those who had transgressed. After this, on the first day of the seventh month (ix. 37) the people desire Ezra to read to them the Law of Moses. This is publicly done in the open space before the porch at the east side of the Temple. The names are given of the Levites and others who assisted in the exposition. "Attharates" bids the people now turn from their mourning to gladness, for the day is "holy unto the Lord" (ix. 50). So they go their way, making merry, and sending portions to the needy ones, and rejoicing "because they understood the words wherein they were instructed, and for the which they had been assembled."[1]

[1] This might appear a complete and natural ending; but in the original the last words are *ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἷς ἐδιδάχθησαν. καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν* . . . The punctuation is, of course, arbitrary, but that such is the right construction

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The chronological and other difficulties involved in this account, and the connection with it of the episode iii. 1—v. 6, will be briefly discussed in the next section.

§ III. Composition and Design.

Before any sound theory can be formed of the nature and object of the work before us, we must have some conception of the incongruities, apparently not to be reconciled with any true version of history, which it presents.

Passing over, for the moment, the account of Josiah, which it is conceivable might be meant as a fitting prelude to some epoch of Jewish history, we have, rather touched upon than narrated, the reigns of his successors and the final captivity. Then, without a word as to the sojourn in Babylon, we have (ii. 1) the movement for deliverance in the first year[1] of Cyrus, B.C. 536. The first convoy of Jews, with their sacred vessels and treasures, is brought back by Sanabassar[2] (ii. 15). We are not distinctly told that any beginning was then made with the restoration of the Temple; but in ii. 18 a complaint is made of such work being carried on, both as regards the Temple and city walls, by Persian officials in Samaria, in a letter to king "Artaxerxes." A rescript of "Artaxerxes" causes the work to be stopped till the second year of Darius the Persian (ii. 30). Then follows the original episode (iii. 1–v. 6) in which Zorobabel, described as a "young man," is represented as being one of the body-guard in the king's palace at Babylon. By the means briefly related above (§ 2) he gains permission for the Jews to return, and they do so; but among their leaders enumerated in v. 5 Zorobabel is not named as one, and it is apparently his "son" Joacim, and not he, who is now described as the speaker of the "wise sentences" before the court of Darius. Next follows the list of those who returned *with Zorobabel* (v. 8), as it is in Ezra ii., just as though all from ii. 16 to v. 5 were to be effaced from memory. All goes on, as is duly related in Ezra, to the laying the foundation-stone of the Temple (v. 57); the fact being forgotten that in ii. 18 the foundation had been spoken of as already laid. Through the enmity of the rejected Samaritans, the work has to be laid aside till the second year of Darius (v. 73; vi. 1). From this point to the end of the book there is no material discrepancy with the order of events as related in the canonical books, excepting that the reading of the Law (ix. 39) is made to fall, according to the natural sequence (comp. viii. 6 with ix. 7), in the eighth year of Artaxerxes, or B.C. 457; while according to Neh. viii. 2 it was in the time of Nehemiah's governorship at Jerusalem, that is, not earlier than B.C. 444 (comp. Neh. ii. 1).[1]

No theory has been proposed which can satisfactorily account for the confusion of history and chronology here presented to us. De Saulcy[2] would assume that the first expedition was led, not by Zerubbabel, but by the unknown Sheshbazzar of ii. 15. To this first expedition he would refer the names in Neh. xii. But the reasons for identifying this Sheshbazzar, or Sasabazzar, with Zerubbabel are too strong to give way to such an assumption.[3] Reuss,[4] observing that in 1 Esdras v. 6 it is not Zerubbabel, but

appears certain on a comparison with Neh. viii. 13.

[1] That is, his first year as king of Babylonia. See Professor Sayce's 'Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther' (1885), p. 19. The date of the return is there given as 538.

[2] For the evidence to prove that he was Zerubbabel, see the note on ii. 12.

[1] On this point see Fritzsche, 'Das dritte Buch Esra' (1851), Einleit. p. 7; and Rawlinson's 'Introd. to Nehemiah,' p. 425. Fritzsche says that on this question all historical probability is on the side of 1 Esdras. Bertheau, 'Esra, Nechemia,' &c. p. 210, is of the opposite opinion.

[2] 'Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras,' &c. (1868), p. 7.

[3] They are thus summed up by Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel' (tr. by Carpenter), v. p. 87 n.: "It is certainly never said in the Book of Ezra that this Sasabazzar was identical with Zerubbabel; but since in i. 8, 11 he is called *Nasi*, i.e. royal prince of *Judah*, and in v. 14, 16 is designated by the Assyrian official title *Pacha*, as an equivalent, it is impossible not to consider him and Zerubabbel to be the same." Neteler holds the same view, 'Die Bücher Esdras,' &c. (1877), p. 11.

[4] 'Chronique ecclésiastique,' p. 50. Fritzsche, 'Einleit.' p. 6, takes the same view so far as to maintain that Joachim, and not Zerubbabel, was the real hero of the discussion before Darius.

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his son Joachim, who (according to the natural construction of the sentence) was the speaker at the court of Darius, starts the hypothesis that after Zerubbabel had led the first expedition homewards in the reign of Cyrus, a second was led in the reign of Darius by this his son; and that the short passage in ch. v. 1–6, which in style is admittedly unlike the episode in chaps. iii., iv., and yet has nothing to answer to it in the canonical Ezra, is a relic of some fuller account, relating the return of this second band under Joachim.

There are some plausible features in this view of the matter. The assertion in iv. 13 that the speaker was Zerubbabel is inserted in such a parenthetical manner, as to warrant a suspicion that it may be nothing more than a marginal comment which has slipped into the text. In iv. 58 he is again simply "the young man." There would also be an end of the difficulty (about which more will be said presently) arising from the description of Zerubbabel as "a young man." Unfortunately for this supposition, the names of Zerubbabel's children are preserved in 1 Chron. iii. 19, and no Joachim is amongst them. Fritzsche asks whether this proves that he had no such son. But to allow that he might have had, would be only to base an hypothesis upon an hypothesis. And the probability of the passage (v. 6) being in some way or other corrupt is increased by observing that Jeshua (though not Zerubbabel) had in point of fact a son named Joachim (Neh. xii. 10).

It may help to clear the way a little, if we observe that, by taking out as much of the book as lies between ii. 16 and v. 6 inclusive, we have a consecutive account, parallel, so far as it goes, to that in Ezra and Nehemiah. Setting aside, out of this portion, the contents of chaps. iii. and iv., as forming the original episode before referred to, we should then have to account for the section ii. 16–30, describing the opposition under "Artaxerxes," and the short section v. 1–6, which looks like a connecting passage, designed to link on the enumeration of the people which follows to the story of Zerubbabel at the Persian court just recited.

If we are allowed to take this view of the component parts of the book, the charge against the author, or compiler, would amount to little more than his having left us a group of historical documents, not in proper order, and further (unless this be a charge more properly brought against some subsequent arranger of the materials) of having tried to piece two together where the sides did not correspond. For, in the first place, whatever difficulties may be inherent in the section ii. 16–30, regarded as a detached passage, are also found in Ezra iv. 7–24, to which it is parallel. Whether or not it be reasonable to suppose the Pseudo-Smerdis to be meant under the name of Artaxerxes[1] in ii. 16, the same considerations will apply in Ezra iv. 7. In that chapter also the work of restoring the Temple is described (in *v.* 5) as frustrated "even until the reign of Darius king of Persia;" and then, after the events in the reigns of Ahasuerus (*v.* 6) and Artaxerxes (*vv.* 7–23) have been recorded, it is again said (*v.* 24) that the work ceased "unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia."

As for the short passage v. 1–6, that need not trouble us long. There is a Hebrew cast of expression about it, quite different from that of the episode before.[2] Whether we take the view of Reuss above-mentioned, that these few verses may be a relic, in translated form, of some Hebrew original describing a second migration under Darius, or prefer to regard them as merely a connecting passage, more or less unskilfully adapted,

[1] The sovereign known under that name (Artaxerxes Longimanus) did not come to the throne till B.C. 465, sixty-four years after the death of Cyrus. According to Professor Sayce (*ubi sup.* p. 22), "the whole difficulty may be solved by considering that the account in Ezra iv. 6–23 is episodical, and refers merely to the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem, and not to the restoration of the Temple. In strict chronological order the twenty-fourth verse of the chapter would then follow immediately after the fifth—as, indeed, is indicated by the grammatical construction of the original Chaldee." Rawlinson (on Ezra iv. 5, 7) favours the application to Pseudo-Smerdis: Reuss (*ad loc.*) thinks it merely an exchange of one difficulty for another.

[2] This is pointed out by Fritzsche, who instances the expression μετ' εἰρήνης, = בְּשָׁלוֹם rendered in the A. V. "safely," and some others.

in either case we need not allow it, any more than the section ii. 16–30, to disturb the chronological sequence of the rest.

There remains the episode, as I have called it for convenience, referred to several times already, in chaps. iii., iv. It has been described by some commentators as the nucleus, the original part, of the work, round which the rest has been grouped. I would venture not so to regard it. Original it undoubtedly is, in the sense that there is nothing to answer to it in the canonical books; and whatever Persian or Jewish story it may have been based upon, or translated from, is not now known to us. But it seems to me more probable that the writer, telling again the story of his nation's deliverance, and impressed with the traditional greatness of its leader, Zerubbabel, made use of this story which he had met with, either as really believed to refer to Zerubbabel, or as serving to explain the favour shewed to the exiles by the son of Hystaspes.[1]

This leads us to consider what object the compiler may have had in view. And this again cannot be determined satisfactorily, without a better knowledge than we are likely to acquire of the time and circumstances in which he wrote. But, considering that it begins with a description of the great Passover of Josiah, and ends (so far, at least, as it has any formal conclusion) with the reading of the Law by Ezra at one of the Jewish festivals, while the intermediate portion is chiefly concerned with the return from foreign kingdoms, and the favours shewn by foreign potentates,—it seems natural to conclude, that the writer wished alike to stimulate his countrymen to a more zealous observance of the Law, and to win for them the favour of some foreign ruler,—it might be one of the Ptolemies. The subscription "De Templi Restitutione," found in the 'Vetus Latina,'[2] describes accurately what is perhaps the central subject of the book. But some collateral design, at least, must have underlain the exaggerated accounts of the munificence of Cyrus and Darius; and this probably was, as Ewald suggests,[1] "to secure to Judea the favour of a Ptolemaic or other heathen power."

That the work is certainly incomplete at the end, and probably at the beginning as well, encourages a supposition that the writer may have meant his Scenes from Jewish History, if we may so call them, to begin with the reformation of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv.) instead of with his Passover (2 Chron. xxxv.), and to continue at any rate to the end of the celebration of the great Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 13–18).[2] Even if we regarded the book, as it now stands, as beginning where the compiler intended, merely lengthening out its broken termination to the next reasonable pause, there would be a certain completeness in a work on the restoration of the Jewish Church, which begins with the account of a Passover, such as "was not kept in Israel since the time of the prophet Samuel," and would end with the account of a Feast of Tabernacles, kept in such a manner, that "since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so" (Neh. viii. 17).

§ IV. Age and Authorship.

The materials we have to work upon in forming an opinion of the date of 1 Esdras are but scanty. That the work was used by Josephus[3] gives us a limit of time in one direction. Why he should have preferred it as an authority to the canonical books is not hard to see. The style of the Greek is more elegant and fluent than that of the LXX.; difficulties and apparent contradictions in the original accounts are smoothed over; and the sequence of the Persian kings, as

[1] See Fritzsche, 'Einleit.' p. 6; and Ewald, *ubi sup.*, p. 125.

[2] After a supplementary verse, numbered 56: "Et coadunati sunt omnes in Hierusalem jocundari, secundum dispositionem Domini Dei Israel."

[1] *Ubi sup.*, p. 127.

[2] This would of course imply that he referred the events of Neh. viii. to the time of Ezra's presence at Jerusalem.

[3] 'Antiqq.' xi. 1 *sqq.* Several instances will be found in the ensuing commentary of the way in which Josephus used this work, and, after his manner, improved upon it. But that he did not always follow it in preference to the canonical books, is shewn by the passages quoted by Dr. Bissell, 'Apocrypha,' p. 70.

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it appears in 1 Esdras, better suits the Jewish historian's chronology.[1] The fact, at any rate, of Josephus's employment of the book is undisputed. But there are indications, though faint ones, that we must go some way beyond his time, and look for the origin of the work in the first, or at the latter end of the second, century B.C. The story in chaps. iii., iv. is, of course, the most important for giving us an anterior limit, since there is every presumption to shew that the compiler found it existing, and took and adapted it to his purpose. Now Ewald[2] thinks that there is an indication of this story being read and referred to by the earliest of the extant Sibylline poets. In the oldest section of the Third Book, which Alexandre[3] assigns to the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (B.C. 181–146), there is an allusion to Persian kings helping forwards the restoration of the Holy Temple, in consequence of a dream sent by God in the night.[4] This, he thinks, can only have been suggested by 1 Esdr. iii., iv. The idea is ingenious, but it would have appeared more probable if there had been any distinct reference to a dream in iv. 43, 45, and not merely to a vow.

The resemblance between the story of Zerubbabel and his companions at Darius's court and that of the Jewish elders at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, related in the so-called 'History' of Aristeas,[5] must also form an element in the consideration. Ewald[6] indeed says positively that "the book of Aristeas also must already have been known to the author." It might be safer to say that the story in 1 Esdras is a composition of the same class, and probably of the same time, as the other; and this latter is not considered to be earlier than the first century B.C.

[1] Neteler, *ubi sup.*, p. 5.

[2] 'Abhandlung über . . . der Sibyllinischer Bücher,' p. 36.

[3] 'Orac. Sibyll.' 1869; Introd. p. xxi.

[4] iii. 293–4:—
Αὐτὸς γὰρ δώσει Θεὸς ἔννυχον ἀγνὸν ὄνειρον.
Καὶ τότε δὴ ναὸς πάλιν ἔσσεται, ὡς πάρος ἦν περ.

[5] See the note on iii. 10–12 below. For Aristeas see Tischendorf's 'Proleg.' p. xviii., and the full discussion in Dr. Sp. C. Papageorgios, 'Ueber den Aristeasbrief,' München, 1880.

[6] 'Hist. of Israel,' v. 127, n.

If it could be decided with any certainty whether the compiler lived in Palestine or in Egypt, some little light might be thrown upon the subject of its date, by our knowledge of surrounding events. But here again, even in his adaptation of the Persian court-story, the writer has managed to keep his personality undisclosed.[1] One slight allusion only is thought to point to a residence in Egypt,—the mention in iv. 23 of "sailing upon the sea and upon the rivers" for the purpose of "robbing and stealing."[2] The language, being so largely Septuagintal,[3] does not afford any certain clue. If there were reasons, on any other grounds, for placing the composition somewhat earlier, they might seem strengthened by the character of the events taking place both in Egypt and Syria between 170 and 160 B.C. For about that time Egypt was repeatedly invaded by Antiochus Epiphanes, and, at the close of his second and fourth campaigns in 170 and 168, the Temple at Jerusalem was sacked. Considering how largely the number of the Jewish residents in Egypt was recruited during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, it might be thought that a work which described the rebuilding of the Temple, and the beneficence of foreign kings to the work, and which also introduced the story of Josiah, slain in an invasion of Syria by the Egyptians, would have a special interest.

But, in particular, an event related by Josephus as occurring about this time,

[1] Fritzsche truly says: "Pragmatischen Sinn hat der Uebersetzer dadurch bewährt, dass er nirgends eine Rücksicht auf seine Zeit hat einfliessen lassen."—*Einleit.* p. 9.

[2] Bissell, *ubi sup.* p. 64, who refers to Graetz, 'Geschichte der Juden,' iii. p. 39 *sq.* As this passage comes in the original story, it would in strictness only tend to shew that the author of *that* lived in Egypt. Hence it has only a secondary and remoter application to the compiler.

[3] Dr. Gwynn thinks that there are some remarkable coincidences of expression between ch. ii. of this book and Dan. i. (in the Hexaplar); sufficient, indeed, to justify a suspicion that one and the same hand dealt with the canonical Ezra and Daniel, rewriting them and interpolating (in Greek); and from them produced this 1 Esdras and the Hexaplar Daniel of the Chisian MS. Eichhorn ('Einleit.' *ubi sup.*, p. 346) had noticed how much the style resembled that of Symmachus.

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or a little later,[1] may be thought likely to have suggested the production of such a work. This was the building of a temple, or the restoration in altered form of a ruined Egyptian temple, in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, for Jewish worship. Onias, the son, or grandson,[2] of Onias III., the High-Priest assassinated by his brother Menelaus in B.C. 171, had taken refuge in Egypt, under the government of Ptolemy Philometor. Being the lawful successor to the Jewish High-priesthood, he seems to have drawn many of his countrymen along with him, and to have formed the idea of giving cohesion, by means of a new centre of national worship, to the numerous Jewish communities throughout the Delta. For this end he petitioned Philometor and his queen Cleopatra for permission to build a temple in some part of Egypt, where he and his countrymen might worship the God of their fathers after their own manner. The result of such an indulgence would be, to animate the Jews still more in their resistance to Antiochus, the destroyer of their temple at Jerusalem, and to attach them more closely to the Egyptian king.[3] What purports to be a copy of the actual letter written by him is preserved by Josephus in another place,[4] together with the answer of the king and queen. From this we learn, that he had seen with regret the divisions growing up among his countrymen from the number of different places for divine worship resorted to by them; and that, having found a convenient spot, a fortress in the Heliopolite nome, with a dilapidated temple sacred to Bubastis, he prayed for leave to cleanse and purify it,[1] and to build a shrine to the most High God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem. As giving a kind of divine sanction to his work, he ended with a quotation from the prophet Isaiah (xix. 18, 19): "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called THE CITY OF THE SUN. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord."[2] The reply of Ptolemy and Cleopatra was a permission to undertake the work, with an expression of wonder (which Josephus is careful to note and amplify) that a spot which teemed with associations, to a Jewish mind impure, should be selected for a temple to Jehovah. Accordingly, Onias set about his task of restoration and rebuilding. The sacred enclosure (*ἱερὸν*) he encompassed with a wall of baked tiles, or bricks, relieved by gateways of stone. The inner building, or temple proper (*ναός*), he appears to have built anew, and after the pattern of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, but "smaller and poorer."[3] The tower was of huge blocks of stone,

[1] Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel' (tr. by Carpenter), v. p. 354, decides on the date B.C. 160 as the most probable. Prideaux, 'Connection' (1720), ii. p. 264, makes it as late as 149. The uncertainty arises from the reading in Josephus, 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 4 (*ad fin.*), where the temple is said to have stood 343 years to the time of its demolition (*circ.* A.D. 73). Hudson (*n. ib.*) and Ewald both think 233 should probably be the number. This would fix the erection to about B.C. 160, as said above.

[2] In 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 2, he is called '*Ονίας Σίμωνος υἱός*. This, as Josephus elsewhere calls him son of Onias, is naturally thought (as by Tanaquil Faber, and others) to be a slip of memory. But Ewald thinks it may point to his being really the grandson of Onias III.

[3] 'Bell. Jud.,' *ubi sup.*, § 2.

[4] 'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 1. The author of the art. ONIAS, CITY OF, in the 'Dict. of the Bible,' refers to these letters as "spurious;" but Ewald takes a more favourable view of them. "The correspondence," he says, "may certainly, as in most other cases of the kind, be reproduced freely; but Josephus evidently read it in an older work, and its author certainly relied upon trustworthy ancient narratives."

[1] The language used should be noted: *δέομαι συγχωρῆσαί μοι, τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκός, οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ Θεῷ, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέτροις.*—'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 1.

[2] This is the rendering of the A. V., except that the words in capitals embody the marginal reading in place of "city of destruction." These of course are the cardinal words. Dr. Tregelles, in his edition of Gesenius (*s. v.*), while admitting that עִיר הַהֶרֶס, "city of destruction," has the better authority, considers the other reading, עִיר הַחֶרֶס, "city of the sun," preferable. It has the support of Symmachus (*πόλις ἡλίου*), and of the Vulgate (*civitas solis*). The LXX. differs from both, having *πόλις ἀσεδέκ*, as if to denote "city of righteousness."

[3] *μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον.* 'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 3. The account has to be combined with 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 3, for a full description.

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like those used in its prototype. The altar, too, with its appendages, was a copy. But there was one remarkable difference. Instead of the seven-branched candlestick, a lamp, "shedding a golden radiance,"[1] was hung by a chain of gold from the ceiling.

Without entering further into details, one or two inferences seem naturally to follow from this account. It points to the fact, known to us from other sources also, of the increase in the number of Jewish communities in Egypt, not only in the capital, but in other parts of the Delta. It discloses the want of religious unity felt among them, and how it occurred to one aspiring mind to attempt to supply this want. Moreover, it shews, I think, distinct traces of an adaptation of the old forms of Jewish worship to meet the demands of altered circumstances; an adaptation that might commend itself, in some measure, to the resident heathen, as well as to the Jewish, population. This comes out more clearly if we compare with the record of Josephus what Herodotus tells us of the festivals of Bubastis, the goddess whose deserted temple Onias had chosen for his site. Few passages, even in that historian, are more picturesque than those in which he tells us of the heavily-laden barges dropping down the Nile, on their way to the city named after that goddess; of the crowds of devotees embarking on this joyous pilgrimage; of their music of lotus-pipes and cymbals; of their consumption of wine on the occasion, more than in all the rest of the year together.[2] That Onias should have sought to retain some of the attractions of the old local worship was both natural and politic. He was a Hellenist, holding office under the king;[3] he had the remembrance of bitter wrongs sustained in his native land; he was founding a rival temple.[1] The wider his estrangement from Jerusalem, the more closely he would naturally seek to connect himself with his adopted land. This may help to explain the startling boldness shewn in his choice of a site, and in his adaptation of a disused temple to his purpose. Whatever may have been the exact position of the place called after him,[2] there must have been many points of resemblance between the outward aspect of its earlier temple, and the rites celebrated there, and what existed at Bubastis itself, the great centre of the worship of the goddess Pasht. If, then, we find a certain similarity between the temple of Onias and that at Bubastis, that is enough for the purpose. And such a similarity is plainly to be seen on comparing the descriptions of Josephus and Herodotus. The sacred enclosure, ἱερόν, appears to have been left unchanged, only purified, and surrounded, as that in the mother city was, by a wall of tiles.[3] The shrine, or inner temple itself, ναός, though Onias professed the intention of rearing it after the pattern of the one in Jerusalem, seems, in the actual construction, to have resembled it in the tower only, as if the old fabric had been made to serve as far as it would go.[4] Especially in his replacement of the seven-branched candlestick by the one sun-like lamp depending from

[1] Others render it "a golden lamp." But the run of the words, *αὐτὸν δὲ χαλκευσάμενος τὸν λύχνον χρυσοῦν ἐπιφαίνοντα σέλας*, seems to favour the above interpretation. To understand the *αὐτόν*, we must bear in mind that the "candlestick" (as we term it) was the λυχνία, or "lamp-holder." Though the "lamp-holder" was not there, the lamp itself was.

[2] The city and temple of Bubastis are described in Hdt. ii. 137–8; the processions to it by water in ii. 59, 60.

[3] Josephus, 'Contra Apionem,' ii. 5.

[1] "The Aramean Jews looked on their Egyptian brethren with assumed contempt, but inward jealousy: perhaps the distance only prevented a feud, almost as deadly as that with the Samaritans."—MILMAN, *Hist. of the Jews* (1866), ii. p. 25.

[2] Josephus calls it Leontopolis, and says that it was 180 stades from Memphis, and in the Heliopolitan nome. But the writer of the article before mentioned ('Dict. of the Bible,' ii. p. 634) shews that this must be an error, Leontopolis being the capital of the nome bearing the same name. Sir Gardner Wilkinson ('Modern Egypt and Thebes,' 1843, i. p. 299) explains the confusion by pointing out that the place was in one nome, but near the other. He would fix its position at the mounds called "Tel el Yehóod," "a little to the E. of N. from Heliopolis, from which it is distant twelve miles."

[3] With the difference that Onias's wall was of *burnt* tiles, or brick, *ὀπτῇ πλίνθῳ*, and that at Bubastis, of *crude* brick. See Wilkinson, *ubi sup.*, p. 427. But comp. Creuzer's note (speaking of "lateribus coctis") on Hdt. ii. 60.

[4] This assumes the reading in 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 10, § 3, to be correct: *τὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ᾠκοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, κ.τ.λ.*

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the roof, Onias would appear to have had in mind the associations of the "city of the sun," and the Λυχνοκαΐη of the Egyptian festivals.[1]

Now, if there is reason to think that this Egyptian Ezra—or rather, as he may well have regarded himself, in the supposed light of Isaiah's prophecy, Ezra and Nehemiah in one—accommodated his new temple to Egyptian ideas, it would be natural to expect that the story of Israel's great temple-restoration, if told afresh then, as at an appropriate time for its republication, would be coloured by the same local associations. And this is what, to some slight degree, we find in 1 Esdras. In judging of its origin, we must fix the attention on the features it presents most distinct from the Old Testament version of the same story. And these, if we omit for the moment the Episode in iii., iv., are the incidents described by the writer as marking the reception by the Jews of the news of the king's favour, and the starting of the convoy homewards (iv. 63—v. 3). The seven days' carousal, with its accompaniment of music and rejoicing; the escort of a thousand horsemen; and the setting out with pipes and timbrels playing,—are features peculiar to this book, and suggestive rather of the Egyptian festivals than of the return from the Babylonian captivity.[2] Even the remarkable scene at the court of the Persian king (chs. iii., iv.), while presenting many features in common with what we observe in the Book of Esther, has also so many points of resemblance to the descriptions in Aristeas, that it might be held to have something of a Ptolemean colouring.[3]

[1] Hdt. ii. 62. Ewald's reason for the non-reproduction of the seven-branched candlestick, namely, that it "seems to have been regarded as too holy to be imitated," is not satisfactory. Why should it have been considered more sacred than the altar, which was exactly copied?

[2] The peculiar word ἐκωθωνίζοντο, iv. 63, is noticed below. The use of it recalls the great consumption of οἶνος ἀμπέλινος noticed by Herodotus. Some lesser points of resemblance might be mentioned, such as the fact that what in Ezra is the district "beyond the river" (vii. 21), or "this side the river" (iv. 16), is in 1 Esdras "Coele-Syria and Phœnicia" (ii. 17; comp. viii. 23); the term used in Onias's petition to Philometor (Joseph. 'Antiqq.,' xiii. 3, § 1).

[3] As one slight instance, compare the dignity of the office of σωματοφύλαξ, if it is to be assigned to Zorobabel (1 Esd. iii. 4), with what Josephus says of the position of τοὺς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένους at the court of Philadelphus ('c. Apion.' ii. § 4). Other points of similarity are noticed afterwards in the commentary.

Without seeking to attach undue importance to what may be thought slight indications, I venture to submit that in the invasions of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Holy Temple was sacked; in the foundation of the temple of Onias, rising, as it might seem, after the ruin of the former; and, it may be added, in the contest for precedence between Jews and Samaritans, which Josephus records as the next subject that occupied the attention of Philometor,[1]—we have a series of events to which the story as told in 1 Esdras might be thought a suitable parallel.

This supposition as to the time, though not as to the occasion, would agree with that of Herzfeld.[2] But it must be admitted that the majority of scholars choose rather to assign the work to the first century B.C.[3]

Authorities.—The chief of these have been cited in the Introduction, or will be found in the notes which follow. Most useful of all has been the commentary of Dr. Otto F. Fritzsche, in the 'Kurzgefasstes Handbuch zu den Apokryphen,' Leipz., 1851. That of Bertheau on Ezra, &c., in the same series (1862), has also been often referred to. A valuable companion to them is Wahl's 'Clavis Librorum . . . Apocryphorum,' 1853. More recent is Dr. B. Neteler's 'Die Bücher Esdras,' &c., Münster, 1877, which gives a German translation of the canonical books Ezra—Esther, interspersed with comments. The section relating to this period of Reuss's work, which he entitles 'Chronique ecclésiastique de Jérusalem' (1878), has been of service. His theory of a continuous Chronicle is, of course, strengthened by the form in which 1 Esdras appears. Of commentaries in English, most use has been

[1] 'Antiqq.' xiii. 3, § 4.

[2] "Kam diese Compilation noch vor den Makkabäerkriegen zu Stande."—*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 73.

[3] So De Wette, 'Lehrbuch,' &c. (1869), p. 566; Ewald, and Fritzsche.

made of Canon Rawlinson's edition of Kings—Esther in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' This is often cited in the notes by the simple letter R., as that of Fritzsche is by the letter F. The American edition of the Apocrypha, by Dr. E. C. Bissell (1880), must be spoken of with respect, for the industry and research it shews. It gives a revised version of the English text, and also comparative tables of the names and numbers[1] in 1 Esdras and in the canonical books. With the exception of this work, the writer has avoided consulting any modern English commentaries on the Apocrypha. His great obligation to Dr. Gwynn, for notes and references made use of in the first section of this Introduction, must be once more repeated.

[1] It has not been thought necessary to furnish such comparisons of numbers for the present commentary; especially as the discrepancies are noticed by Rawlinson. On the other hand, some effort has been made to clear up the confusion in the lists of proper names. There remains a mine to be worked out, even in the corrupted forms of the Vulgate.

J. H. L.

St. Paul's School,
Dec. 31*st*, 1885.

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I. ESDRAS.

CHAPTER I.

B. C. cir. 623.

1 *Josias his charge to the priests and Levites.* 7 *A great passover is kept.* 32 *His death is much lamented.* 34 *His successors.* 53 *The temple, city, and people are destroyed.* 56 *The rest are carried unto Babylon.*

[a] 2 Kings 23. 21. 2 Chr. 35. 1, &c.

AND Josias held the [a] feast of the passover in Jerusalem unto his Lord, and offered the passover the fourteenth day of the first month;

2 Having set the priests according to their daily courses, being arrayed in long garments, in the temple of the Lord.

B. C. cir. 623.

3 And he spake unto the Levites, the holy ministers of Israel, that they should hallow themselves unto the Lord, to set the holy ark of the Lord in the house that king Solomon the son of David had built:

4 *And said,* Ye shall no more bear the ark upon your shoulders: now therefore serve the Lord your God, and minister unto his people Israel,

CHAPTER I.

1. *And Josias.*] The abruptness of the beginning is to be noticed; about which more has been said in the Introduction. But the reader need not infer, from the first word "and," that anything is deficient at the beginning of this section of the history. The particle so rendered is one of the most frequent occurrence in Septuagint Greek, and used with many shades of connecting force. In its simplest meaning it is seen at the beginning of each of the *vv.* 7–13 of this chapter; but it is equally present, though disguised under other renderings, at the beginning of each of the *vv.* 15–20.

held the feast of the passover.] A brief account of this is given in 2 Kings xxiii. 21–23, and a much fuller one in 2 Chron. xxxv. 1–19, to which the present one runs parallel. The words "feast of the" are unnecessary; "kept the passover" (as in the Geneva Version) being an exact rendering of the Greek. For the use of ἄγειν (= ποιεῖν in the LXX.) comp. Hdt. i. 147. As the word "passover" may be used of the paschal victim, as well as of the feast, it is also said to be "offered" (lit. "sacrificed") in the present passage.

of the first month.] *I.e.* of Nisan: see Ex. xii. 6. This passover was held in B.C. 623, being the 18th year of the reign of Josiah, who succeeded his father Amon in 641.

2. *daily courses.*] For the institution of these by David, see 1 Chron. xxiii. 6; and, for their liability to derangement when the Temple service was interrupted, the note on 2 Chron. xxxi. 2. The same word, ἐφημερία, is rendered "ordinary service" in *v.* 16 below.

arrayed in long garments.] Or, more simply, "robed," ἐστολισμένους. The same word in v. 59 and vii. 9 is rendered "arrayed in their vestments."

3. *the holy ministers.*] Rather, "as holy ministers," or ministers of the Temple; there being no article in the Greek. Elsewhere, as in v. 29, 35, the word (ἱερόδουλοι) is used in its more restricted sense to express the Nethinim, or servants of the Levites (Ezra viii. 20), whose position appears to have somewhat risen after the Captivity.

to set.] Lit. "in the setting of," &c. It is not clear whether we are to understand that the ark of the covenant had been removed from the Temple (by the act of the late king, or otherwise), or whether we are to suppose that it had become the custom to carry it about in procession. In either case, it was now to be stationary. See Reuss on 2 Chron. xxxv. 3; and comp. 1 Chron. xv. 2.

4. *prepare you.*] So in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, "prepare *yourselves.*" But the Geneva Version was probably right in rendering the word by "prepare" alone (*i.e.* the Passover), as in Matt. xxvi. 17, 19, where the same word ἑτοιμάζειν, "make ready," is used.

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B. C. cir. 623. and prepare you after your families and kindreds,

5 According as David the king of Israel prescribed, and according to the magnificence of Solomon his son: and standing in the temple according to the several dignity of the families of you the Levites, who minister in the presence of your brethren the children of Israel,

6 Offer the passover in order, and make ready the sacrifices for your brethren, and keep the passover according to the commandment of the Lord, which was given unto Moses.

7 And unto the people that was found there Josias gave thirty thousand lambs and kids, and three thousand calves: these things were given of the king's allowance, according as he promised, to the people, to the priests, and to the Levites. B. C. cir. 623.

8 And Helkias, Zacharias, and ‖ Syelus, the governors of the temple, gave to the priests for the passover two thousand and six hundred sheep, and three hundred calves. ‖ Or, *Jehiel*, 2 Chron. 35. 8.

9 And Jeconias, and Samaias, and Nathanael his brother, and Assabias, and Ochiel, and Joram, captains over thousands, gave to the Levites for the passover five thousand sheep, and ‖ seven hundred calves. ‖ Or, *five hundred calves*, 2 Chron. 35. 9.

10 And when these things were

families and kindreds.] Rather, "families and tribes." The "family," or "house," πατριά, had a wider signification than with us. Comp. Tobit i. 8, where it is rendered "kindred;" and see the art. GENEALOGY in the 'Dict. of the Bible.'

5. *as David . . . prescribed.*] More literally, "according to the writing of David," &c., nearly as in the Geneva Version. So in 2 Chron. xxx. 4, where there is the noticeable variation, "and according to the *writing* of Solomon his son," instead of, as here, "according to the *magnificence*." The phrase in the LXX. is there διὰ χειρὸς Σ., instead of κατὰ τὴν γραφήν, but the change was probably due to a wish on the part of the later writer to convey the idea of greater magnificence. To the minds of Israelites in later generations, as Fritzsche remarks, comparing Matt. vi. 29, Solomon was the very ideal of splendour.

and standing.] A fresh sentence should begin here, as in 2 Chron. xxxv. 5.

the several dignity, &c.] The Greek is κατὰ τὴν μεριδαρχίαν τὴν πατρικὴν ὑμῶν. In 1 Macc. x. 65 the word μεριδάρχης is used to express the office to which Johanan was raised, rendered in the margin of our version "governor of a province." But here the expression seems rather to mean "according to the several family headships of you the Levites," agreeably with the LXX. in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, κατὰ τὰς διαιρέσεις οἴκων πατριῶν ὑμῶν.

6. *in order.*] These two words, according to F., should be coupled with the previous verse.

7. *that was found there.*] That is, "who were present;" so rendered in *v.* 19. Εὑρεθῆναι in this usage is much like the French *se trouver*. Comp. Winer, P. iii. s. lxv. § 8, and Reuss's translation of the parallel expression in 2 Chron., "qui se trouvaient là."

of the king's allowance.] Rather, "of the royal treasury," or "royal stores." So F., who compares τὸ βασιλικὸν in 1 Macc. xiii. 15.

8. *Helkias, &c.*] This Helkias, or Hilchiah, was probably the High-priest of Josiah's reign, who found the Book of the Law (2 Kings xxii. 8). Zacharias is thought by R. to have been the "second priest" (an office mentioned in 2 Kings xxv. 18); while Syelus, or Jehiel, may be identical with the Jeiel (2 Chron. xxxv. 9) or Ochiel (*infra*, *v.* 9), a chief of the Levites. The variations in his name are traceable to the different equivalents given in MSS. of the LXX. to the Hebrew יְחִיאֵל, as Ὀζιῆλος, Ὀχιῆλος, Ἡσυῆλος, and the like.

governors of the temple.] If the term is here used in a general sense, we may understand it to include all the three just mentioned. But F. takes it to refer only to the two latter, Helkias, as High-priest, being separate. The office would seem to answer to that of the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ in 2 Macc. iii. 4, with which may be compared the "captain of the temple" (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) of the Acts iv. 1; cf. St. Luke xxii. 4.

9. *Jeconias, &c.*] The names here given will be easily identified with those in 2 Chron. xxxv. 8. For the abbreviation of Jeconiah to Coniah (whence Conaniah), see Jerem. xxii. 24, and the art. HANANIAH (8) in 'Dict. of the Bible.' The only material change is the substitution of Joram for Jozabad.

captains over thousands.] Gk. χιλίαρχοι, rendered in Acts xxi. 31 (in the singular) "chief captain." As a military term it was equivalent to the Roman *tribunus militum*, or commander of one-sixth of a legion, but here it is transferred to the officers of the Temple guard.

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B. C. cir. 623.

done, the priests and Levites, having the unleavened bread, stood in very comely order according to the kindreds,

11 And according to the several dignities of the fathers, before the people, to offer to the Lord, as it is written in the book of Moses: [b] and thus did they in the morning.

12 And they [c] roasted the passover with fire, as appertaineth: as for the sacrifices, they sod them in brass pots and pans [‖] with a good savour,

13 And set them before all the people: and afterward they prepared for themselves, and for the priests their brethren, the sons of Aaron.

14 For the priests offered the fat until night: and the Levites prepared for themselves, and the priests their brethren, the sons of Aaron.

15 The holy singers also, the sons of Asaph, were in their order, according to the appointment [d] of David, to wit, Asaph, Zacharias, and Jeduthun, who was [e] of the king's retinue.

16 Moreover the porters were at every gate; it was not lawful for any

B. C. cir. 623.

[b] 2 Chron. 35. 12, *and so of the bullocks.*

[c] Exod. 12. 8.

[‖] Or, *with good speed, or, willingly,* 2 Chron. 35. 13.

[d] 2 Chron. 35. 15, *of David and Asaph.*

[e] 2 Chron. 35. 15, *the king's seer*

10. *in very comely order.*] The word "very" is not needed to render εὐπρεπῶς. The inconvenient division of *vv.* 10 and 11 will be noticed.

11. *the several dignities.*] τὰς μεριδαρχίας, on which see note on *v.* 5.

and thus did they in the morning.] The marginal reading "and so of the bullocks" is what is found in the Geneva Version at the parallel passage in 2 Chron., where the A. V. has "and so *did they* with the oxen." Since the same expression as is here used, τὸ πρωινόν, is found in v. 50, in connection with ὁλοκαύτωμα, it would be most natural to understand it so here. The sense would then be: "and thus they performed (or offered) the morning sacrifice."

12. *as appertaineth.*] Rather, "as is fitting," ὡς καθήκει.

brass pots.] The "brasen vessels" of Mark vii. 4.

with a good savour.] μετ' εὐωδίας. The marginal reading "with good speed" suggests a variant μετ' εὐοδίας, which it might be thought the author of the book would have used in preference, as more nearly corresponding to the expression in 2 Chron. xxxv. 12. Is is possible that εὐωδίας was due to a misunderstanding of the εὐωδώθη there, εὐοδόω being confused with εὐωδέω? But comp. Eph. v. 2. It is noticeable that a like variation is found in the spelling of the name Euŏdia in Phil. iv. 2.

14. *offered, &c.*] More exactly: "for the priests were offering . . . till late at night" (ἕως ἀωρίας). That the priests were thus busied in offering the parts of the different victims to be consumed (τὰ στέατα, pl.) is given as the reason why the Levites should make preparation for them. This is clearly brought out in 2 Chron. xxxv. 14.

15. *holy singers.*] ἱεροψάλται; that is, those of the Levites appointed to conduct the musical portion of the service. The meaning of the parallel passage in 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 is clear; namely, that the singing-men took their station according to the directions left by David, and by his three choir-masters, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. But in the LXX., there as well as in the present passage, the three names last mentioned are in the nominative case, implying that they were the Levites present. In that case, of course, we must understand representatives of the three musicians so called to be meant. Moreover, instead of Heman, we have in the text Zacharias, and instead of Jeduthun, Eddinus; for such is the reading of the Greek. The identity of Ἐδδινοὺς with Ἰδιθὼμ or Ἰδιθοὺν is not far to seek. Why Zacharias should have been introduced instead of Heman, is, as F. admits, difficult to say. In 1 Chron. xv. 18 there is mention of one Zechariah, as a singer "of the second degree," and there is some difficulty connected with the name there also, as it is followed by "Ben," standing alone as a proper name, but plainly requiring to be rendered "son of"—some one whose name has dropped out, unless the "Ben" itself should be omitted. See Reuss there; and, for the identity of Jeduthun with Ethan, Lord Arthur Hervey in 'Dict. of the Bible,' art. JEDUTHUN.

who was of the king's retinue.] ὁ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως (Ald.), for which F. has οἱ παρά, referring to them all. The phrase may be explained by comparison of 1 Macc. xvi. 16 and similar passages; but, if we observe that the LXX. of 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 has οἱ προφῆται τοῦ β., we may be led to suspect the word παρὰ to be corrupt. By "seer" in the parallel passage no more need be meant than professional adviser.

16. *porters.*] Or, doorkeepers: see 1 Chron. xxvi. 14–18.

ordinary service.] See note on "daily courses," *v.* 2.

B. C. cir. 623. to go from his ordinary service: for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.

17 Thus were the things that belonged to the sacrifices of the Lord accomplished in that day, that they might hold the passover,

18 And offer sacrifices upon the altar of the Lord, according to the commandment of king Josias.

19 So the children of Israel which were present held the passover at that time, and the feast of sweet bread seven days.

20 And such a passover was not kept in Israel since the time of the prophet Samuel.

21 Yea, all the kings of Israel held not such a passover as Josias, and the priests, and the Levites, and the Jews, held with all Israel that were found dwelling at Jerusalem. B. C. cir. 623.

22 In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josias was this passover kept.

23 And the works of Josias were upright before his Lord with an heart full of godliness.

24 As for the things that came to pass in his time, they were written in former times, concerning those that sinned, and ‖ did wickedly against the Lord above all people and kingdoms, and how they grieved him ‖ exceedingly, so that the words of the Lord rose up against Israel. ‖ Or, *were ungodly.* ‖ Or, *sensibly.*

25 ¶ *f* Now after all these acts of Josias it came to pass, that Pharaoh the king of Egypt came to raise war at Carchamis upon Euphrates: and Josias went out against him. *f* 2 Chron. 35. 20, &c. cir. 610.

26 But the king of Egypt sent to

for their brethren, &c.] This gives the reason why there was no need for them to leave their posts. The other Levites prepared the paschal meal for them to eat.

17. *that they might hold.*] Rather, "should be held;" and, in the next verse, "that the sacrifices should be brought;" the verbs in both places being passive.

19. *sweet bread.*] An unusual expression for "unleavened bread," found also in Cranmer's Bible. Compare James iii. 11, 12, where the same word γλυκὺ is rendered "sweet" and "fresh."

20. *such a passover.*] For the points in which it surpassed all earlier ones since the establishment of the kingdom, see R.'s note on 2 Kings xxiii. 22.

21. *with all Israel.*] The word "Israel" is here used in a more limited sense than in the clauses immediately preceding.

23. *And the works.*] This verse and the next contain an addition to the account as it is in 2 Chron., apparently meant to make the transition less abrupt to the very different scenes about to be described.

24. *the things that came to pass in his time.*] Rather, "the events concerning him," τὰ κατ' αὐτόν.

exceedingly.] The Greek is ἐν αἰσθήσει, which will explain the marginal reading, "sensibly." If the reading be genuine, it is a difficult one, and seems to mean "in His feelings;" that is, "to the heart." So Wahl: "Wie sie ihn in seinem Gefühle gekränkt haben." The Geneva Version has "with sensible things," and, in the margin, an explanation of this: "by worshipping sensible creatures." Comp. Ezek. viii. 10. But this would be a forced interpretation.

rose up.] This expression is more than a mere metaphor, like "lifted up his voice," "took up his parable," &c. A personal agency is ascribed to the word of the Lord, as to the ancient *Diræ*. F. compares 1 Ki. xiii. 2, and 2 Ki. xxiii. 16.

25. *after all these acts.*] How long after is not said; but the date is fixed at 608 B.C. See R.'s note on 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. The Pharaoh here spoken of was Pharaoh-Necho (Νεκὼς in Hdt. ii. 158), said by the Greek historian to be son of Psammetichus I., who had at this period newly ascended the throne. Herodotus mentions an engagement of this Necho with the "Syrians" at "Magdolus" (Megiddo?), adding that after the battle he took a great city of Syria named Cadytis,—thought by some to denote Jerusalem itself, by others Gaza. In his passage along the coast of Palestine to seize the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish, he was encountered by Josiah. Carchemish is identified by Reuss and Fritzsche with the Circesium, or Circusium of the Greeks, which stood at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates. But Rawlinson has shewn good reason for believing it to have stood much higher up, near the site of the later Hierapolis.

B. C. cir. 610. him, saying, What have I to do with thee, O king of Judea?

27 I am not sent out from the Lord God against thee; for my war is upon Euphrates: and now the Lord is with me, yea, the Lord is with me hasting me forward: depart from me, and be not against the Lord.

28 Howbeit Josias did not turn back his chariot from him, but undertook to fight with him, not regarding the words of the prophet Jeremy spoken by the mouth of the Lord:

29 But joined battle with him in the plain of Magiddo, and the princes came against king Josias.

30 Then said the king unto his servants, Carry me away out of the battle; for I am very weak. And immediately his servants took him away out of the battle. B. C. cir. 610

31 Then gat he up upon his second chariot; and being brought back to Jerusalem died, and was buried in his father's sepulchre.

32 And in all Jewry they mourned for Josias, yea, Jeremy the prophet lamented for Josias, and the chief men with the women made lamentation for him unto this day: and this was given out for an ordinance to be done continually in all the nation of Israel.

33 These things are written in the book of the stories of the kings of Judah, and every one of the acts that Josias did, and his glory, and his understanding in the law of the Lord,

27. *thee.*] The word is emphatical. "Ce n'est pas à toi," &c. (Reuss). The religious tone of the utterances ascribed to the Egyptian king is noticeable. Compare the words of the Assyrian Rabshakeh in 2 Kings xviii. 25.

28. *did not turn back his chariot from him.*] The Greek is literally: "and Josias did not turn himself away to his chariot;" which, taken in connection with what is said about "his second chariot" in *v.* 31, seems to imply that the king would not be induced to return to his travelling chariot, and give up the encounter.

the prophet Jeremy.] In the parallel passage of 2 Chron. the expression is that Josiah would not hearken to the words of *Necho* from the mouth of the Lord. And though in the prophecy of Jeremiah there may be references to this defeat (as in xv. 7–9), yet there is nothing, as F. points out, which can be construed as a dissuasion from the encounter.

29. *Magiddo.*] The "plain of Megiddo" mentioned here is in keeping with the "valley of Megiddo" spoken of in 2 Chron. It would seem that the Egyptians, marching northwards along the coast, had turned off at Mount Carmel into the plain of Esdraelon, the great battle-field of Palestine, and been met by Josiah at the pass of Megiddo, the modern *el-Lejjun.*

the princes.] Rather, "the leaders," *οἱ ἄρχοντες.* In 1 Macc. ix. 37, where also a military force is spoken of, the word is rendered "governors." For the expression "came against," more literally "came down against," comp. Judith xiv. 13. For some reason, the author has here diverged from the account in 2 Chron. (found in the LXX. as well as the Hebrew), "the archers shot at king Josiah."

30. *I am very weak.*] Rather, "I am grown weak" (*ἠσθένησα*), or "I have lost strength." It is not here expressly stated that Josiah was wounded, but this is implied in what follows.

31. *his second chariot.*] The word rendered "second," *δευτέριον*, is late, and rarely found. In the LXX. it is *δευτερεῖον.* The chariot in question seems to have been the one for travelling (see note on *v.* 28), waiting in attendance while the king was engaged in the combat in his war-chariot (2 Chron. xxxv. 24).

died.] There is no real contradiction between this and 2 Kings xxiii. 30. See R.'s note there, and comp. 2 Kings xxii. 20.

32. *Jeremy the prophet.*] Josephus ('Antiqq.' x. 5. 1) states that Jeremiah composed a funeral dirge for Josiah, which was still extant, —*ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει.* But the Book of *Lamentations*, as we have it, does not contain anything that could properly be so described.

33. *the book of the stories.*] In 2 Chron. xiii. 22 we have a mention of "the *story* of the prophet Iddo;" but the word there used, *Midrash*, is rather "interpretation," or "commentary," as in the margin. It might be reasonably thought that the Second Book of Chronicles was here referred to, and the Second Book of Kings in the latter part of the verse. But if so, the writer's language is vague. In *v.* 42 he speaks of the "chronicles of the kings" (*ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν χρόνων*), while here the expression is *ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ κ. τ. λ.* The work so often referred to as an authority in the Books of Kings themselves, as "The Book of the

B. C. cir. 610. and the things that he had done before, and the things now recited, are reported in the book of the kings of Israel and Judea.

cir. 610. 34 [g] And the people took Joachaz the son of Josias, and made him king instead of Josias his father, when he was twenty and three years old.

[g] 2 Kings 23. 30. 2 Chron. 36. 1.

35 And he reigned in Judea and in Jerusalem three months: and then the king of Egypt deposed him from reigning in Jerusalem.

36 And he set a tax upon the land of an hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.

37 The king of Egypt also made king Joacim his brother king of Judea and Jerusalem.

38 And he bound Joacim and the nobles: but Zaraces his brother he apprehended, and brought him out of Egypt. B. C. cir. 610.

39 Five and twenty years old was [h] Joacim when he was made king in the land of Judea and Jerusalem; and he did evil before the Lord. cir. 610. [h] 2 Chron. 36. 4, 5. *Jehoiakim*, or *Eliakim*.

40 Wherefore against him Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon came up, and bound him with a chain of brass, and carried him into Babylon. cir. 606.

41 Nabuchodonosor also took of the holy vessels of the Lord, and carried them away, and set them in his own temple at Babylon.

42 But those things that are recorded of him, and of his uncleanness and impiety, are written in the chronicles of the kings.

Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," or "of Israel" (1 Kings xiv. 29, xv. 7; 2 Kings x. 34, &c.), is in all those places uniformly described in the LXX. as the Book λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν.

now recited.] The word "recited" should be in Italics. A closer rendering would be, "and the things done now."

34. *Joachaz.*] This is the reading of the Aldine, agreeably with the Hebrew; but the best Greek text has Ἰεχονίαν. The Vulgate has also "Jechonias," and this form is preserved in Matt. i. 11. The error probably arose from a misreading of the Hebrew name, such as has caused frequent confusion between Jehoiakim (Ἰωαχείμ) and Jehoiachin (Ἰωακείμ). See Lord Arthur Hervey's art. JEHOIACHIN in 'Dict. of the Bible.' Jehoahaz (or Shallum, as he is called in Jer. xxii. 11) was the younger brother of Eliakim or Jehoiakim. For his short reign of three months, see R. on 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

37. *king.*] This word seems unnecessarily repeated before Joacim; but it is found in the Greek. Jehoiakim's age at his accession is given below, *v.* 39; and by a comparison of it with *v.* 34 we see that he was older than his half-brother and predecessor Jehoahaz.

38. The statements in this verse seem hopelessly confused. There is no authority for "and" before "the nobles." Indeed there would be no sense in saying that the king of Egypt "bound" the king whom he had just placed on the throne. The literal rendering of the passage is: "and Joakim bound the nobles, but Zaraces his brother he apprehended," &c. If this be right, the reference must be to some despotic proceedings of which we have no other account. The alteration of Zedekiah (who was the king's half-brother, being own brother to Jehoahaz) to Zaraces is not inexplicable, when we think of the resemblance of ד to ר; but a comparison of the statement in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, "and Necho took Jehoahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt," makes us suspect some corruption of the text. The reading of the Vulgate suggests a possible explanation: *et alligavit magistratus Ioacim, et Zaracelem fratrem suum, et apprehendens reduxit in Aegyptum.* That Necho should take the own brother of the deposed king, and his chief nobles, as hostages into Egypt, would be natural enough; and there is nothing to forbid our taking Ἰωακὶμ as genitive, though the position would be unusual. But we should be compelled to read εἰς Αἴγυπτον in place of ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, a change for which there is not authority. The Geneva Version makes sense, at the expense of the text, by rendering "he bound Joachaz and his governours." Josephus, following the Hebrew, throws no light on the subject.

41. *in his own temple.*] Compare the expression "the house of his god," used of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. i. 2; where also the mention of "*part* of the vessels of the house of God" as being carried away will illustrate the language here. For the special devotion of this king to Bel-Merodach, the Babylonian Mars, see R.'s note on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. That this incident should be mentioned in Chronicles, but not in Kings, accords with the theory of Jeremiah being the compiler of the latter (or its later portion), and Daniel of the former. See also the note on ii. 10.

42. Comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

B. C. cir. 599. 43 And Joacim his son reigned in his stead: he was made king being eighteen years old;

44 And reigned but three months and ten days in Jerusalem; and did evil before the Lord.

45 So after a year Nabuchodonosor sent and caused him to be brought into Babylon with the holy vessels of the Lord;

599. 46 And made Zedechias king of Judea and Jerusalem, when he was one and twenty years old; and he reigned eleven years:

[i] Jer. 52. 2, &c. 47 And [i] he did evil also in the sight of the Lord, and cared not for the words that were spoken unto him by the prophet Jeremy from the mouth of the Lord.

593. 48 And after that king Nabuchodonosor had made him to swear by the name of the Lord, he forswore himself, and rebelled; and hardening his neck, and his heart, he transgressed the laws of the Lord God of Israel.

49 The governors also of the people and of the priests did many things against the laws, and passed all the pollutions of all nations, and defiled the temple of the Lord, which was sanctified in Jerusalem. B. C. cir. 593.

50 Nevertheless the God of their fathers sent by his messenger to call them back, because he spared them and his tabernacle also.

51 But they had his messengers in derision; and, look, when the Lord spake unto them, they made a sport of his prophets:

52 So far forth, that he, being wroth with his people for their great ungodliness, commanded the kings of the Chaldees to come up against them;

53 Who slew their young men with the sword, yea, even within the compass of their holy temple, and spared neither young man nor maid, old man nor child, among them; for he delivered all into their hands.

54 And they took all the holy vessels of the Lord, both great and small, with the vessels of the ark of God, and the king's treasures, and carried them away into Babylon.

43. *Joacim.*] Called in the A. V. of 2 Chron. Jehoiachin. The age here assigned him agrees with 2 Kings xxiv. 8, and is more probable than the *eight* years of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

45. *So after a year.*] That is, from the expedition referred to in *v.* 40.

the holy vessels.] That is, such as were left after the partial spoliation related in *v.* 41. The final clearance is mentioned in *v.* 54.

46. *Zedechias.*] The writer avoids the apparent error of calling him the late king's *brother*, as is done in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11. Being the son of Josiah and Hamutal, he was uncle to Jehoiachin. His timid, vacillating character is well described by Mr. W. A. Wright in his article in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1834.

47. *cared for.*] ἐνετράπη ἀπό. The construction seems worth citing as throwing light on the classical ἐντρέπεσθαί τινος, which cannot surely mean "to turn *towards* a person" (as explained in Liddell and Scott), but rather "to turn in upon oneself *from*," as a snail drawing in its horns, and so "to stand in awe of," "reverence."

Jeremy.] Jer. xxi. 3–7, and many later passages, would apply here.

49. *of the priests.*] That is, the chief of the priests, a suitable word having to be supplied from "governors." For the general subject, see 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, and the note on *v.* 24 above, in connection with Ezek. viii. 10–16.

50. *messenger.*] In 2 Chron. the word is plural, "messengers;" that is, the prophets. If any stress is here to be laid on the singular, we may suppose Jeremiah to have been meant. Comp. the next verse.

52. *to come up, &c.*] Rather, "to bring up against them the kings," &c.; the verb ἀναβιβάσαι being transitive.

54. *the vessels of the ark.*] This is the reading of the Aldine, τὰ σκεύη κιβωτοῦ. But the best text has καὶ τὰς κιβωτοὺς, "and the arks," or chests, explained by F. to be treasure-chests. It is against this view that, although the word may have this meaning in other Greek authors (as in the passage of Suidas quoted by F.), in biblical Greek it appears to be used only for the ark of the Covenant, and for Noah's ark (for which the Hebrew terms are not the same). The word

B. C. cir. 588.

55 As for the house of the Lord, they burnt it, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem, and set fire upon her towers:

56 And as for her glorious things, they never ceased till they had consumed and brought them all to nought: and the people that were not slain with the sword he carried unto Babylon:

57 Who became servants to him and his children, till the Persians reigned, to fulfil the [k] word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremy:

58 Until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths, the whole time of her desolation shall she ‖ rest, until the full term of seventy years.

[k] Jer. 25. 11. & 29. 10.

‖ Or, *keep sabbath.*

CHAPTER II.

B. C. cir. 536.

1 *Cyrus is moved by God to build the temple,* 5 *and giveth leave to the Jews to return, and contribute to it.* 11 *He delivereth again the vessels which had been taken thence.* 25 *Artaxerxes forbiddeth the Jews to build any more.*

IN the [a] first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy;

cir. 536.

[a] 2 Chron. 36. 22, 23. Ezra 1. 1, &c.

2 The Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing,

3 Saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians; The Lord of Israel,

used in the LXX. for the ark in which Moses was laid, is *θίβις*.

56. *And as for, &c.*] The English here is somewhat free, for "they finished the work of destroying her glorious things." There may, however, be an imitation of a Hebrew use of the infinitive in the phrase *συνετέλεσαν ἀχρειῶσαι*, on which see Wahl, *s. v.*

slain with the sword.] The translator was perhaps influenced by the reading of the Aldine, *ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας*, which would suggest its being coupled with *ἐπιλοίπους*. But the best reading is *μετὰ ῥομφαίας*, "with the sword;" that is, "he led them away sword in hand" (*das Schwert in der Hand*, F.), as his captives.

58. It is not certain where the pause in the sense ought to be made. In the Hebrew (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21) the words "until," &c. are coupled with what precedes. Then a fresh sentence would begin thus: "All the time of her desolation shall she rest, up to," &c. If we are to take a year of captivity as representing the compensation for each sabbatical year of rest not enjoyed by the land, then, as Reuss points out, we should have to go back 490 years, or to the time of David, for the beginning of the period of neglect. But, as Dr. Bissell observes, "it is the theological, not the chronological, idea that predominates."

CHAPTER II.

1. *In the first year, &c.*] The writer now passes to the restoration of the Jews in 538 B.C. Like the author of the Second Book of Chronicles, he is silent about all that intervened at Babylon. The abrupt ending of 2 Chron., *καὶ ἀναβήτω*, is linked on to what follows, in Ezra i. 3 and in *v.* 5 of the present chapter. The abruptness is not so noticeable in the A. V., but in reality, as Reuss observes ('Introd.' p. 10), the proclamation of Cyrus is broken off in the middle of a sentence. For the date, see Sayce's 'Introd. to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther' (1885), p. 19. By "first year" is meant the first year of his reign in Babylonia.

that he had promised.] These words are not wanted. The Greek is literally: "for the fulfilment of the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah," nearly as it is in the Geneva Version. For the reference, see Jer. xxv. 12, 13; xxix. 10

2. *The Lord raised up.*] On the possible contact of Cyrus with Daniel at Babylon, and the knowledge he may have gained of Hebrew prophecies, see the note on Ezra i. 1. Sayce (p. 17) gives reasons of worldly policy which may have influenced Cyrus:—"Experience had taught Cyrus the danger of allowing a disaffected people to live in the country of their conquerors. He therefore reversed the old policy of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, which consisted in transporting the larger portion of a conquered population to another country, and sought instead to win their gratitude and affection by allowing them to return to their native land. He saw moreover that the Jews, if restored from exile, would not only protect the south-western corner of his empire from the Egyptians, but would form a base for his intended invasion of Egypt itself."

by writing.] Lit. "by letters," or "despatches," *διὰ γραπτῶν*,—a rare word, found in 2 Macc. xi. 15.

3. *king of the Persians.*] On the propriety of this title, see Sayce, 'Fresh Light from

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B. C. cir. 536. the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world,

4 And commanded me to build him an house at Jerusalem in Jewry.

5 If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and build the house of the ‖ Or, *this.* Lord of Israel: for ‖ he is the Lord that dwelleth in Jerusalem.

6 Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him, those, I say, that are his neighbours, with gold, and with silver,

7 With gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things, which have been set forth by vow, for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem.

8 ¶ Then the chief of the families of Judea and of the tribe of Benjamin stood up; the priests also, and the Levites, and all they whose B. C. cir. 536. mind the Lord had moved to go up, and to build an house for the Lord at Jerusalem,

9 And they that dwelt round about them, and helped them in all things with silver and gold, with ‖ horses and cattle, and with very ‖ Heb. *substance,* Ezra 1. 6. many free gifts of a great number whose minds were stirred up thereto.

10 King Cyrus also brought forth the holy vessels, which Nabuchodonosor had carried away from Jerusalem, and had set up in his temple of idols.

11 Now when Cyrus king of the ‖ Gr. *Shashbazar: the first part of the word is corruptly joined to the word going before.* Persians had brought them forth, he delivered them to Mithridates his treasurer:

12 And by him they were delivered to ‖ Sanabassar the governor of Judea. Ezra 1. 8.

the ancient Monuments,' 1884, p. 153; and, for the religious tone of his proclamation, R.'s note on Ezra i. 2.

4. *Jewry.*] The fondness of the English translator for variety is shewn in the use of this word here, and of "Judea" in the next verse. In the Geneva Version both were "Judea," as in the Greek.

6. *places.*] τόπους, "districts." The formation of the words τοπάρχης and τοπαρχία seems to shew that the word was acquiring something of a precise and technical meaning. A closer translation would be: "As many therefore as dwell in the districts, let them that are in his district help him," &c.

7. *horses.*] It is observable that in the parallel passage in Ezra there is no mention of horses as part of the gifts. The fame of the Assyrian horses at this time (comp. Hab. i. 8) would make them highly prized; and, as a matter of fact, we find the number of those brought back, 736, carefully recorded in Neh. vii. 68.

8. *Judea.*] This should be "Judah," Ἰούδα.

stood up.] Both here, and in the LXX. of Ezra i. 5, there is the variation of καταστάντες, "standing up," for the better-established reading καταστήσαντες, "settling," or "resolving;" and in both the sentence is incomplete. The A. V. makes the sense easy, by rendering it as a main verb.

whose mind the Lord had moved.] This shews that the desire to return was not universal. Of the Levites, in particular, only seventy-four went back to their native country. Few would remember a land left 68 years ago; and motives can readily be imagined that would make numbers prefer to stay where they were.

9. *free gifts.*] εὐχαῖς, lit. "votive offerings." Comp. *v.* 7.

10. *the holy vessels.*] There would be an obvious discrepancy between this statement and that in iv. 43 *sqq.*, if we had to regard chs. iii., iv. as forming part, along with this, of a continuous historical account. See the Introd. § III. The word rendered "set up" (ἀπηρείσατο, "deposited") is the same as was used in i. 41, and is found also in the Chisian MS. of Dan. i. 2.

11. *Mithridates.*] Another of this name is mentioned in *v.* 16 below. As meaning "given by Mithra," the sun-god, it would be a natural one for Persians to bear. The name of the office borne by this Mithridates, γαζοφύλαξ, or treasurer, explains the curious addition of *filius Gazabar* in the Vulgate, and of Γασβαρηνός in the LXX. of Ezra i. 8. In each case it is simply a misinterpretation of the Hebrew *gizbár*, or treasurer. See the art. MITHREDATH in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

12. *Sanabassar.*] The form of the name in the Geneva Version, "Abassar," will help to explain the marginal note in the A. V. about the wrong division of words. The Greek is παρεδόθησαν Σαναβασσάρῳ, and it is suggested that the σαν has got redoubled. In the Aldine ἀβασσάρῳ is in fact read. But the reading of the best MSS., Σασαβασάρ,

B. C. cir. 536.

13 And this was the number of them; A thousand golden cups, and a thousand of silver, ‖ censers of silver twenty nine, vials of gold thirty, and of silver [b] two thousand four hundred and ten, and a thousand other vessels.

14 So all the vessels of gold and of silver, which were carried away, were [c] five thousand four hundred threescore and nine. B. C. cir. 512.

15 These were brought back by Sanabassar, together with them of the captivity, from Babylon to Jerusalem.

16 [d] But in the time of Artaxerxes king of the Persians Belemus, and Mithridates, and Tabellius, and

‖ Heb. *knives*, Ezra i. 9.
[b] Ezra i. 10, *but four hundred and ten.*
[c] Ezra i. 11, *but five thousand four hundred.*
[d] Ezra 4. 7.

or Σασαβασσάρ, agreeing with the Hebrew שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר, makes this improbable. The common opinion that Sheshbazzar is a Babylonian name for Zerubbabel is attacked by De Saulcy, 'Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras,' &c., 1868, pp. 7, 12, on the ground that the difference of lists given in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., together with the expression "*first* returned" in *v.* 5 of the latter passage, makes it evident that there was an earlier *convoi* under Sheshbazzar. This argument does not carry much weight. See Ewald's 'Hist. of Israel' (tr. by Carpenter), vol. v. p. 87.

governor.] προστάτῃ. His office seems to have been the same in rank as that afterwards held by Nehemiah; namely, that of Pekhah, or ruler of a sub-district, under the satrap, or ruler of a province. The word "governor" is used in the A. V. to render many widely-different terms. See Sayce's 'Ezra,' &c., p. 23; and Ewald, as above, p. 87 *n.*

13. It will be observed that the separate numbers in this passage make up the total of 5469 in *v.* 14; while those in the corresponding place of Ezra do not amount to half the total given. But it does not therefore follow that the later authority is right. Reuss suspects the words rendered "of a second sort" in Ezra i. 10.

cups.] What these and the "censers" really were is difficult to determine, as the Hebrew words for each in Ezra are found nowhere else, while the rendering of the first in the LXX. is ψυκτῆρες, "coolers," and in this passage σπονδεῖα, "vessels for libation;" and that of the second is in the LXX. παρηλλαγμένα (="plaited work," "baskets"?), and here θυΐσκαι, "censers." The Vulgate *athiscæ* is probably only a corruption of *thyiscæ*, θυΐσκαι. Reuss renders the last, conjecturally, by *encensoirs*.

16. At this point a fresh section begins, answering to Ezra iv. 7-24, and removed by an interval of time from what has gone before. To understand it at all, the sequence of events as given in Ezra iv. must be kept in mind. We there read that the work of building the *temple* was hindered, through the jealousy of adversaries, "all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia" (*v.* 5). In the reign of "Ahasuerus" (*v.* 6) a fresh letter of accusation is sent to the king. In the days of "Artaxerxes," another document, the contents of which are given at length (*vv.* 7–16), was forwarded on the same subject, and an answer from the king received; in consequence of which the Jews were forcibly "made to cease" (*v.* 23) from the work, as it appears, of rebuilding the *city*. Lastly, in *v.* 24 we are told: "Then ceased the work of the *house of God* which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia."

To explain this, three theories present themselves. (1) Assuming the Darius first mentioned to be Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521–485), we may suppose Ahasuerus to be his son and successor Xerxes (for the Persian form of the name see on Esther i. 1), who reigned from 485 to 465; then Artaxerxes will be Longimanus (465–425), and the Darius at the end of the chapter will be Darius Nothus (425–405). The objection to this is that we should have to admit that Jeshua and Zerubbabel, who returned in 538, were still alive at the dedication of the Temple in the sixth year of this last king's reign; which is not credible.

(2) It is assumed that Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 6) is another name for Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus the Great (529–522), and Artaxerxes a name for the Pseudo-Smerdis (522) who usurped the throne for seven months after him. Thus the Darius of Ezra iv. 24 would be Darius Hystaspis, to whom the narrative which follows would properly apply. This is the supposition approved by Rawlinson, and in a qualified manner by Reuss. The names would then be considered to be dynastic. It is in favour of this that Josephus ('Antiqq.' xi. 2) makes the letter of Belsemus to be addressed to Cambyses.

(3) It is supposed that all between *vv.* 5 and 24 in Ezra iv. is parenthetical; the stoppage of work at the Temple up to the reign of Darius being related in *v.* 5, and its resumption in the second year of that king being again noticed in *v.* 24. In favour of this supposition is the fact, that all the intervening part relates to the building of the *city*, and so might be treated as a long parenthesis, and also that it requires no forced interpretation of the proper names. This theory is adopted by Sayce. If it be the right view, then we must conclude that the writer of

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B. C. cir. 522.

‖ *Bahumus, and the name which followeth is but an epithet to the former,* Ezra 4. 9.

‖ *Shimshai,* Ezra 4. 8.

‖ Rathumus, and Beeltethmus, and ‖ Semellius the secretary, with others that were in commission with them, dwelling in Samaria and other places, wrote unto him against them that dwelt in Judea and Jerusalem these letters following;

17 To king Artaxerxes our lord, Thy servants, Rathumus the story-writer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest of their council, and the judges that are in Celosyria and Phenice.

18 Be it now known to the lord the king, that the Jews that are come up from you to us, being come into Jerusalem, that rebellious and wicked city, do build the market-places, and repair the walls of it, and do lay the foundation of the temple.

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19 Now if this city and the walls thereof be made up again, they will not only refuse to give tribute, but also rebel against kings.

20 And forasmuch as the things pertaining to the temple are now in hand, we think it meet not to neglect such a matter,

1 Esdras misunderstood his authorities, for in *v.* 18 of the present chapter he includes the work at the Temple as part of the grievances alleged.

16. *Belemus, &c.*] There is some confusion in the proper names here, not made clearer by the marginal misprint of Bahumus for Rathumus. The parallel lists are as follows:—

In Ezra.	In 1 Esdras.
Bishlam.	Belemus.
Mithredath.	Mithridates.
Tabeel.	Tabellius.
Rehum.	Rathumus.
Shimshai.	Beeltethmus.
	Semellius.

Of these, Bishlam does not appear in the LXX. of Ezra as a proper name, but we have instead ἐν εἰρήνῃ, "in peace." This looks as if the translator had been misled by the termination of the name בִּשְׁלָם, *Bishelâm*, and understood it as שְׁלָם, the Chaldee form of שָׁלוֹם, *shalôm*, "peace;" as if it had been the greeting at the beginning of a letter. Exactly in the same way, in Psalm lxxv.(-vi.) 2, we have in the LXX. ἐγενήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ for "at *Salem* is his tabernacle." But the form Βήλεμος found in the present passage supports the view that a proper name is intended. Mithridates and Tabeel (= Tabeal, Isai. vii. 6) need no comment. The former is thought to have been satrap of Syria, and the latter his secretary. Rathumus is a Grecised form of Rehum. Beeltethmus, as the marginal note implies, is not a proper name at all, but a title of Rehum, *Be'él-Te'êm*, "lord of judgment." In the Greek it is rendered by ὁ τὰ προσπίπτοντα (sc. γράφων), = "the chronicler" or "recorder." In *v.* 17 the A. V. renders it "story-writer," discarding it as a proper name; but in *v.* 25, by a strange confusion, due to the Aldine text, we have "*Rathumus* the story-writer," and *Beeltethmus* as a distinct person. Professor Sayce explains the title as signifying "lord of official intelligence," or "postmaster;" "the word *dh'êm* being the technical word used by the Assyrians and Babylonians to denote the regular reports forwarded to the king by his official correspondents abroad." "Shimshai," he adds, "'he that belongs to the Sun-god,' was Rehum's secretary" ('Ezra,' &c., p. 25).

that were in commission with them.] οἱ τούτοις συνταγσόμενοι, *eorum collegæ* (Wahl), seems to answer to "the rest of their council" in the next verse. The geographical names of the various settlements, whose representatives combined in this despatch, are here omitted by the writer.

17. *and the judges.*] καὶ κριταί. These words are omitted in the Alexandrian MS., and F. thinks them due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew word rendered "Dinaites," the first of the series of local names in Ezra iv. 9. But the expression τάδε ἔκρινε Ῥεοὺμ κ. τ. λ. in the LXX. of Ezra is in favour of κριταὶ in its ordinary sense.

Celosyria.] Properly, the plain lying between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The name came into use after the time of Alexander the Great. See the art. COELE-SYRIA in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

18. *that rebellious, &c.*] According to F.'s punctuation of the Greek, the sense would be: "having come into Jerusalem, are building the rebellious and wicked city, are repairing both the market-places and the walls of it, and are laying," &c.

19. *Now if this city.*] There seems little doubt that a word has slipped out here, and that it should be, "Now if this city be built, and the walls," &c. It is so in the Geneva Version, and the Greek requires it: ἐὰν οὖν ἡ πόλις αὕτη οἰκοδομήθῃ.

they will not only refuse.] The Greek is simply "they will not endure," οὐ μὴ ὑπομείνωσι.

20. *are now in hand.*] ἐνεργεῖται, "are

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21 But to speak unto our lord the king, to the intent that, if it be thy pleasure, it may be sought out in the books of thy fathers:

22 And thou shalt find in the chronicles what is written concerning these things, and shalt understand that that city was rebellious, troubling both kings and cities:

23 And that the Jews were rebellious, and raised always wars therein; for the which cause even this city was made desolate.

24 Wherefore now we do declare unto thee, O lord the king, that if this city be built again, and the walls thereof set up anew, thou shalt from henceforth have no passage into Celosyria and Phenice.

25 Then the king wrote back again to Rathumus the storywriter, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and to the rest that were in commission, and dwellers in Samaria and Syria and Phenice, after this manner;

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26 I have read the epistle which ye have sent unto me: therefore I commanded to make diligent search, and it hath been found that that city was from the beginning practising against kings;

27 And the men therein were given to rebellion and war: and that mighty kings and fierce were in Jerusalem, who reigned and exacted tributes in Celosyria and Phenice.

28 Now therefore I have commanded to hinder those men from building the city, and heed to be taken that there be no more done in it;

29 And that those wicked workers proceed no further to the annoyance of kings.

30 Then king Artaxerxes his letters being read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that were in commission with them, removing

being urged on." The word is the same as is rendered "had more force" in Wisd. xvi. 17. The Geneva Version has "goe forward." The writer here deviates from the sense of Ezra iv. 14, for which see the marginal note there.

21. *it may be sought out.*] Rather, "a search may be made," as in Ezra iv. 15. Comp. *v.* 26 below.

of thy fathers.] Rather, "which have come down *from* thy fathers," *ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων.* What these were, may be understood from Esther ii. 23; vi. 1. Such archives are called in the next verse *ὑπομνηματισμοί* (v. l. *ὑπομνήματα*), memorials, or state records. Comp. 2 Macc. ii. 13, and the "book of remembrance" of Mal. iii. 16. By "fathers" may be simply meant predecessors on the throne.

23. *and raised always wars therein.*] *καὶ πολιορκίας συνιστάμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ ἔτι ἐξ αἰῶνος.* The expression is peculiar; lit. "and undertaking sieges in it continually for ever." Dr. Bissell explains it of the Jews causing themselves to be besieged, through their turbulent conduct. But this would be a forced meaning of *συνιστάμενοι.* It seems more natural to connect it with such military expeditions as are alluded to in *v.* 27.

24. *be built again.*] Rather, "be built," *οἰκοδομηθῇ.*

no passage, &c.] The motive for the king's intervention, as given in the Hebrew of Ezra iv. 16, is that he would otherwise "have no portion on this side the river,"—that is, west of the Euphrates; in the LXX. "that he would not have peace;" and here, that his passage into Palestine from the north would be barred.

25. *the storywriter.*] See note on *v.* 16 above. In Ezra iv. 17 it is "Rehum the chancellor," but in the LXX. Ῥεοὺμ Βαλτάμ.

after this manner.] The Greek word implies that the letter is subjoined. In Ezra iv. 17 its formal superscription is given: "Peace, and at such a time;" that is, "Peace, and so on." See R.'s note there.

26. *practising against.*] Gk. *ἀντιπαρατάσσουσα,* "setting itself against." For the word in the A. V. comp. Shaksp. 'L. L. L.' i. 1: "He will practise against thee with poison."

27. *given to.*] Lit. "forming," or "accomplishing," *συντελοῦντες.* Compare the terms used in *v.* 23.

28. *done in it.*] Rather, "that nothing be done contrary hereto."

29. *those wicked workers.*] *τὰ τῆς κακίας,* a Hebraism for *τὰ κακά,* or *αἱ κακίαι,* as in 3 Macc. ii. 25. It should rather be, "and that the mischief proceed no further," &c. If there were any authority for omitting the *τὰ* before *τῆς κακίας,* it would give the simple meaning of proceeding to a further degree of wickedness.

30. *Artaxerxes his letters.*] The "his" is

B. C. cir. 522. in haste toward Jerusalem with a troop of horsemen and ‖ a multitude of people in battle array, began to hinder the builders; and the building of the temple in Jerusalem ceased cir. 520. until the second year of the reign of Darius king of the Persians.

‖ Or, *a great number of soldiers.*

CHAPTER III.

4 *Three strive to excel each other in wise speeches.* 9 *They refer themselves to the judgment of the king.* 18 *The first declareth the strength of wine.*

NOW when Darius reigned, he made a great feast unto all his subjects, and unto all his household, and unto all the princes of Media and Persia,

2 And to all the governors and captains and lieutenants that were under him, from India unto Ethiopia, of an hundred twenty and seven provinces.

3 And when they had eaten and drunken, and being satisfied were gone home, then Darius the king went into his bedchamber, and slept, and soon after awaked.

4 Then three young men, that

an old equivalent for the *-es* of the genitive, as at the end of the prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men.

removing.] ἀναζεύξαντες, a military term, implying that they "marched off," like an armed force. Comp. Thuc. viii. 108.

the second year, &c.] B.C. 520, assuming Darius the son of Hystaspis to be meant. See the note above (p. 25) on *v.* 16.

CHAPTER III.

(iii. 1—v. 6.) The curious episode which follows, composed, as it would seem, partly in imitation of the beginning of the Book of Esther, and partly from some current stories of the Persian Court, appears to have been inserted here as a means of stringing the narrative together; so far, at least, as it professes to account for the readiness of Darius to help the Jews. With the same idea, apparently, of making the order of events seem easy and natural, Josephus, who repeats the story with embellishments of his own ('Antiqq.' xi. 3), relates how Darius, while yet a private person, had vowed that, if he should ever attain the throne, he would send back to Jerusalem all the sacred vessels of the Temple still remaining in Babylon. Further to facilitate matters, Zorobabel, who had been chosen leader (ἡγεμών) of the captive Jews, had lately returned to Babylon from Jerusalem, and being welcomed by Darius (to explain which he is made to have been a friend of old standing) is made one of three body-guards (σωματοφύλακες) in attendance on the king. How clumsily such invented accounts hang together is strikingly illustrated in the present instance.

1. *Now when Darius reigned.*] This rendering is due to the reading of the Aldine, καὶ βασιλεύσας Δ. The best reading is καὶ βασιλεὺς κ. τ. λ., = "and king Darius made," &c.

made a great feast.] As Dr. Bissell points out, this expression is exactly repeated in St. Luke v. 29. It occurs also in the Additions to Esther, i. 9.

household.] Lit. "house-born slaves," τοῖς οἰκογενέσιν. The full term οἰκογενὴς δοῦλος is found in Diodorus Siculus.

Media and Persia.] The order in which the names here occur should be noticed, in connection with the reverse order in *v.* 14.

2. *to all the governors, &c.*] The terms in the original are σατράπαις, στρατηγοῖς, τοπάρχαις. For the "satraps," see R.'s note on Esther i. 3. The στρατηγοί, or "generals," would be the military commanders under them, but responsible to the central government. See Sayce ('Ezra,' &c., p. 55). By "toparchs" we may understand the rulers of districts, such as the three "governments" (*toparchies*) of 1 Macc. xi. 26.

from India, &c.] Comp. Esther i. 1, and R.'s note there. The number of "provinces" is there also given as 127. But though the Greek term used is σατραπείας, we are not to suppose so many *satrapies* in the proper sense of the word. Sub-provinces must be meant to be included. "Darius enumerates twenty-three at Behistun, and twenty-nine on his tomb at Nakhs-i-Rustem." (Sayce, *ubi sup.* p. 54.)

3. *and slept, &c.*] There is a want of skill in the way in which the events are here strung together. No reason is given why the body-guards should propose their competition, and their scroll is placed under the king's pillow (*v.* 8) as if he were still asleep. Josephus, more consistently, makes the king enter into conversation with his attendants, as a relief from wakefulness, and suggest this competition to them.

4. *three young men.*] Rather, "the three young men," οἱ τρεῖς νεανίσκοι. It is difficult to reconcile the use of the term νεανίσκος, as applied to Zerubbabel, with our ideas of historical propriety. That Saul should be

were of the guard that kept the king's body, spake one to another;

5 Let every one of us speak a sentence: he that shall overcome, and whose sentence shall seem wiser than the others, unto him shall the king Darius give great gifts, and great things in token of victory:

6 As, to be clothed in purple, to drink in gold, and to sleep upon gold, and a chariot with bridles of gold, and an headtire of fine linen, and a chain about his neck:

7 And he shall sit next to Darius because of his wisdom, and shall be called Darius his cousin.

8 And then every one wrote his sentence, sealed it, and laid it under king Darius his pillow;

9 And said that, when the king is risen, some will give him the writings; and of whose side the king and the three princes of Persia shall judge that his sentence is the wisest, to him shall the victory be given, as was appointed.

10 The first wrote, Wine is the strongest.

11 The second wrote, The king is strongest.

12 The third wrote, Women are strongest: but above all things Truth beareth away the victory.

13 ¶ Now when the king was risen up, they took their writings, and delivered them unto him, and so he read them:

14 And sending forth he called all

called a *νεανίας* in Acts vii. 58 is but little to the point. The best defence of it would perhaps be to regard it as a military term, = soldiers, as it is found in Polybius. So probably the "young men," *οἱ νεανίσκοι*, of Mark xiv. 51, if the reading be genuine; but it is rejected by Westcott and Hort.

5. *he that shall, &c.*] This is a wrong division of the sentence. The sense is "let each of us propound a thesis that shall prevail." The word "sentence" in the A. V. is here used for two different words, λόγος and ῥῆμα, of which the first denotes the proposition to be enunciated (see Wahl, who quotes 4 Macc. i. 1), and the second the *dictum* or argument in support of it.

great things in token of victory.] Simply, "great prizes," *ἐπινίκια μέγαλα*.

6. *As, to be clothed.*] Lit. "both to wear," &c. Fritzsche illustrates these Persian glories from the Books of the Maccabees; the purple robe from 1 Macc. x. 20, and elsewhere, and the title of Darius's kinsman from *v.* 89 of that same chapter. For the golden drinking-cups comp. 1 Macc. xi. 58. The "headtire of fine linen," *κίδαρις βυσσίνη*, is elsewhere used of the tiara of the High Priest (Wisd. xlv. 12); while the *μανιάκης*, or chain about the neck, was sometimes used for the bracelet, or armlet, worn by Gauls and others.

7. *cousin.*] Gk. *συγγενής*, "kinsman." "Cousin," like its original, *consobrinus*, came to have a more extended signification. Comp. Luke i. 58.

8. *then every one, &c.*] In Josephus, after the king has given them their theses, he goes to rest again. Then, in the morning, he convenes his court to hear their arguments.

9. *some will give him.*] Lit. "they will give him," a common idiom in the Greek of the N. T. Comp. John xv. 6, &c.; and Winer, p. 544.

of whose side, &c.] More simply, "and about whomsoever the king . . . shall decide."

the three princes.] F. points out that according to Ezra vii. 14 and Esther i. 14 there were seven "counsellors" or "princes which saw the king's face" at the court of Persia (on which comp. Herod. iii. 84), and suggests that the mention of three here may have been made with reference to the three competitors.

10–12. A large number of such propositions, with the "resolutions" of them (sixty-six such in all), may be seen in the work of the Pseudo-Aristeas on the 'Ancient History of the Septuagint' (Eng. tr. 1685), pp. 96–154. They are there proposed in the form of questions to the Jewish elders, as they sat at table, put by Ptolemy Philadelphus. If those in the text were regarded as answers to the question "What is strongest?" they would be very similar to them.

12. *but above all things, &c.*] The third appears to have a double thesis to maintain, thus interfering with the symmetry. In Josephus the first is *asked* by the king whether wine is the strongest; the second, whether the king is so; the third, whether women are so, or whether "more than these (=than all these?) is truth."

13. *their writings.*] Rather, "the writing," or document. The word throughout is in the singular.

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the princes of Persia and Media, and the governors, and the captains, and the lieutenants, and the chief officers;

15 And sat him down in the ‖royal seat of judgment; and the writings were read before them.

‖ Or, *council.*

16 And he said, Call the young men, and they shall declare their own sentences. So they were called, and came in.

17 And he said unto them, Declare unto us your mind concerning the writings. Then began the first, who had spoken of the strength of wine;

18 And he said thus, O ye men, how exceeding strong is wine! it causeth all men to err that drink it:

19 It maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless child to be all one; of the bondman and of the freeman, of the poor man and of the rich:

20 It turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt:

21 And it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor; and it maketh to speak all things by talents:

22 And when they are in their cups, they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out swords:

23 But when they are from the wine, they remember not what they have done.

24 O ye men, is not wine the strongest, that enforceth to do thus? And when he had so spoken, he held his peace.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The second declareth the power of a king.* 13 *The third, the force of women,* 33 *and of truth.* 41 *The third is judged to be wisest,* 47 *and obtaineth letters of the king to build Jerusalem.* 58 *He praiseth God, and sheweth his brethren what he had done.*

THEN the second, that had spoken of the strength of the king, began to say,

2 O ye men, do not men excel in strength, that ‖bear rule over sea and land, and all things in them?

‖ Or, *have the command.*

3 But yet the king is more mighty: for he is lord of all these things, and hath dominion over them; and whatsoever he commandeth them they do.

14. *and the governors, &c.*] Rather, "both satraps, and generals," &c. There is no article with these several terms, so that we may regard them as all included under the heading of "princes" (*μεγιστᾶνες*) or magnates.

15. *the royal seat of judgment.*] *τῷ χρηματιστηρίῳ.* Wahl renders this by *Rathszimmer*, "council-chamber."

17. *he said unto them.*] This is the reading of the Aldine. A better text is, "and they said unto them;" *i.e.* the order was given them. For the idiom see note on *v.* 9.

19. *mind.*] *διάνοιαν*, the same word as is rendered "thought" in the next verse. The Vulgate reading *vanam*, for "one," is in all probability a corruption of *unam*.

21. *remembereth, &c.*] That is, he forgets in whose presence he may be. Josephus gives as an equivalent *ἀναισθήτους ἀπεργάζεται*, "it renders them unconscious of," &c.

by talents.] Rightly explained by Wahl, "to talk like a millionaire" (*als ob er Millionen besässe*). There is a vein of humour in the description here, to which we might find a parallel in the Scottish poet, but which has no place in the stern portrayal of Prov. xxiii. 29–35, or even in the more tolerant maxims of Ecclus. xxxi. 25–31.

23. *when they are from.*] A better reading is *ὅταν . . . ἐγερθῶσιν*, "when they have waked from" their drunken slumber (*vom Weinschlafe*, F.). Josephus also represents them as sleeping off the effects of their wine.

CHAPTER IV.

2. *do not men, &c.*] Josephus expands the argument and makes it clearer. Behold the sway that men exercise over land and sea! The king's empire is over *them*. "Reges in ipsos imperium est." The words "that bear rule" should rather be "in bearing rule," there being no article.

3. *of all these things.*] This rendering is due to the *πάντων* of the Aldine, but it spoils the connection. The right reading is *αὐτῶν*, = "he is lord of them" (*i.e.* of men). So at the end of the verse, for "they do" (*ποιοῦσι*) it should be "they obey" (*ὑπακούουσι*).

4 If he bid them make war the one against the other, they do it: if he send them out against the enemies, they go, and break down mountains, walls, and towers.

5 They slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment: if they get the victory, they bring all to the king, as well the spoil, as all things else.

6 Likewise for those that are no soldiers, and have not to do with wars, but use husbandry, when they have reaped again that which they had sown, they bring it to the king, and compel one another to pay tribute unto the king.

7 And yet he is but one man: if he command to kill, they kill; if he command to spare, they spare;

8 If he command to smite, they smite; if he command to make desolate, they make desolate; if he command to build, they build;

9 If he command to cut down, they cut down; if he command to plant, they plant.

10 So all his people and his armies obey him: furthermore he lieth down, he eateth and drinketh, and taketh his rest:

11 And these keep watch round about him, neither ‖ may any one depart, and do his own business, neither disobey they him in any thing. ‖ Or, *can.*

12 O ye men, how should not the king be mightiest, when in such sort he is obeyed? And he held his tongue.

13 ¶ Then the third, who had spoken of women, and of the truth, (this was Zorobabel) began to speak.

14 O ye men, it is not the great king, nor the multitude of men, neither is it wine, that ‖ excelleth; who is it then that ruleth them, or hath the lordship over them? are they not women? ‖ Heb. *is of force.*

15 Women have borne the king and all the people that bear rule by sea and land.

16 Even of them came they: and they nourished them up that planted the vineyards, from whence the wine cometh.

17 These also make garments for

4. *break down mountains.*] The word rendered "break down," κατεργάζονται (*demoliuntur*, Vulg.), does not seem very appropriate to *mountains*. But it is probably meant to apply by a kind of zeugma to all the three objects spoken of. The successive lines of defence,—mountain-chains, walls, towers,—all are forced by the invading army.

5. *as well the spoil, &c.*] More literally: "and they bring all to the king, if they gain a victory, and if they make a raid (ἐὰν προνομεύσωσι), and all else" (in like manner).

6. *compel one another.*] There is a deep vein of irony in this. For the whole description, compare 1 Sam. viii. 11–18.

8. *If he command, &c.*] The Greek has more descriptive power: εἶπε πατάξαι, τύπτουσιν, κ.τ.λ. "He gives the word to smite; they strike," &c. So all through the verse. Compare the Centurion's answer, Matt. viii. 9.

10. *he lieth, &c.*] Rather, "he himself reclineth:" the great potentate himself (αὐτός, *ipse*) is at a banquet.

13. *who had spoken.*] Rather, "who spake."

this was Zorobabel.] It will be noticed in what a parenthetical manner this is introduced. The speaker has not been mentioned by name before, nor is he again, till the end of the account (v. 5), and there too the identification of him with one of the declaimers comes in as a kind of afterthought.

14. *it is not, &c.*] The sentence is interrogative: "is not the king great, and mankind many, and wine mighty? Who then is he that," &c. The Aldine, as well as more critical editions, has οὐ μέγας ὁ βασιλεύς; not, as the translator appears to have read, ὁ μέγας β. The marginal reference "Heb." is also a slip for "Greek."

16. *them that, &c.*] Rather, "the planters of the vineyards themselves" (αὐτούς).

17. *make garments.*] ποιοῦσι τὰς στολὰς, lit. "make the robes of men," the "long clothing" of Mark xii. 38. It seems natural to refer to Prov. xxxi. 22, 24, as Churton does, in illustration of this. And yet, as the making of clothing is a service, or act of ministration, the mention of it comes in somewhat singularly in the midst of an enumeration of the ways in which women have more power and glory than men. Could the words mean "cause their expeditions for men," taking στολὰς in the sense it has in earlier Greek? This would suit the obvious reference to Delilah in *v.* 24; as, to a Greek

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men; these bring glory unto men; and without women cannot men be.

18 Yea, and if men have gathered together gold and silver, or any other goodly thing, do they not love a woman which is comely in favour and beauty?

19 And letting all those things go, do they not gape, and even with open mouth fix their eyes fast on her; and have not all men more desire unto her than unto silver or gold, or any goodly thing whatsoever?

[a] Gen. 2. 24. 20 [a] A man leaveth his own father that brought him up, and his own country, and cleaveth unto his wife.

21 He sticketh not to spend his life with his wife, and remembereth neither father, nor mother, nor country.

22 By this also ye must know that women have dominion over you: do ye not labour and toil, and give and bring all to the woman?

23 Yea, a man taketh his sword, and goeth his way to rob and to steal, to sail upon the sea and upon rivers;

24 And looketh upon a lion, and goeth in the darkness; and when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his love.

25 Wherefore a man loveth his wife better than father or mother.

26 Yea, many there be that have ‖ run out of their wits for women, and become servants for their sakes. ‖ Or, grown desperate.

27 Many also have perished, have erred, and sinned, for women.

28 And now do ye not believe me? is not the king great in his power? do not all regions fear to touch him?

29 Yet did I see him and Apame the king's concubine, the daughter of

mind, it would recall Helen of Troy. But Josephus interprets it of clothing,—*τὰς ἐσθῆτας ὑφαίνουσιν ἡμῖν*, smoothing the way for what he seems to have felt an abrupt illustration, by first saying that there is nothing which we do not owe to them. So the Old Latin has *vestes*, though the Vulgate retains the original word, *stolas*.

18. *do they not love.*] This follows the reading *οὐχὶ ἀγαπῶσι*. A better-supported one is *καὶ ἴδωσι*, thus making the sense continuous: "and if they see a woman, fair in form," &c. The "and" at the beginning of *v.* 19 would then be omitted.

19. *gape.*] Comp. *v.* 31. The word here used in the original, *ἐκκέχηναν*, is perhaps not found elsewhere. Neither *ἐκχαίνω* nor *ἐκχάσκω* is recognised by L. and S. Wahl gives a present *ἐκχαίνω*, referring to Lucian, 'Timon,' § 21, and Anacr. 'Carm.' xxxiii. 12. But in both these passages it is the simple partic. *κεχηνότες* which is used. The form of the termination is illustrated by Winer, p. 88.

21. *He sticketh not, &c.*] This rendering seems uncalled for. The Geneva Version has, more simply, "and for the woman he jeopardeth his life." Literally it is: "and along with his wife he giveth up the ghost," *καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κ.τ.λ.* That is, as Dr. Bissell explains it, he remains by his wife till death. The change of the word "woman" to "wife" is awkward (the Greek word being the same), but perhaps unavoidable.

22. *to the woman.*] Rather, "to your wives," *ταῖς γυναιξί*, pl.

23. *to sail upon the sea.*] *εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πλεῖν*. It is difficult to believe that *ἐπὶ τὴν κ. τ. λ.*, the reading of Ald. and some inferior MSS., is not the right one here. Wahl gives Xen. 'Hell.' v. 1, 16 (should be v. 1, 6) as an instance of *πλεῖν εἰς*, but that is merely the common usage of *εἰς* with the name of a town reached by sea.

24. *looketh upon a lion.*] Rather, "the lion," *τὸν λέοντα*. By "looketh upon," *θεωρεῖ*, is meant "gazes undismayed upon," like Horace's "qui rectis oculis . . . vidit." The reference seems to be, in part at least, to the story of Samson, Judg. xiv. 5 *sqq.*; but it may also be taken as a converse picture to that in Prov. xxii. 13: "The sluggard saith, There is a lion without, I shall be slain in the streets."

26. *have run out, &c.*] See the margin. Perhaps "have grown distracted in their minds" would be a closer rendering. The additional trait of "becoming *slaves*" seems again to indicate Samson. "For," in this verse, means strictly "on account of," not "for the sake of," which would better suit such an example as that of Jacob serving for Rachel.

28. *to touch.*] That is, "to meddle with," as in Ps. cv. 15: "*Touch* not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

29. *did I see.*] More exactly, "I was watching," "I was a spectator of," *ἐθεώρουν*, the word used in Luke x. 18, which is made much more expressive by that rendering.

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the admirable ‖ Bartacus, sitting at the right hand of the king,

30 And taking the crown from the king's head, and setting it upon her own head; she also struck the king with her left hand.

31 And yet ‖ for all this the king gaped and gazed upon her with open mouth: if she laughed upon him, he laughed also: but if she took any displeasure at him, the king was fain to flatter, that she might ‖ be reconciled to him again.

32 O ye men, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they do thus?

33 Then the king and the princes looked one upon another: so he began to speak of the truth.

34 O ye men, are not women strong? great is the earth, high is the heaven, swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one day.

35 Is he not great that maketh these things? therefore great is the truth, and stronger than all things.

36 All the earth ‖ calleth upon the truth, and the heaven blesseth it: all works shake and tremble at it, and with it is no unrighteous thing.

37 Wine is wicked, the king is wicked, women are wicked, all the children of men are wicked, and such are all their wicked works; and there is no truth in them; in their unrighteousness also they shall perish.

38 As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.

39 With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth

‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 3. *Rabsaces Themastus.*

‖ Or, *hereat.*

‖ Or, *be friends with him.*

‖ Or, *praiseth the truth,* Athanasius.

Apame.] This name is known to have been borne by more than one lady of rank in antiquity. The mother and daughter of Antiochus Soter were both so called. In Josephus this Apame is said to have been the daughter of Ῥαβεζάκης ὁ Θεμάσιος. If that reading could be depended upon, Rabezaces would probably be no more than Rabshakeh, the title of office. Petitus (quoted by Hudson *in loc.*) thinks that the word rendered "admirable," *θαυμασίου*, really means "from Mount Thaumasius," meaning, I suppose, the place in Thessaly, so called from its wonderful prospect. If so, he must have migrated to Persia. It is more natural to take *θαυμάσιος* as an epithet of rank or office. The name Bartacus recalls the Ἀρταχαίης of Hdt. vii. 22.

right hand.] Comp. Ps. xlv. 9.

30. *struck.*] Lit., "was slapping," or striking with the open hand.

31. *And yet for all this.*] Rather, "and in addition to this," *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις*. Ewald ('Hist. of Isr.' v. p. 127, n.) notices "the ridiculous attitude" in which Darius is here portrayed, the anecdote being taken, as he thinks, from "some book of Persian court-stories."

34. *fetcheth his course again.*] *πάλιν ἀποτρέχει*, lit. "runneth back again." Comp. Ps. xix. 6 (O. V.): "It goeth forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and *runneth about* unto the end of it again."

35. *he . . . that maketh.*] *ὁ ποιῶν*, "the Maker." The connection of thought in what follows, which the translator has tried to indicate by rendering *καὶ* "therefore," is made more easy to follow by Josephus, as his manner is throughout this narrative:—"Now all these things are set in motion according to the will of God. And he is true and just," &c. Hence truth, as an attribute of God, shares His greatness.

36. *calleth upon.*] Gk. *καλεῖ*, Vulg. *invocat.* It is not quite clear in what sense the word is used. That of "invoking" or "appealing to" would perhaps be the best. F. prefers the sense of "inviting" (*ladet sie ein*). Athanasius, in the passage referred to in the margin ('Or. ii. c. Arian.' c. xx.) explained it by *ὑμνεῖ*, "singeth of:" *εἰ δὲ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμνεῖ καὶ εὐλογεῖ καὶ τρέμει, κ. τ. λ.*

37. *and such are, &c.*] The literal rendering is: "and unrighteous are all their works, all such." The addition of *πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα* at the end looks like a gloss. "Unrighteous" or "unjust" would be a better equivalent for *ἄδικος* than "wicked," all through this verse.

38–40. This passage, with the exception of the latter part of *v.* 39, is quoted by Cyprian, 'Ep.' lxxiv. Compare also August. 'De Civit. Dei,' xviii., c. 36.

39. *or rewards.*] *οὐδὲ διαφορά*, lit. "nor difference," as it is correctly rendered in the Geneva Version; that is, with Truth there is no partiality. She "*indifferently* ministers justice," in the old sense of the word:—

"Looks on (men's) wrongs with an *indifferent* eye."

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from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works.

40 Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth.

41 And with that he held his peace. And all the people then shouted, and said, Great is Truth, and mighty above all things.

42 Then said the king unto him, Ask what thou wilt more than is appointed in the writing, and we will give it thee, because thou art found wisest; and thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my cousin.

43 Then said he unto the king, Remember thy vow, which thou hast vowed to build Jerusalem, in the day when thou camest to thy kingdom,

44 And to send away all the vessels that were taken away out of Jerusalem, which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon, and to send them again thither.

45 Thou also hast vowed to build up the temple, [b] which the Edomites burned when Judea was made desolate by the Chaldees.

[b] Ps. 137. 7. Ezek. 25. 12.

46 And now, O lord the king, this is that which I require, and which I desire of thee, and this is the princely liberality proceeding from thyself: I desire therefore that thou make good the vow, the performance whereof with thine own mouth thou hast vowed to the King of heaven.

47 Then Darius the king stood up, and kissed him, and wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers and lieutenants and captains and governors,

and refraineth from, &c.] The reading of the Aldine, ἀπέχεται, rendered here "refraineth from," makes the sense very simple; but it lacks MS. authority.

40. *the strength, kingdom, &c.*] In his desire, often shewn elsewhere, to avoid the repetition of "and," so frequent in this book, the translator has spoilt the rhythm of this passage. It was much better in the Geneva Version: "and she is the strength, and the kingdom, and the power," &c. Compare also the similar doxology in 1 Chron. xxix. 11: "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness," &c.

41. *Great is Truth, &c.*] The Vulgate rendering of this sentence has passed, with a slight change, into the common proverb: *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* In the Vulg. it is *prævalet.* For the applause which followed this declamation, compare the similar instances in Aristeas, as for example: "And when he ceased, there was a burst of applause, with shouting and joy, for a considerable time." ('Hist. lxxii. Interpretum,' 1692, p. 95.)

42. *cousin.*] See note on iii. 7.

43. *hast vowed.*] Rather, "vowedst;" and so in *v.* 45. This vow has not been hinted at hitherto. Josephus, framing a more connected story, begins by mentioning this vow as made by Darius before he came to the throne. ('Antiqq.' xi. 3. 1.) The unreasonableness of representing the early kings of Persia as thus thinking of the restoration of the Israelites "at every critical moment of their lives," is pointed out by Ewald, *ubi sup.*, p. 126.

44. *And to send away.*] The "and" is better omitted. The vow was "to send away," &c. For the circumstances, comp. ii. 10. As Josephus expresses it, Darius "arranged to do all that Cyrus before him wished to do, with respect to the restoration of the Jews."

45. *the Edomites.*] That they had a share in the burning of the Temple, as F. observes, is not an empty supposition. The bitter feeling which long rankled in the breasts of the Jews towards this "vindictive and ungenerous race" (as Stanley calls them) breaks out in many passages of the later writings of the O. T. "Remember, O Lord, against the children of Edom the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, Rase it, even to the foundation thereof" (Ps. cxxxvii. 9, Rev. Ver.), is but one such instance. Having been allowed by the Chaldeans to occupy some portion of the conquered country, they spread westwards during the Captivity, and encroached upon Southern Palestine as well. Some parts of these acquisitions they are now spoken of as being compelled to restore (*v.* 50). Comp. also Ezek. xxvi. 5; 1 Macc. v. 3.

46. *princely liberality.*] μεγαλωσύνη, answering to the word rendered "majesty" in Dan. iv. 36. The Geneva Version has "magnificence."

47. *letters.*] Gk. τὰς ἐπιστολάς, "*the* letters;" *i.e.*, those which he desired.

governors.] Lit. "satraps." See on iii. 2. The word rendered "treasurers" should rather be "stewards," as in the margin of *v.* 49. In Rom. xvi. 23 the same word was rendered "chamberlain," and the choice of the word "treasurer" as a substitute, in the Rev. Ver., obscures the identity of the

that they should safely convey on their way both him, and all those that go up with him to build Jerusalem.

48 He wrote letters also unto the lieutenants that were in Celosyria and Phenice, and unto them in Libanus, that they should bring cedar wood from Libanus unto Jerusalem, and that they should build the city with him.

49 Moreover he wrote for all the Jews that went out of his realm up into Jewry, concerning their freedom, that no officer, no ruler, no lieutenant, nor ‖ treasurer, should forcibly enter into their doors;

50 And that all the country which they hold should be free without tribute; and that the Edomites should give over the villages of the Jews which then they held:

51 Yea, that there should be yearly given twenty talents to the building of the temple, until the time that it were built;

52 And other ten talents yearly, to maintain the burnt offerings upon the altar every day, as they had a commandment to offer seventeen:

53 And that all they that went from Babylon to build the city should have free liberty, as well they as their posterity, and all the priests that went away.

54 He wrote also concerning the charges, and the priests' vestments wherein they minister;

55 And likewise for the charges of the Levites, to be given them until the day that the house were finished, and Jerusalem builded up.

56 And he commanded to give to all that kept the city ‖ pensions and wages.

57 He sent away also all the vessels from Babylon, that Cyrus had set apart; and all that Cyrus had given in commandment, the same charged he also to be done, and sent unto Jerusalem.

58 Now when this young man was gone forth, he lifted up his face to heaven toward Jerusalem, and praised the King of heaven,

59 And said, From thee cometh victory, from thee cometh wisdom, and thine is the glory, and I am thy servant.

60 Blessed art thou, who hast given me wisdom: for to thee I give thanks, O Lord of our fathers.

Or, *steward.*

‖ Or, *portions of land.*

word with that still rendered "steward" in 1 Cor. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 10, &c.

that go.] Rather, "that were going."

48. *Libanus.*] See Ezra iii. 7.

52. *And other ten, &c.*] The sense of this passage is obscure. Perhaps on that account it is omitted by Josephus. The Geneva Version exhibits the order of the Greek: "And, to maintain the burnt offerings upon the altar every day (as they had a commandment to offer seventeen), other ten talents every year." The verb καρποῦσθαι, however, cannot signify to "maintain." If we could suppose that τῷ had been lost before τὸ θυσιατήριον, the construction would be simple: "and, to the intent that the altar should receive (or enjoy) burnt-offerings day by day, as they have a commandment to offer seventeen, other ten talents yearly." On the number 17 see an additional note at the end.

54. *concerning the charges.*] Lit. "And he wrote also (that is, prescribed) the contribution." The term χορηγία, used in classical Greek to signify the defrayal of the cost of one of the public choruses, is meant here to denote the cost of supporting the officiating priests, just as in the next verse it is applied in like manner to the Levites. In the Vulgate, somewhat strangely, it is rendered in the first instance by *quantitatem*, and in the second by *præcepta*.

56. *kept.*] *I.e.* "guarded." The word rendered "pensions," κλήρους, means rather "allotments." This would provide them with a dwelling, in addition to their ὀψώνια, "rations," or "wages."

57. *from Babylon.*] In the original, these words go more naturally with "set apart," referring to the act of Cyrus in keeping them separate from the rest of the spoil. See *v.* 44.

58. *this young man.*] See note on iii. 4.

toward Jerusalem.] Comp. Dan. vi. 10.

59. *From thee, &c.*] This passage, with part of *v.* 40, is cited by Origen, 'Hom. ix. in Josuam' (ed. Lommatzsch, t. xi. p. 100): "Illo etenim duce semper vincent milites sui, ita ut et nos dicamus, sicut in Esdra scriptum

61 And so he took the letters, and went out, and came unto Babylon, and told it all his brethren.

62 And they praised the God of their fathers, because he had given them freedom and liberty

63 To go up, and to build Jerusalem, and the temple which is called by his name: and they feasted with instruments of musick and gladness seven days.

CHAPTER V.

4 *The names and number of the Jews that returned home.* 50 *The altar is set up in his place.* 57 *The foundation of the temple is laid.* 73 *The work is hindered for a time.*

cir. 536. AFTER this were the principal men of the families chosen according to their tribes, to go up with their wives and sons and daughters, with their menservants and maidservants, and their cattle.

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2 And Darius sent with them a thousand horsemen, till they had brought them back to Jerusalem safely, and with musical [instruments] tabrets and flutes.

3 And all their brethren played, and he made them go up together with them.

4 And these are the names of the men which went up, according to their families among their tribes, after their several heads.

5 The priests, the sons of Phinees the son of Aaron: Jesus the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias, and ‖ Joacim the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the house of David, out of the kindred of Phares, of the tribe of Judah;

‖ *Joachim and Zorobabel:* This place is corrupt for Joachim was the son of Josedech, Neh. 12. 10, and not Zorobabel, who was of the tribe of Judah.

6 [a] Who spake wise sentences before Darius the king of Persia in the second year of his reign, in the

[a] *Zorobabel.*

est, quia *a te, Domine, est victoria, et ego servus tuus: benedictus es, Deus veritatis.*"

61. *unto Babylon.*] Rather, "into Babylon," into the city from the king's palace.

62. *freedom and liberty.*] Lit. "a loosening and letting go," ἄνεσιν καὶ ἄφεσιν. So ἄφεσις καὶ ἀπαλλαγή are used to express a complete release, or quittance.

63. *they feasted.*] ἐκωθωνίζοντο, lit. "were carousing," from κώθων, the Laconian drinking-vessel. Comp. Esther iii. 5. τῶν μουσικῶν may simply mean "music," as in Xen. 'Cyr.' i. 6, 38, but more probably means "musical instruments," as in the text. Comp. v. 59.

CHAPTER V.

1-6. The relation in which this passage stands to the preceding narrative, or to the lists that follow, has been discussed in the Introduction, § III.

1. *the principal men.*] Rather, "leaders," ἀρχηγοί.

2. *safely.*] Gk. μετ' εἰρήνης, lit. "with peace," in imitation of the Hebrew. Comp. the note on ii. 16.

3. *played.*] This conducting the procession to the sound of music is thought by F. to be a token of Hebrew authorship. Comp. Gen. xxxi. 27; 1 Kings i. 40; 1 Chron. xiii. 8. But this seems doubtful. Tertullian has been thought to refer to this passage in his 'De Cor. Milit.,' c. ix., since there is no allusion to such accompaniments of the return in the canonical Ezra. His words are: "facilius cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis revertens de captivitate Babyloniæ, quam cum coronis, &c."

5. *Jesus.*] The Jeshua of Ezra ii. 2, iii. 2, and Zech. iii. 1, Hag. i. 1.

Joacim the son of Zorobabel.] As the marginal note says, this place is corrupt; but the correction there made is itself misleading. In the passage referred to, Neh. xii. 10, Joacim is called the son of Jeshua. See also *v.* 26. There is the further difficulty, that while Joacim is here described as the one who "spake wise sentences before (or in the time of) Darius," this part was before assigned to Zorobabel (iv. 13). Burrington would leave out the words in the Greek, answering to "Joacim the son of," but there is no authority for this in the MSS. Herzfeld (see Fritzsche's 'Einleitung,' p. 6) would emend: τοῦ Ἰωακὶμ καὶ Ζοροβάβελ. For this there is some little countenance in two inferior MSS. Fritzsche himself is inclined to defend the reading as it stands. Though no son of Zorobabel named Joacim is found in the list given in 1 Chron. iii. 20, that is not, he thinks, a proof that no such son ever existed. But this is hazardous reasoning. If his view were adopted, it would make Joacim, and not Zorobabel, the main actor in the debate before Darius.

Phares.] From Pharez, who succeeded to the rank of second son of the patriarch Judah, David and ultimately Christ himself were descended. Lord A. Hervey ('Dict. of the Bible,' art. PHAREZ) thinks that we may

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B. C. cir. 536. month Nisan, which is the first month.

7 And these are they of Jewry that came up from the captivity, where they dwelt as strangers, whom Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon.

cir. 536. 8 And they returned unto Jerusalem, and to the other parts of Jewry, every man to his own city, who came with Zorobabel, with *Saraiah.* Jesus, Nehemias, and [b]Zacharias, and Reesaias, Enenius, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, [c]Aspharasus, [d]Reelius, Roimus, and Baana, their guides. B. C. cir. 535.

9 The number of them of the nation, and their governors, sons of [e]Phoros, two thousand an hundred seventy and two; the sons of [f]Saphat, [g]four hundred seventy and two:

10 The sons of Ares, seven hundred fifty and six:

11 The sons of Phaath Moab, two thousand eight hundred and twelve:

12 The sons of Elam, a thousand much more.

[b] Or, *Misparar.* [c] Or, *Reelaiah.* [d] *Parosh,* Ezra 2. 3. Neh. 7. 8, where for brevity look for the true numbers of the particulars following: for here they vary much, and the names

[f] *Shephatiah.* [g] Or, *three hundred seventy two.*

trace to the lineage of Pharez the children of Bani, Bigvai, Jorah or Hariph, Bethlehem and Netophah, Kirjath-arim, Harim, as well as many intermediate families, afterwards mentioned.

6. *in the month Nisan, &c.*] The Greek is peculiar: *μηνὶ Νισὰν τοῦ πρώτου μηνός.* F. thinks it a misrendering of a Hebrew original. The Vulgate has *mense Nisam primo,* but the Old Latin, *numenia primi mensis,* "on the first day of the first month." *τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς* looks like a gloss on *Νισάν.*

7. At this point the account begins to run parallel to Ezra ii. 1 *sqq.,* and Neh. vii. 7 *sqq.*

8. *Nehemias.*] An earlier one than the contemporary of Ezra. It will be observed that twelve names are here given as those of the leaders, probably to represent the twelve tribes. So in Neh. vii. 7. In Ezra ii. 2, there are only eleven names, possibly (as Neteler thinks, 'Die Bücher Esdras,' &c., p. 13) to represent the tribes, counting Ephraim and Manasses as one. But it is more probable that a name answering to Enenius in this list, and to Nahamani in Neh. vii. 7, has dropped out in Ezra. How liable to error are such lists may be seen from the LXX. of the passage in Nehemiah, where *fourteen* names appear instead of twelve; two, *Μασφαρὰθ* and *Μασφάρ,* being plainly duplicates, and *Ἔσδρα* being probably an inserted marginal reference.

Reesaias.] In Ezra, Reeliah; and in Nehemiah, Raamiah. The variations in case of the two latter may be accounted for by the similarity of AI to M. De Saulcy ('Étude chronol.' p. 10) endeavours to account for changes in the form of other names by the confusion likely to be made between similar Hebrew characters by a Greek scribe. This might explain the change of the first letter of Bigvai (as the name stands in Ezra and Nehemiah) to the R of Reelius, while the further resemblance between Γ and Λ would account for the next consonant. The same cause may have produced the change of Nehum (*Ἰναούμ,* Nahum) in Nehemiah to Rehum in Ezra, whence its Grecized form of Roimus here. The Vulgate *Emmanio* may serve as a connecting link between the Nahamani of Neh., and the *Ἐνηνίου* of the present passage. The identity of the other names in the three lists will be perceived without difficulty.

9. *and their governors.*] After this should be a longer stop (:) as the words "sons of Phoros" begin the enumeration. Compare Ezra ii. 3. In the Geneva Version it is rightly punctuated. The words "and their governors" (or rather, "leaders") are, as F. remarks, an unskilful addition made by the Greek writer.

Phoros.] An assimilation of the Hebrew name Pharez or Parosh. So we had Rathumus for Rehum, ii. 16. Another company of the same family are mentioned afterwards (viii. 30) as returning with Ezra.

11. *Phaath Moab.*] After this name comes in the Greek: *εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰησοῦ καὶ Ἰωάβ,* which seems to mean "for the sons of Jeshua and Joab;" that is, to represent them. It is not clear what Jeshua (or Joshua) and Joab are meant. The name Pahath-Moab, "ruler of Moab," is itself a singular one, and may point, as Lord Arthur Hervey suggests ('Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*), to the possessions gained in Moab by the Shilonites, the descendants of Shelah, son of Judah. See 1 Chron iv. 22, where some of the family are described as having had "the dominion in Moab." Pahath-Moab may have been of this lineage. The connection of Joshua or his descendants with Moab (supposing the son of Nun to be referred to) is not obvious, but the descent of Joab from the Moabitess Ruth, through his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, supplies a connecting link in his case.

12. *Elam.*] This is probably the name of a person, not a place. The well-known Elam of Gen. xiv. 1, &c., cannot, of course, be

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two hundred fifty and four: the sons of [h] Zathui, nine hundred forty and five: the sons of [i] Corbe, seven hundred and five: the sons of Bani, six hundred forty and eight:

13 The sons of Bebai, six hundred twenty and three: the sons of [k] Sadas, three thousand two hundred twenty and two:

14 The sons of Adonikam, six hundred sixty and seven: the sons of [l] Bagoi, two thousand sixty and six: the sons of Adin, four hundred fifty and four:

15 The sons of [m] Aterezias, ninety and two: the sons of Ceilan and Azetas, threescore and seven: the sons of Azuran, four hundred thirty and two:

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16 The sons of Ananias, an hundred and one: the sons of Arom, thirty two: and the sons of [n] Bassa, three hundred twenty and three: the sons of Azephurith, an hundred and two:

17 The sons of Meterus, three thousand and five: the sons of [o] Bethlomon, an hundred twenty and three:

18 They of Netophah, fifty and five: they of Anathoth, an hundred fifty and eight: they of [p] Bethsamos, forty and two:

19 They of [q] Kiriathiarius, twenty and five: they of Caphira and Beroth,

[h] *Zattu.* [i] *Zacchai.* [k] *Asgar.* [l] *Bigui.* [m] *Aterhezekiah.* [n] *Bezai.* [o] *Bethlehem.* [p] *Azmaveth.* [q] *Kiriathjarim.*

referred to; and as it was itself called after a son of Shem, there is the less difficulty in supposing that Elam here is a personal name. With Bethlomon in *v.* 17, on the other hand, names of places begin. A second person of the name, known as "the other Elam," is mentioned in Ezra ii. 31, with exactly the same number of followers.

Zathui.] In Ezra ii. 8, Zattu; in ch. viii. 32 below, Zathoe.

Corbe.] Greek, Χορβέ (Ald. Κορβέ, whence the English form). This name appears to answer to Zaccai in Ezra, the Zacchæus of the New Testament.

13. *Sadas.*] This is the form in Ald. Most MSS. have Astad, which is only a transposition of the same syllables. Ez. and Neh. have Azgad; Vulg., Archad.

15. *Aterezias.*] This form is due to the Aldine, which has ἀτηρεζεκίου in one word. F. reads Ἀτὴρ Ἐζεκίου, which answers to Ezra ii. 16, "Ater of Hezekiah." The addition of the patronymic may have been made to distinguish this Ater from the doorkeeper of the same name, mentioned in Ezra ii. 42.

Ceilan and Azetas.] The spelling again follows the Aldine. The Geneva Version has Azotus. F. gives Κιλὰν καὶ Ἀζηνάν. There is nothing in Ezra ii. to answer to these and the following names down to Arom inclusive.

16. *Bassa.*] Marg. Bezai, as a note of identification with the Bezai of Ezra ii. 17. The form Βασσαί (F.) supplies a connecting link.

Azephurith.] In the Geneva Version, Arsephurith, which is nearer the Greek, Ἀρσιφουρίθ, answering to Hariph in Neh. vii. 24. In Ezra ii. 18 the name is replaced by Jorah.

17. *Meterus.*] This form follows the Aldine. F. has Βαιτηρούς, which looks like a Grecized form of a Hebrew local name beginning with Beth-. Compare Βαιθλωμῶν next following. There is nothing apparently answering to it in the parallel lists.

Bethlomon.] Bethlehem. Local names now follow, distinguished in the Greek by the use of the preposition ἐκ.

18. *Netophah.*] A small town or village near Bethlehem, perhaps the modern Antûbeh, or Om Tûba, about two miles N.E. from that spot. It is not named in the Old Testament, but Netophathites are spoken of, 1 Chron. ii. 54, &c. See Mr. Grove's art. in 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*

Anathoth.] The city of Benjamin, about three miles from Jerusalem, the native place of the prophet Jeremiah.

Bethsamos.] In the margin, Azmaveth, to agree with Ezra ii. 24. The margin there gives Beth-azmaveth. For the transposition of syllables in Samos and Asma, comp. the note on Sadas, *v.* 13. The place was probably in Benjamin, from the connection in which it stands, and therefore not to be identified with Beth-shemesh in Judah. At the same time Kirjath-Jearim, next mentioned, was a frontier town of Judah.

19. *Kiriathiarius.*] In F. οἱ ἐκ Καριαθιρί. In Ezra ii. 25 the LXX. has Καριαθιαρίμ. Kirjath-Jearim is meant.

Caphira.] In Josh. ix. 17 this is mentioned as one of the four cities of the Gibeonites, and in xviii. 26 as a town of Benjamin. It has been identified with *Kefîr*, about two miles east of Ajalon. Beroth, or Beeroth, was a neighbouring town allotted to Benjamin. It has been identified with *El-Bireh*, about ten miles N. of Jerusalem. See Mr. Grove's arts. in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

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B. C. cir. 536. seven hundred forty and three: they of Pira, seven hundred:

20 They of Chadias and Ammidoi, four hundred twenty and two: they
r Rama. of r Cirama and s Gabdes, six hundred
s Gaba. twenty and one:

t Michmas. 21 They of t Macalon, an hundred
u Bethel. twenty and two: they of u Betolius,
x Maghbis. fifty and two: the sons of x Nephis, an hundred fifty and six:

y Lodhadid. 22 The sons of y Calamolalus and Onus, seven hundred twenty and five: the sons of Jerechus, two hundred forty and five:

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z Senaah. 23 The sons of z Annaas, three thousand three hundred and thirty.

a Jedaiah. 24 The priests: the sons of a Jeddu, the son of Jesus, among the sons of Sanasib, nine hundred seventy and

b Immar. two: the sons of b Meruth, a thousand fifty and two:

c Pashur. 25 The sons of c Phassaron, a

Pira.] This name is taken from the Aldine, οἱ ἐκ Πίρας. But as it is wanting in the best MSS., it has been thought with probability to be only a repetition of the last two syllables of the preceding name Καφείρας. If so, the numerical symbol for 700 has been repeated also.

20. *They of Chadias and Ammidoi.*] The Aldine has οἱ Χαδίας καὶ Ἀμμίδιοι. A better reading is Χαδιασαί. The Geneva Version has Ammidioi, more correctly than the A. V. Fritzsche thinks that under the former title are meant the people of Kedesh (Josh. xv. 23), and under the latter, the people of Humtah (ib. *v.* 54). As the LXX. (Alex.) for Humtah is Χαμματά, we have a connecting link with Ammidii, or, with its guttural replaced, *Chammidii.*

Cirama and Gabdes.] In Ezra ii. 26, Ramah and Gaba. The form in the Greek, Κιραμά, is probably due to the form of the Hebrew name with the definite article prefixed, הָרָמָה. Ramah is mentioned along with Geba in Is. x. 29. Both were cities of Benjamin.

21. *Macalon.*] This represents the Michmash so well known in the history of Saul and Jonathan. The change in the form of the name can be partially traced. In Ezra ii. 27 it is Michmas; in 1 Macc. ix. 73 it is Machmas, as in the LXX. of Ezra. The M could easily be altered into ΑΛ, but the termination is difficult to account for.

Betolius is Bethel, for which Ezra has Bethel and Ai.

Nephis.] The marginal reference makes this answer to the Magbish of Ezra ii. 30, but it is possible that it may rather be the equivalent of Nebo in *v.* 29. The collocation with Michmash and Bethel points to Nephis as being in the tribe of Benjamin. The existence of towns with foreign names in the tribe of Benjamin is noticed by Grove in his art. on MICHMASH in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

22. *Calamolalus and Onus.*] In Ezra ii. 33 this appears as "Lod, Hadid, and Ono," where the LXX. has Λοδαδὶ καὶ Ὠνώ. The places in Ezra are easily identified, being towns which the Benjamites had built in the plain of Sharon, westwards of their original boundaries. See the art. LOD in 'Dict. of the Bible.' The first of them is better known to us as the "Lydda nigh unto Joppa" of the New Testament. The difficulty is to account for the strange form Calamolalus, which looks like a running together of two or more of the names in Ezra.

Jerechus.] This form for the name of Jericho seems to have arisen from the translator's taking the Greek Ἱερεχού as a genitive from Ἱερεχός. Instead of 245, the reading should be 345, as it is in Ezra.

23. *Annaas.*] This spelling of the name seems due to the Geneva Version, as the Aldine has Ἀνάας. In the best text it is Σανάας, answering to the Senaah of Ezra. The greatness of the number of people connected with it is so remarkable (compared, for instance, with Jericho), that Michaelis hazarded the conjecture that it was an opprobrious name for Jerusalem itself (סְנֵאָה, "thorny"); but this, as F. remarks, is not probable. There is no town named Senaah in the Old Testament, but Eusebius and Jerome (quoted by Grove) mention a Magdal-Senna, or "Great Senna," seven miles N. of Jericho.

24. *Jeddu.*] In the Greek, Ἰεδδού, answering to the LXX. Ἰεδουά of Ezra ii. 36, where the Hebrew form of the name is Jedaiah. A Jedaiah is found in 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 as head of the second course of the priests. Who the Jesus, or Jeshua, here spoken of as his ancestor, was, it is impossible to say.

among the sons, &c.] εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Σανασίβ, "for the sons of Sanasib;" that is, to be taken as representing them. See note above on *v.* 11. The name of Sanasib is not found in the O. T., and possibly the Vulgate *Eliasib* may have preserved the true reading. The initial letters ΕΛΙΑ and ΣΑΝΑ would easily be confused. An Eliashib was a priest in the time of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 12).

Meruth.] In this form the A. V. follows the Geneva Version and the Aldine: υἱοὶ ἐκ μηρούθ. But the best reading is υἱοὶ Ἐμμηρούθ. It is doubtful whether the expression υἱοὶ ἐκ below is found. Emmeruth must answer to

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thousand forty and seven: the sons of [d] Carme, [e] a thousand and seventeen.

26 The Levites: the sons of [f] Jessue, and Cadmiel, and Banuas, and Sudias, seventy and four.

27 The holy singers: the sons of Asaph, an hundred twenty and eight.

28 The porters: the sons of [g] Salum, the sons of [h] Jatal, the sons of Talmon, the sons of [i] Dacobi, the sons of [k] Teta, the sons of [l] Sami, in all an hundred thirty and nine.

29 The servants of the temple: the sons of [m] Esau, the sons of

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[d] *Harim.*
[e] Or, *two hundred and seventeen*, according to some copies.
[f] Thus it is read, Ezra 2. 40, *the sons of Jeshua, and Cadmiel, of the sons of Hodaviah.*
[g] *Shallum.*
[h] *Ater.*
[i] *Akkub.*
[k] *Hatita*
[l] *Shobai.*
[m] *Zich.*

Immer of Ezra ii. 37, the same who in ix. 21 below is called Emmer. Immer is mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiv. 14 as head of the sixteenth course of the priests.

25. *Phassaron.*] This form again is from the Aldine, Φασσαρών. The best reading gives *υἱοὶ Φασσούρου*. Pashur, the son of Malchiah, was a chief prince at the court of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxviii. 1). Another Pashur, "son" of the Immer mentioned in the preceding verse, was "chief governor in the house of the Lord" in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. xx. 1).

Carme.] More correctly, Charmi, the same as Harim (Ezra ii. 39), head of the third course of the priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 8).

26. *Jessue, &c.*] Jeshua the Levite is called in Neh. x. 9 son of Azaniah. In Ezra ii. 40 he and Kadmiel are described as "of the children of Hodaviah," for which, in iii. 9, we have "children of Judah." Kadmiel, probably a younger member of the same house, is mentioned along with Jeshua as taking a prominent part in the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra iii. 9). Compare Neh. ix. 4, 5. The form Cadmiel is due to the Alex. Καδμιήλου, for which the Vat. has Καδοήλου, and Ald. Καδμίλλου. Banuas and Sudias are not recognizable in their present form. Banuas is probably only a misprint for Bannas, as the Geneva Version has Bannu and Suiu, exactly representing *Βάννου καὶ Σουΐου* of the Aldine. It looks as if the two were a corruption of Bene-Hodaviah, "sons of Hodaviah."

28. *Salum, &c.*] Shallum was chief of a family of gatekeepers at the east gate of the Temple (1 Chron. ix. 17). Jatal, or rather 'Atal, appears to be a variety of the name Ater in Ezra ii. 42. Compare above, *v.* 15. Talmon is mentioned along with Shallum in the passage of 1 Chron. just quoted, as is also Akkub (עַקּוּב), here disguised as Dacobi, Δακούβ (Ald. Δακοβί). Teta (Ald. Τῆτα) is in the best texts Ἀτητά, answering to the Hatita of Ezra. Sami, in the form Σαβεί (Alex.), answers to Shobai in Ezra. The Vatican instead of it reads Τωβίς.

29. *The servants of the temple.*] In the Greek, *ἱερόδουλοι*, a word used of the servants attached to Greek and Asiatic temples. It is here an equivalent for the Nethinims of Ezra ii. 43, the successors of those whom David "gave" for the service of the Levites, as the Levites themselves had been at the first "given" to Aaron and his sons to be their Nethinim. See the art. NETHINIM in 'Dict. of the Bible,' and R.'s note on 1 Chron. ix. 2.

Esau.] This seems to be a corruption of Σηά (Vat. Σουθία, Alex. Σουαά), the Ziha of Ezra ii. 43. The identity of the names of the Nethinim, as here given, with those in Ezra and in Nehemiah (vii. 46–56), will in most cases be seen at once. The following table may serve to shew this in the simplest manner. It should be premised that there are forty-six names in the present passage, thirty-five in Ezra, and thirty-two in Nehemiah.

NAMES OF THE NETHINIM.

1 Esdras v. 29–32.		Ezra ii. 43–54.	
A. V.	LXX.	A. V.	LXX.
1. Esau	Ἡσαύ	Ziha	Σουθία.
2. Asipha	Ἀσιφά	Hasupha	Ἀσουφά.
3. Tabaoth	Ταβαώθ	Tabbaoth	Ταβαώθ.
4. Ceras	Κηράς	Keros	Κάδης, Κηράος.
5. Sud	Σουά, Σουδά	Siaha	Σιαά, Ἀσαά.
6. Phaleas	Φαλαίας	Padon	Φαδών.
7. Labana	Λαβανά	Lebanah	Λαβανώ.
8. Graba	Ἀγγαβά, Ἀγραβά	Hagabah	Ἀγαβά.
9. Acua	Ἀκούδ	Akkub	Ἀκούβ.
10. Uta	Οὐτά	—	—
11. Cetab	Κητάβ	—	—
12. Agaba	Ἀκκαβά	Hagab	Ἀγάβ.
13. Subai	Συβαΐ	Shalmai	Σελαμί.
14. Anan	Ἀνάν	Hanan	Ἀνάν.

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[n] Asipha, the sons of Tabaoth, the sons of [o] Ceras, the sons of [p] Sud, the sons of [q] Phaleas, the sons of Labana, the sons of [r] Graba,

30 The sons of [s] Acua, the sons of Uta, the sons of [t] Cetab, the sons of Agaba, the sons of [u] Subai, the sons of Anan, the sons of [x] Cathua, the sons of [y] Geddur,

31 The sons of [z] Airus, the sons of [a] Daisan, the sons of [b] Noeba, the sons of Chaseba, the sons of [c] Gazera, the sons of [d] Azia, the sons of [e] Phinees, the sons of Azara, the sons of [f] Bastai, the sons of [g] Asana, the sons of [h] Meani, the sons of [i] Naphisi, the sons of [k] Acub, the sons of [l] Acipha, the sons of [m] Assur, the sons of Pharacim, the sons of [n] Basaloth,

32 The sons of [o] Meeda, the sons of Coutha, the sons of [p] Charea, the sons of [q] Charcus, the sons of [r] Aserer, the sons of [s] Thomoi, the sons of [t] Nasith, the sons of Atipha.

33 The sons of the servants of Solomon: the sons of [u] Azaphion, the sons of [x] Pharira, the sons of [y] Jeeli, the sons of [z] Lozon, the sons of [a] Isdael, the sons of [b] Sapheth,

34 The sons of [c] Hagia, the sons

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[n] *Hasupha.* [o] *Keros.* [p] *Siaha.* [q] *Padon.* [r] *Agaba.* [s] *Akkub.* [t] *Hagab.* [u] *Shamlai.* [x] *Giddel.* [y] *Gahar.* [z] *Reaiah.* [a] *Rezin.* [b] *Necodah.* [c] *Gazam.* [d] *Huzza.* [e] *Paseah.* [f] *Besai.* [g] *Asnah.* [h] *Meunim.* [i] *Nephusin.* [k] *Bakbuk.* [l] *Hacupa.* [m] *Harhur.* [n] *Bazluth.* [o] *Mehida.* [p] *Harsha* [q] *Barcos.* [r] *Sisera.* [s] *Thamai.* [t] *Neziah.* [u] *Sophereth.* [x] *Peruda.* [y] *Jaalah.* [z] *Darcon.* [a] *Giddel.* [b] *Shephatiah.* [c] *Hatti.*

NAMES OF THE NETHINIM (*continued*).

	1 Esdras v. 29–32.		Ezra ii. 43–54.	
	A. V.	LXX.	A. V.	LXX.
15.	Cathua	Καθουά	Giddel	Γεδδήλ.
16.	Geddur	Γεδδούρ	Gahar	Γαάρ.
17.	Airus	Ἰαΐρος	Reaiah	Ῥαϊά.
18.	Daisan	Δαισάν	Rezin	Ῥασών.
19.	Noeba	Νοεβά	Nekoda	Νεκωδά.
20.	Chaseba	Χασεβά		
21.	Gazera	Καζηρά	Gazzam	Γαζέμ.
22.	Azia	Ὀζίας	Uzza	Ἀζώ.
23.	Phinees	Φινοέ	Paseah	Φασή.
24.	Azara	Ἀσαρά		
25.	Bastai	Βασθαΐ	Bezai	Βασί.
26.	Asana	Ἀσσανά	Asnah	Ἀσενά.
27.	Meani	Μανί	Mehunim	Μουνείμ.
28.	Naphisi	Ναφισί	Nephusim	Νεφουσείμ.
29.	Acub	Ἀκούφ	Bakbuk	Βακβούκ.
30.	Acipha	Ἀχιβά	Hakupha	Ἀκουφά.
31.	Assur	Ἀσούρ	Harhur	Ἀρούρ.
32.	Pharacim	Φαρακέμ		
33.	Basaloth	Βασαλώθ	Bazluth	Βασαλώθ.
34.	Meeda	Μεεδδά	Mehida	Μαουδά.
35.	Coutha	Κουθά		
36.	Charea	Χαρέα	Harsha	Ἀρσά.
37.	Charcus	Βαρχουέ	Barkos	Βαρκός.
38.	Aserer	Σεράρ	Sisera	Σισάρα.
39.	Thomoi	Θομοΐ	Thamah	Θεμά.
40.	Nasith	Νασί	Neziah	Νασθιέ.
41.	Atipha	Ἀτεφά	Hatipha	Ἀτουφά.

Of the above, some have probably differed only in the vowel-points, as Asipha, Hasupha; Acipha, Hakupha. The familiar confusion of D and R in Hebrew (ד and ר) will explain the difference in Daisan and Rezin (No. 18). So we have Ῥεννά in the LXX. for Dannah (Josh. xv. 49). The similarity between D and L in Greek (Δ and Λ) may explain No. 6.

33. *The sons, &c.*] These appear to have been an order of men of still lower rank than the Nethinim. In 1 Kings v. 15 we read that Solomon had 70,000 men employed in bearing burdens, and 80,000 in hewing stone, for the building of the Temple. Those here mentioned were a remnant of their descendants. In the art. SOLOMON'S SERVANTS in 'Dict. of the Bible' it is suggested that, as the Nethinim were originally appointed to be hewers of *wood*, so these men were specially employed as hewers of *stone*; and the enumeration of them here may be due to the importance of skilled labour in that department. It will be noticed that many of the names both of Solomon's servants and of the Nethinim are not Hebrew.

Azaphion, &c.] The list in Ezra ii. 55–57 contains only ten names; the present list appears to contain eighteen. Arranged as before, they are:—

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of [d] Phacareth, the sons of Sabi, the sons of Sarothie, the sons of Masias, the sons of Gar, the sons of Addus, the sons of Suba, the sons of Apherra, the sons of Barodis, the sons of Sabat, the sons of Allom.

[d] *Phocereth, Hazzebaim,* Ezra 2. 57.

35 All the ministers of the temple, and the sons of the servants of Solomon, were three hundred seventy and two.

36 These came up from Thermeleth and Thelersas, Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar;

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37 Neither could they shew their families, nor their stock, how they were of Israel: the sons of [e] Ladan, the son of [f] Ban, the sons of [g] Necodan, six hundred fifty and two.

[e] *Delajah.* [f] *Tobiah.* [g] *Necodah.*

38 And of the priests that usurped the office of the priesthood, and were not found: the sons of [h] Obdia, the sons of [i] Accoz, the sons of [k] Addus,

[h] *Hobajah.* [i] *Cos.* [k] *Barzelai.*

1 Esdras.	LXX.
1. Azaphion	Ἀσσαπφιώθ
2. Pharira	Φαριρά, Φαριδά
3. Jeeli	Ἰειηλί
4. Lozon	Λόζων
5. Isdael	Ἰσδαήλ
6. Sapheth	Σαφνί, Σαφυθί
7. Hagia	Ἁγιά
8. Phacareth	Φαχαρέθ
9. Sabi (Gen. Sabie)	Σαβιή
10. Sarothie	Σαρωθί
11. Masias	Μισαίας
12. Gar	Γάς
13. Addus	Ἀδδούς
14. Suba	Σουβά
15. Aspherra	Ἀφερρά
16. Barodis	Βαρωδίς
17. Sabat	Σαφάγ, Σαφάτ
18. Allom	Ἀλλώμ

Ezra.	LXX.
Sophereth	Σεφηρά, Ἀσεφυράθ.
Peruda	Φαδουρά.
Jaalah	Ἰεηλά.
Darkon	Δαρκών.
Giddel	Γεδήλ.
Shephatiah	Σαφατία.
Hattil	Ἀτίλ, Ἀττίλ.
Pochereth of Zebaim	Φαχεράθ. Ἀσεβωείμ.
[Ami the last, and Sotai the first, in the list, have none to answer to them in 1 Esdras.]	Ἡμεῖ. Σωταῖ.

In the above list, the first letters of Lozon and Darkon (No. 4) might have been easily interchanged, as explained before; but it is difficult to see any resemblance in the rest of the word. The addition "of Zebaim" to the name of Pochereth (No. 8) suggests the thought that this family may have originally come from Zeboim, the neighbouring city to Sodom. See Mr. Grove's art. in 'Dict. of the Bible.' It is possible also that the Σαβιή in Esdras may represent this Zebaim (Ἀσεβωείμ), so that both lists would agree to the ninth name. The form Gar for Gas (No. 12) is due to the spelling Γάρ in the Aldine.[1] Instead of Ἀλλώμ (No. 18) F. proposes to adopt Ἀλλών, the reading of some MSS., and to understand it as ἄλλων, "of others," like our "etc." But this is not probable.

36. *These.*] *I.e.* those whose names follow, in *v.* 37.

Thermeleth, &c.] In Ezra ii. 59 the places from which they came are given as "Tel-Melah, Tel-Harsa, Cherub, Addan, and Immer;" all supposed to be cities or villages in Babylonia. Rawlinson identifies the first of these with the Thelme of Ptolemy, near the Persian Gulf, and Cherub with Ptolemy's Chiripha, in the same region. The site of the rest is uncertain. By some perversion of the original, as it would appear, the author of 1 Esdras has made out of the last three names of places the clause "Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar," ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν Χαρααθαλὰν καὶ Ἀαλάρ.

37. *Ladan, &c.*] Instead of Ladan the son of Ban, the list in Ezra gives two heads of families: the children of Delaiah and the children of Tobiah. The reading of the Vat., υἱοὶ Δαλὰν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Βαενάν, by giving Dalan for Ladan (Δ for Λ), brings us nearer to Delaiah (LXX. Δαλαΐα), while the LXX. of Ezra ii. 60 has a reading υἱοὶ Βουὰ after Δαλαΐα, which seems to point to the τοῦ Βαενὰν here.

38. *that usurped.*] This is too strong a term. The Greek is οἱ ἐμποιούμενοι ἱερωσύνης, which Wahl explains as *edocti munus sacerdotale*, "taught the priestly office," justifying the peculiar use of the genit. by the examples given in Winer, iii. 30, § 4, such as κείνης διδακτά (Soph. 'El.' 344), καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίας (2 Pet. ii. 14), &c. But none of these seems quite to bear out the construction, and

[1] The writer of the short art. GAR in 'Dict. of the Bible,' and of many similar articles, would have found a reference to the Aldine edition sufficient to explain the difficulty about the spelling of several proper names in the A. V.

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who married Augia one of the daughters of Berzelus, and was named after his name.

39 And when the description of the kindred of these men was sought in the register, and was not found, they were removed from executing the office of the priesthood:

‖ *Nehemias, who also is Atharias:* two of one: Ezra 2. 63. Neh. 8. 9. & 10. 1.

40 For unto them said ‖ Nehemias and Atharias, that they should not be partakers of the holy things, till there arose up an high priest clothed with ‖ doctrine and truth.

‖ Heb. *Urim and Thummim.*

41 So of Israel, from them of twelve years old and upward, they were all in number forty thousand, beside menservants and womenservants two thousand three hundred and sixty. B. C. cir. 536.

42 Their [l] menservants and handmaids were seven thousand three hundred forty and seven: the singing men and singing women, two hundred forty and five:

[l] See Neh. 7. 67.

43 [m] Four hundred thirty and five camels, seven thousand thirty and six horses, two hundred forty and five mules, five thousand five hundred twenty and five ‖ beasts used to the yoke.

[m] Ezra 2. 67.

‖ *asses.*

44 And certain of the chief of their families, when they came to the temple of God that is in Jerusalem, vowed to set up the house again in

it is a question whether οἱ ἐμποιούμενοι here is not meant to be in the sense of οἱ προσποιούμενοι, "that laid claim to."

Obdia, &c.] In Ezra ii. 61 the first name appears as Habaiah. The Alex. Ὀβαία connects the two. Accoz is merely the Koz of Ezra with the definite article left prefixed (הַקּוֹץ). Addus took the name of his father-in-law Barzillai (for whom see 2 Sam. xvii. 27; xix. 31–39), and is thus himself called Barzillai in the parallel passage of Ezra.[1]

39. *the description of the kindred.*] More shortly, "the genealogy," τῆς γενικῆς γραφῆς.

executing, &c.] This is a somewhat lengthy phrase for τοῦ ἱερατεύειν, "from acting as priests."

40. *Nehemias and Atharias.*] As the marginal note indicates, this is making two of one. In Ezra ii. 63 it is "the Tirshatha" (margin, "governour"), meaning Zerubbabel. The Greek word represented by Atharias, Ἀθαρίας, is almost certainly a corruption of הַתִּרְשָׁתָא, "The Tirshatha." In the LXX. of Ezra ii. 63 the word is Ἀθερσαθά. Why the name of Nehemiah should have been introduced here is not easy to explain, unless we suppose that he was so familiarly known as *the* Tirshatha, that the mention of one word suggested the other. Comp. Neh. viii. 9. Dr. Bissell points out a similar redoubling in vi. 18 below, where Zorobabel and Sanabassarus are made separate persons.

with doctrine and truth.] τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. This is a translation of the terms Urim and Thummim in Ezra ii. 63; on which see the learned article of Dr. Perowne in 'Dict. of the Bible,' and the notes on Exod. xxviii. 30. The text shews that the second Temple did not possess these symbols, and in fact they are not recorded to have been consulted since the days of Abiathar. "Light" or "illumination" would be a better equivalent for Urim than "doctrine."

41. *in number.*] For the respective totals in the three accounts see R. on Ezra ii. 64. It will be observed that the name of Israel is retained, agreeably with the mention of *twelve* leaders in *v.* 8 above. The absence of a comma after "womenservants" makes it less obvious that the continuity of the number, 42,360, is broken by the insertion of the words "besides . . . servants." The margin of the Geneva Version gives it more correctly: "forty and two thousand three hundred and sixtie." There is nothing in the Greek to require this awkward arrangement of the words.

42. *singing men and singing women.*] There is nothing in the Greek, ψάλται καὶ ψαλτῳδοί, to imply this variety of men and women; but it is expressed in the parallel passage of Ezra. The fact of these musicians (who were not slaves) being placed in the list between the servants and cattle, made Michaelis (in a passage quoted by Fritzsche and discussed by Bertheau) speculate whether the original words in the Hebrew might have been two, similar in form to these, signifying "oxen" and "cows." Besides other objections, the smallness of the number would condemn this supposition.

43. *beasts used to the yoke.*] ὑποζύγια. As camels, horses, and mules have been mentioned, these must have been either oxen or asses, and the word used in Ezra ii. 67 shews the marginal interpretation to be right.

44. *of their families.*] Rather, "according to their families."

[1] The names Addus (Ἀδδοὺς) and Augia are both wanting in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

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B. C. cir. 536. his own place according to their ability,

45 And to give into the holy treasury of the works a thousand pounds of gold, five thousand of silver, and an hundred priestly vestments.

46 And so dwelt the priests and the Levites and the people in Jerusalem, and in the country, the singers also and the porters; and all Israel in their villages.

535. 47 But when the seventh month was at hand, and when the children of Israel were every man in his own place, they came altogether with one consent into the open place of the

‖ Or, *before the east gate.* first ‖ gate which is toward the east.

48 Then stood up Jesus the son of Josedec, and his brethren the priests, and Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and his brethren, and made ready the B. C. 535. altar of the God of Israel,

49 To offer burnt sacrifices upon it, according as it is expressly commanded in the book of Moses the man of God.

50 And there were gathered unto them out of the other nations of the land, and they erected the altar upon his own place, because all the nations of the land were at enmity with them, and oppressed them; and they offered sacrifices according to the time, and burnt offerings to the Lord both morning and evening.

51 Also they held the feast of tabernacles, as it is commanded in the law, and *offered* sacrifices daily, as was meet:

52 And after that, the ‖ continual ‖ Or, *daily sacrifice.*

45. *pounds.*] μνᾶς. In Ezra ii. 69 the amounts are distinguished as 61,000 "drams" of gold, and 5000 "pound" of silver. The word in the LXX. for the former is μναῖ (Vat.), δραχμὰς (Alex.); for the latter, μναῖ, as here. Rawlinson, on 1 Chron. xxix. 7, shews reasons for taking "darics," rather than "drams," as the rendering in the former case. Taking the daric at the value commonly given, 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, the sum contributed in gold would answer to between 66,000*l.* and 67,000*l.* of our money. If, in like manner, we take the silver *mina* as worth 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, the contribution in silver would be about 20,300*l.*; making a total (according to Ezra) of nearly 87,000*l.* If we take the 5000 silver "pounds" (*minas*) of the text as before, and the 1000 gold minas as each worth 15½ times the silver one, we get a total not widely differing from that in Ezra; namely, between 83,000*l.* and 84,000*l.* But modern equivalents for ancient money are deceptive, unless other conditions be taken into account.

47. *But when, &c.*] At this point a fresh section begins, answering to Ezra iii. 1 *sqq.* Compare the end of ch. vii. and the beginning of ch. viii. in Nehemiah. The seventh month was Tisri, nearly answering to our September. See R. on Ezra iii. 1.

the open place, &c.] In the parallel passage of Ezra these details are not given, and F. thinks that the writer introduced them from Neh. viii. 1, where mention is made of the people being assembled (on a later occasion) "into the street that was before the water gate." If Fergusson be right in identifying the water-gate with the southern gate of the Temple ('Dict. of the Bible,' i. p. 1027, b), probably the same area may be meant here as in the passage of Nehemiah; namely, that between the East gate and the Water gate (*ib.* Plate ii.), within the modern Haram area. Compare the notes on ix. 6, 41.

48. *son of Salathiel.*] More exactly, nephew, being the son of Pedaiah, the younger brother of Shealtiel or Salathiel. See R.'s note on 1 Chron. iii. 19.

made ready.] ἡτοίμασαν. It had to be built anew (Ezra iii. 2), and was of unhewn stones (1 Macc. iv. 47), and according to tradition (Joseph. 'Antiqq.' xi. 4, § 1) was on the same spot as that on which the one erected by Solomon had stood.

50. *And there were gathered, &c.*] This statement is an addition to the account as given in Ezra, apparently to explain the haste of the Jews in setting up their altar of burnt-offering, and restoring the customary sacrifices, even before the foundations of the Temple were laid.

both morning, &c.] Lit., "both the morning and the evening one;" that is, the lamb for a burnt offering twice every day. See Exod. xxix. 38.

51. *feast of tabernacles.*] This lasted from the 15th to the 22nd of Tisri, the "seventh month" of *v.* 47. See Exod. xxiii. 16; Levit. xxiii. 33 *sqq.* Instead of ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν, the Greek term used here is σκηνοπηγία, the same as in St. John vii. 2.

52. *continual oblations.*] Greek, προσφορὰς ἐνδελεχισμοῦ. The latter word is used adjectivally, after a common Hebrew idiom. By

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B. C. cir. 535. oblations, and the sacrifice of the sabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all holy feasts.

‖ Gr. *hallowed.* 53 And all they that had ‖ made any vow to God began to offer sacrifices to God from the first day of the seventh month, although the temple of the Lord was not yet built.

54 And they gave unto the masons and carpenters money, meat, and drink, with cheerfulness.

55 Unto them of Zidon also and Tyre they gave carrs, that they should bring cedar trees from Libanus, which should be brought by floats to the haven of Joppe, according as it was commanded them by Cyrus king of the Persians.

56 And in the second year and second month after his coming to the temple of God at Jerusalem began Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and Jesus the son of Josedec, and their brethren, and the priests, and the Levites, and all they that were come unto Jerusalem out of the captivity: B. C. cir. 535.

57 And they laid the foundation of the house of God in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to Jewry and Jerusalem.

58 [n] And they appointed the Levites from twenty years old over the works of the Lord. Then stood up Jesus, and his sons and brethren, and Cadmiel his brother, and the sons of Madiabun, with the sons of Joda the son of Eliadun, with their sons and brethren, all Levites, with one accord [n] See Ezra 3. 8, 9, &c.

the "offerings of continuance," or continual oblations, seem to be meant those prescribed in Numb. xxviii. 3–8, except that the chief part of them, the lambs for a burnt-offering, have been already referred to in *v.* 50. The directions for the Sabbaths and new moons, next mentioned, follow in order in Numb. xxviii. 9, 11.

holy.] Rather, "consecrated," ἡγιασμένων.

54. *money, meat, &c.*] The natural order of the words, according to the Greek, would be: "And they gave money to the masons and carpenters, and drink and meat and 'cars' to the men of Sidon and Tyre, for them to bring," &c. This agrees better with the language in Ezra iii. 7. There are two difficulties about the reading of this verse. The A. V. has "with cheerfulness," answering to the Vulgate *cum gaudio*, and to the μετὰ χαρᾶς of some printed editions of the Greek. But the words have no MS. authority, and seem to be derived in some way from the χάρρα which follows. The Aldine has the confused reading καὶ βρώματα καὶ ποτὰ κάρρα κ. τ. λ.; the best text, καὶ ποτὰ καὶ βρωτὰ καὶ χάρρα (Alex. κάρρα) τοῖς κ. τ. λ. No authority is found for χάρρα in the sense of "cars" (Genev. "charets," i.e. *charettes*); and as in Ezra iii. 7 "oil" is named in addition to the meat and drink, it is not improbable, as F. conjectures, that some such word as μύρα, "ointments," may have been the original reading. R. compares the similar arrangements made by king Solomon, 1 Kings v. 6–11, where also "twenty measures of pure *oil*" formed one of the items given as an equivalent for Hiram's assistance. As the word κόρους is used for "measures" in the LXX. of the first part of that verse, it might deserve consideration whether κάρρα here is a corruption of that word.

55. *by floats.*] The Greek has σχεδίας (not σχεδίαις, as in the LXX. of the similar passage 2 Chron. ii. 16); lit. "to convey floats" (or "rafts"). The timber might itself form the rafts.

Joppe.] Then, as it was in Solomon's time, and still is, the seaport of Jerusalem.

56. *Jesus the son of Josedec.*] The name of the father of this Jeshua is the same as that of the father of the High Priest. But it seems clear from *v.* 58 that a chief of the Levites is here meant. Hence we may identify this Jeshua with the one mentioned in *v.* 26 above, where also the name of Cadmiel (or Cadoelus) occurs as that of the head of another Levitical house.

57. *laid the foundation.*] Comp. above, ii. 18; and, for the chronological difficulty involved, the notes on ii. 16 and *v.* 73 below.

58. *his brother.*] That is, in office.

Madiabun.] This is the form of the name in the Aldine. The best text has Ἡμαδαβούν. There is nothing in Ezra to correspond to it. As *three* Levitical families are reckoned in Ezra iii. 9 (where see Reuss's note, shewing reasons for reading "*and* the sons of Henadad"), it is not unlikely that Ἡμαδαβοὺν is a perverted repetition of the words Ἡλιαδοὺδ σὺν which follow, caused by the recurrence of the words καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ, which would mislead a transcriber's eye. The three sets

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setters forward of the business, labouring to advance the works in the house of God. So the workmen built the temple of the Lord.

59 And the priests stood arrayed in their vestments with musical instruments and trumpets; and the Levites the sons of Asaph had cymbals,

60 Singing songs of thanksgiving, and praising the Lord, according as David the king of Israel had ordained.

61 And they sung *with* loud voices songs to the praise of the Lord, because his mercy and glory is for ever in all Israel.

62 And all the people sounded trumpets, and shouted with a loud voice, singing songs of thanksgiving unto the Lord for the rearing up of the house of the Lord.

63 [o] Also of the priests and Levites, and of the chief of their families, the ancients who had seen the former house came to the building of this with weeping and great crying.

64 But many with trumpets and joy shouted with loud voice,

65 Insomuch that the trumpets might not be heard for the weeping of the people: yet the multitude sounded marvellously, so that it was heard afar off.

66 [p] Wherefore when the enemies of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin heard it, they came to know what that noise of trumpets should mean.

67 And they perceived that they that were of the captivity did build the temple unto the Lord God of Israel.

68 So they went to Zorobabel and Jesus, and to the chief of the families, and said unto them, We will build together with you.

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‖ Or, *overseers*, or, *encouragers of them that wrought in the house of the Lord.*

‖ Or, *after the manner of David king of Israel.*

[o] Ezra 3. 12, 13.

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‖ Or, *discerned.*

[p] Ezra 4. 1, &c.

of overseers would thus be the families of Jeshua, Cadmiel, and Eliadud. Joda would then answer to the Judah or Hodaviah of Ezra iii. 9.

setters forward.] ἐργοδιῶκται, "task-masters;" a rare word. In what follows, the English translator appears to have read πονοῦντες εἰς τὰ ἔργα instead of ποιοῦντες κ. τ. λ.

59. *arrayed, &c.*] The first occasion on which they had ventured to display the ancient magnificence of their religious service. See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliii.

61. *because his mercy, &c.*] The same words were used at the first dedication under Solomon. It seems most natural to regard them as a quotation from the 136th Psalm; but Reuss, observing the recurrence of the words in 2 Chron. vii. 3, xx. 21, considers them rather a customary liturgical formula.

63. *ancients.*] As the building had not yet begun to rise, the grief of these aged men could not have been caused by any comparison between it and the splendid structure whose destruction they had witnessed some fifty-three years before. Josephus, who amplifies and embellishes the account ('Antiqq.' xi. 4, § 2), seems conscious of this; for he makes the lamentation to take place when the building was completed. In speaking of the first Temple as "very great" as well as "very costly," he is led away by his rhetorical instinct; for the first Temple was smaller by a third, in nearly all its dimensions, than this second. No doubt the recollection of its unparalleled magnificence of adornment, and the consciousness of their present poverty, would weigh on the minds of these survivors of the past generation.

65. *might not be heard.*] More literally, "so that the people did not hear," &c. The whole passage, as it stands in the Greek, is obscure: "And many with trumpets and joy (resounded) with loud voice, so that the people did not hear the trumpets on account of the wailing of the people; for it was the multitude that was trumpeting loudly, so as to be heard afar off." The sense appears to be, that though the joyful sound of trumpets was so great as to attract the attention of people far off (*v.* 66), yet it was overpowered, loud as it was, by the sounds of lamentation. In Ezra. iii. 12, the meaning is much more simply expressed.

66. *the enemies.*] As Reuss remarks (note on Ezra iv. 1), this term is applied to them prospectively. The applicants became enemies, but there is no reason to regard these first overtures as anything but friendly. There might also, no doubt, be a feeling of jealousy, as to the extent to which so many thousands of new comers might disturb their acquisitions of property. The mixed race inhabiting Samaria are probably the "enemies" spoken of. Their various nationalities are specified in Ezra iv. 9, 10.

68. *We will build.*] A better reading is "Let us build," συνοικοδομήσωμεν.

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69 For we likewise, as ye, do obey your Lord, and do sacrifice unto him from the days of ‖ Azbazareth the king of the Assyrians, who brought us hither.

‖ Or, *Esarhaddon*, Ezra 4. 2.

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70 Then Zorobabel and Jesus and the chief of the families of Israel said unto them, It is not for us and you to build together an house unto the Lord our God.

71 We ourselves alone will build unto the Lord of Israel, according as Cyrus the king of the Persians hath commanded us.

72 But the heathen of the land lying heavy upon the inhabitants of Judea, and holding them strait, hindered their building; B. C. cir. 534

73 And by their secret plots, and popular persuasions and commotions, they hindered the finishing of the building all the time that king Cyrus lived: so they were hindered from building for the space of two years, ‖ until the reign of Darius.

‖ Or, *until the second year of Darius*, Ezra 4. 5, 6, 7, 24.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The prophets stir up the people to build the temple.* 8 *Darius is solicited to hinder it:* 27 *but he doth further it by all means,* 32 *and threateneth those that shall hinder it.*

cir. 520.

NOW [a] in the second year of the reign of Darius Aggeus and

[a] Ezra 4. 24. & 5. 1, &c.

69. *Azbazareth.*] In Ezra iv. 2 it is Esar-haddon; the name in the LXX. there being Ἀσβακαφάς. It is not easy to account for the corruption of the Assyrian name (though represented by such varying forms as Ἀσορδὰν, Σαχερδονός, and Ἀσαρίδανος) to Ἀσβακαφάς. The great monarch here referred to, the son of Sennacherib, reigned from B.C. 680 to 660. On the three successive colonizations of Samaria, see R.'s note on Ezra iv. 2.

71. *We ourselves alone, &c.*] An answer of this kind will be approved or censured according to the point of view from which it is regarded. Sayce remarks upon it: "It was little wonder that the Jews should have indignantly rejected the companionship of a population so mixed and impure, both in race and religion, as that of Samaria" ('Ezra,' &c., p. 21). Dean Stanley ('Jewish Church,' Lect. xliii.) sees in it "the story again and again repeated in modern times: first, the natural desire of an estranged population—heretical and schismatical as they might be—to partake in a glorious national work; then the rude refusal to admit their co-operation; then the fierce recrimination of the excluded party, and the determination to frustrate the good work in which they cannot share." "The Protestants," he adds, "of the sixteenth, the Puritans of the seventeenth century may see their demands in the innocent, laudable request of the northern settlers: 'Let us build with you, for we seek your God as ye do.' The stiff retort of the Church, whether in Italy or in England, may fortify itself by the response of the 'chief of the fathers of Israel:' 'Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto the God of Israel.'"

72. *But the, &c.*] Rather, perhaps, "And the," &c.; this conduct being regarded as the consequence of the answer given.

lying heavy upon.] The word in the Greek is a remarkable one, ἐπικοιμώμενα, lit. "sleeping on them," "lying as an incubus on them." It is the word used in the LXX. of the woman overlying her child, in 1 Kings iii. 19.

73. *their secret plots, &c.*] The English is here rather a paraphrase of the original, which, as it stands, is difficult to translate literally. This will be seen from the divergence of the A.V. from the Geneva Version: "and by their ambushments and seditions and conspiracies hindered the finishing of the building."

two years.] As Darius I. did not begin to reign till B.C. 521, eight years after the death of Cyrus, and fourteen years after the foundation of the second Temple, this is an obvious error. It may be due to a confusion with the "second year of the reign of Darius" mentioned just after in vi. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

1. *Now in the second year, &c.*] The account from this point runs parallel to that in Ezra iv. 24; v. 1 *sqq.* The details of the opposition to the Jews during the reigns of "Ahasuerus" and "Artaxerxes," related in Ezra iv. 6–23, are here omitted. On the reasons for thinking that the two kings just mentioned were Cambyses and the Pseudo-Smerdis, see R. on Ezra iv. 5–7.

Aggeus and Zacharias.] "They stand side by side. One is far advanced in years, apparently belonging to that older generation which had wept over the contrast between the first and second Temple—Haggai—who bore a name which no prophet had ever assumed before,

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B. C. cir. 520. Zacharias the son of ‖Addo, the prophets, prophesied unto the Jews
‖ Or, *Iddo.* in Jewry and Jerusalem in the name
‖ Or, *which was called on them.* of the Lord God of Israel, ‖which was upon them.

2 Then stood up Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and Jesus the son of Josedec, and began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, the prophets of the Lord being with them, *and*
o Ezra 5. 3. helping them.

3 [b] At the same time came unto
‖ Or, *Tatnai.* them ‖Sisinnes the governor of Syria
‖ Or, *Shetharbozнai.* and Phenice, with ‖Sathrabuzanes and his companions, and said unto them,

4 By whose appointment do ye B. C. cir. 52 build this house and this roof, and perform all the other things? and who are the workmen that perform these things?

5 Nevertheless the elders of the Jews obtained favour, because the Lord had visited the captivity;

6 And they were not hindered from building, until such time as signification was given unto Darius concerning them, and an answer received.

7 The copy of the letters which Si- cir. 5 sinnes, governor of Syria and Phenice,

but which henceforth seems to have become familiar—the 'Messenger, or Angel, of the Eternal' (Haggai i. 13; comp. Mal. iii. 1). The other must have been quite young, being the grandson of one of the returning exiles. Zechariah belonged to the priestly tribe, and is thus remarkable as an example of the union of the two functions, which, being long so widely separated in ancient times, had in the last days of the Monarchy gradually become blended together." (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliii.)

son of Addo.] Strictly speaking, he was son of Berechiah, and grandson of Addo or Iddo. R. compares the case of Jehu the "son of Nimshi" (1 Kings xix. 16; 2 Kings ix. 14).

which was upon them.] That is, by which they were called. This should be the rendering of the parallel clause in Ezra v. i. The LXX. has ἐπ' αὐτούς in both.

2. *began to build.*] Resumed, that is, the work long interrupted. What Jeshua and Zerubbabel had been doing in the long interval of fourteen years, or more, we are not told. It would seem, from the tone of Haggai, ch. i., that both leaders and people had lost heart, and become more or less indifferent to the work. They need the "prophesying," or preaching, of the outspoken Haggai, to stimulate them afresh to the task.

3. *Sisinnes.*] In Ezra v. 3 the name is given as Tatnai; in the LXX. Θανθαναΐ, or Θαθθαναΐ. By a common interchange of *sh* and *th*, this might be expressed in Hebrew by Shashnai, or Sheshnai, and so in Greek by Σισέννης or Σισίννης. In like manner Sathrabuzanes (Σαθραβουζάνης; in the LXX. Σαθαρβουζαναΐ) answers to the Shethar-boznai of Ezra. According to Professor Sayce ('Ezra, &c.,' p. 24), "neither Tatnai nor Shethar-boznai seems to be a Persian name. The latter may be Elamite, the former Aramæan."

Rawlinson, however ('Appendix to Ezra,' p. 423), while admitting that Tatnai cannot be identified with any known Persian name, agrees with Lord Arthur Hervey ('Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*) in thinking Shethar-boznai Persian, and probably the same as that Grecized by Arrian into Satibarzanes. Tatnai was satrap of Syria and Phœnicia, a great district west of the Euphrates, and hence "on this side of the river" from the Judean point of view. From his office, he was superior to Zerubbabel; and, if of Syrian origin, might well be hostile to the returning Jews.

4. *By whose appointment, &c.*] As R. points out, the edict of "Artaxerxes" forbidding the work (Ezra iv. 23) would by Persian customs be in force in his successor's reign, unless formally repealed; and hence the Jews were acting in one sense illegally. As Darius's hands were greatly tied at this time (see Sayce, *ubi sup.*, p. 53), the moment may have been thought opportune for venturing to begin the building again, without waiting for a special sanction.

roof.] The use of this term seems to point to the advanced state of the framework of the building, with "the timber already laid upon the walls" (*v.* 9). So F. would render it here by *Gebälk.*

6. *an answer received.*] More exactly, "a notice sent," or "an intimation given." Another form of the same word, προσφωνησάτω, is rendered in *v.* 22 "let him signify."

7. *The copy.*] The Vatican text, as Fritzsche and Tischendorf punctuate, reads thus: "The copy of the letter which he (*i.e.* Sisinnes) wrote to Darius, and they sent. 'Sisinnes the governor of Syria, &c., to king Darius, greeting.'"

B. C. cir. 519. and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions, rulers in Syria and Phenice, wrote and sent unto Darius; To king Darius, greeting:

8 Let all things be known unto our lord the king, that being come into the country of Judea, and entered into the city of Jerusalem, we found in the city of Jerusalem the ancients of the Jews that were of the captivity

9 Building an house unto the Lord, great *and* new, of hewn and costly stones, and the timber already laid upon the walls.

10 And those works are done with great speed, and the work goeth on prosperously in their hands, and with all glory and diligence is it made.

11 Then asked we these elders, saying, By whose commandment build ye this house, and lay the foundations of these works?

12 Therefore to the intent that we might give knowledge unto thee by writing, we demanded of them who were the chief doers, and we required of them the names in writing of their principal men.

13 So they gave us this answer, We are the servants of the Lord which made heaven and earth.

14 And as for this house, it was builded many years ago by a king of Israel great and strong, and was finished.

B. C. cir. 519. 15 But when our fathers provoked God unto wrath, and sinned against the Lord of Israel which is in heaven, he gave them over into the power of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, of the Chaldees;

16 Who pulled down the house, and burned it, and carried away the people captives unto Babylon.

17 But in the first year that king Cyrus reigned over the country of Babylon Cyrus the king wrote to build up this house.

18 And the holy vessels of gold and of silver, that Nabuchodonosor had carried away out of the house at Jerusalem, and had set them in his own temple, those Cyrus the king brought forth again out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered to ‖ Zorobabel and to Sanabassarus the ruler,

‖ Or, *Zorobabel, which is also Sanabassar the ruler,* so as Zorobabel seemeth to be added to the text, Ezra i. 8.

19 With commandment that he should carry away the same vessels, and put them in the temple at Jerusalem; and that the temple of the Lord should be built in his place.

20 Then the same Sanabassarus, being come hither, laid the foundations of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem; and from that time to this being still a building, it is not yet fully ended.

21 Now therefore, if it seem good unto the king, let search be made among the ‖ records of king Cyrus:

‖ Or, *rolls.*

9. *costly stones.*] It is perhaps a better division of the text to take the word "costly" as qualifying "timber" (πολυτελῶν ξύλων τιθεμένων). The reference might then be to the cedar wood mentioned in v. 55. Reuss, however (on Ezra v. 8), thinks the beams or girders to be meant. Comp. the note on *v.* 4, above.

10. *are done.*] Rather, "being done;" the clause depending on "we found." So "going on," just after, for "goeth on;" and "being finished," or "completed," for "is it made."

12. *Therefore, &c.*] More literally: "We questioned them, therefore, for the sake of making known to thee . . . and asked for the list of names of their leaders." The word for "list of names," ὀνομαγραφία, occurs again in viii. 49, where it is rendered "catalogue of names."

15. *of the Chaldees.*] According to the Greek, "king of the Chaldees;" the word "king" being repeated.

16. *Who pulled down.*] Rather, "And they pulled down," &c.

18. *in his own temple.*] See note on i. 41.

to Zorobabel and to Sanabassarus.] The marginal note to v. 40, "two of one," might be repeated here. The specification of Zerubbabel alone, in *vv.* 20, 27, and 29, shews that he is the one referred to. Above, in ii. 12, 15 (where see the note), he was called Sanabassar alone.

21. *records.*] Rather, "record-offices," or

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B. C. cir. 519.

22 And if it be found that the building of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem hath been done with the consent of king Cyrus, and if our lord the king be so minded, let him signify unto us thereof.

[c] Ezra 6. 1, &c.

23 [c] Then commanded king Darius to seek among the records at Babylon: and so at Ecbatana the palace, which is in the country of Media, there was found a [‖] roll wherein these things were recorded.

‖ Or, *place.*

24 In the first year of the reign of Cyrus king Cyrus commanded that the house of the Lord at Jerusalem should be built again, where they do sacrifice with continual fire:

25 Whose height shall be sixty cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits, with three rows of hewn stones, and one row of new wood of that country; and the expences thereof to be given out of the house of king Cyrus:

26 And that the holy vessels of the house of the Lord, both of gold and silver, that Nabuchodonosor took out of the house at Jerusalem, and brought to Babylon, should be restored to the house at Jerusalem, and be set in the place where they were before.

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27 And also he commanded that Sisinnes the governor of Syria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, and their companions, and those which were appointed rulers in Syria and Phenice, should be careful not to meddle with the place, but suffer Zorobabel, the servant of the Lord, and governor of Judea, and the elders of the Jews, to build the house of the Lord in that place.

28 I have commanded also to have it built up whole again; and that they look diligently to help those that be of the captivity of the Jews, till the house of the Lord be finished:

29 And out of the tribute of Celosyria and Phenice a portion carefully to be given these men for the sacrifices of the Lord, *that is*, to Zorobabel the governor, for bullocks, and rams, and lambs;

30 And also corn, salt, wine, and

"rolls-courts," *βιβλιοφυλακίοις*. In Ezra v. 17 the LXX. has *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῆς γάζης*.

23. *at Ecbatana the palace.*] The simple statement that, after searching at Babylon, they found the document at Ecbatana, is a mark of candid truthfulness in the writer. According to Sayce, the edict "had, in the first instance, no doubt, been inscribed on clay, and stored up among the archives in Babylon; but a copy on papyrus had been afterwards made of it, as of other State documents, for preservation at Ekbatana" (*ubi sup.*, p. 52). Ecbatana, the Balmoral of the Persian kings, is here called "the palace" (*τῇ βάρει*), rather "the fortress," in Media. Josephus ('Antiqq.' x. 11, § 7) uses the same peculiar word.

roll.] *τόμος*, for which some MSS. have *τόπος*, whence the marginal rendering.

24. *where they do sacrifice.*] The sense may perhaps be: "where they shall do," &c. To the same purport R. would read in Ezra vi. 3.

25. *with three rows.*] The meaning of the Greek, *διὰ δόμων*, is obscure. In Ezra vi. 4 the words are nearly the same, the LXX. in both places having *δόμοι*, where the A. V. gives "rows." Fergusson ('Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1459) thinks it means "storeys." R. prefers to apply it to the *thickness* of the walls, which was to be that of three blocks of hewn stone, together with the inner lining of timber. The opinion that every three layers, or courses, of stone were to have above them a layer of timber, is objected to by Reuss, who points out that, especially with *new* (and therefore unshrunk) timber, such a mode of building would be a strange one.

27. *And also he commanded.*] The transition from the decree of Cyrus quoted in the rescript, ending with *v.* 26, to the orders given by Darius in the rescript itself, is abrupt. In Ezra vi. 6 it is still more so; Tatnai and the others being there suddenly addressed in the second person. That *v.* 27 cannot be considered as forming part of the decree of Cyrus, seems plain from the fact that Sisinnes and his companions had addressed to Darius their inquiry about such a decree.

28. *whole.*] *ὁλοσχερῶς*, lit. entirely, or completely, from the very foundations.

29. *portion.*] Or, "contribution," *σύνταξιν*.

30. *corn, salt, &c.*] Needed for the burnt-offerings. See Exod. xxix. 40.

B. C. cir. 519. oil, and that continually every year without further question, according as the priests that be in Jerusalem shall signify to be daily spent:

‖ Or, *drink offerings.* 31 That ‖ offerings may be made to the most high God for the king and for his children, and that they may pray for their lives.

32 And he commanded that whosoever should transgress, yea, or make light of any thing afore spoken or written, out of his own house should a tree be taken, and he thereon be hanged, and all his goods seized for the king.

33 The Lord therefore, whose name is there called upon, utterly destroy every king and nation, that stretcheth out his hand to hinder or endamage that house of the Lord in Jerusalem.

34 I Darius the king have ordained that according unto these things it be done with diligence.

CHAPTER VII.

B. C. cir. 519.

1 *Sisinnes and others help forward the building.* 5 *The temple is finished, and dedicated.* 10 *The passover is kept.*

THEN [a] Sisinnes the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions, following the commandments of king Darius,

[a] Ezra 6. 13.

2 Did very carefully oversee the holy works, assisting the ancients of the Jews and governors of the temple.

3 And so the holy works prospered, when Aggeus and Zacharias the prophets prophesied.

4 And they finished these things by the commandment of the Lord God of Israel, and with ‖ the consent of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia.

‖ Or, *the decree.*

5 And thus was the holy house finished in ‖ the three and twentieth day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians.

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‖ Heb. *the third day,* Ezra 6. 15.

31. *for their lives.*] That is, of the king and his children. As instances of such prayers, Bertheau (on Ezra vi. 10) quotes Jer. xxix. 7, where the exiles in Babylon are exhorted to pray for the welfare of that city; and 1 Macc. xii. 11, where the High-priest Jonathan speaks of remembering the Lacedæmonians in the daily sacrifices and prayers.

32. *hanged.*] Compare the punishment of Bigthan and Teresh (Esth. ii. 23). But R. thinks crucifixion to be meant. Reuss also renders the words in Ezra vi. 11 "qu'il y soit crucifié et cloué." For "tree" comp. Gal. iii. 13.

seized for the king.] Gk. εἶναι βασιλικά, = *publicari*, "to be confiscated." In the parallel passage of Ezra it is "let his house be made a dunghill."

CHAPTER VII.

2. *very carefully.*] Lit. "more diligently," ἐπιμελέστερον, answering to the ἐπιμελῶς, "with diligence," of vi. 34. Their assiduity was increased by the king's command.

governors of the temple.] ἱεροστάταις, a word said to be only found in this place. If genuine, it seems formed on a false analogy with προστάτης. But it may be questioned whether it is not a corruption of ἱεροῦ προστάταις. A προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ is mentioned in 2 Macc. iii. 4, answering to the "captain of the temple" of Luke xxii. 4.

4. *consent.*] Better, as in the margin, "decree," or decision; Gk. γνώμης.

and Artaxerxes.] This third king's name is a source of difficulty. The one so named in Ezra iv. 17, 23, has been assumed to mean the Pseudo-Smerdis. But he forbade, instead of helping, the building of the Temple; and moreover the name here stands after, not before, that of Darius. If, following the sequence of names, we come to the first Artaxerxes who reigned after Darius, we are carried down to a date subsequent to B.C. 465, when Artaxerxes Longimanus ascended the throne. And the work of building the Temple is said in the very next verse to have been finished in the sixth year of Darius, B.C. 516. Various explanations are offered. Reuss thinks that the compiler, or perhaps a later copyist, wishing to place together the three Persian kings who did most for the Jews, added the name of Artaxerxes. Fritzsche considers that he is named already by anticipation, because of the favour shewn by him afterwards (ch. viii. 9 *sqq.*).

5. *in the three and twentieth day.*] In Ezra vi. 15 it is the *third* day. No reason has been suggested to account for this variation, except the fanciful one (see Dr. Bissell's note) that as the later *Encænia*, and the great Mosaic festivals, lasted eight days, the writer thought it more appropriate to make this dedication festival last eight days as well;

B. C. 515. 6 And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and others that were of the captivity, that were added unto them, did according to the things written in the book of Moses.

7 And to the dedication of the temple of the Lord they offered an hundred bullocks, and two hundred rams, four hundred lambs;

8 And twelve goats for the sin of all Israel, according to the number of the ‖chief of the tribes of Israel.

‖ Or, *tribes.*

9 The priests also and the Levites stood arrayed in their vestments, according to their ‖kindreds, in the service of the Lord God of Israel, according to the book of Moses: and the porters at every gate.

‖ Heb. *divisions,* Ezra 6. 18.

‖ Or, *with those that, &c.*

10 And the children of Israel ‖that were of the captivity held the passover the fourteenth day of the first month, after that the priests and the Levites were sanctified.

11 They that were of the captivity were not all sanctified together: but the Levites were all sanctified together. B. C. cir. 515.

12 And so they offered the passover for all them of the captivity, and for their brethren the priests, and for themselves.

13 And the children of Israel that came out of the captivity did eat, even all they that had separated themselves from the abominations of the people of the land, and sought the Lord.

14 And they kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days, making merry before the Lord,

15 For that he had turned the ‖counsel of the king of Assyria toward them, to strengthen their hands in the works of the Lord God of Israel.

‖ Or, *mind.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Esdras bringeth the king's commission to build.* 8 *The copy of it.* 28 *He declareth the names and number of those that came with him,* 61 *and his journey.* 71 *He lamenteth the sins of his people,* 96 *and*

which space of time, as Adar was the last month of the Jewish year, would just complete the old year. The peculiar expression in the Greek *συνετελέσθη ἕως τρίτης κ.τ.λ.*, is exactly rendered in Neteler's German version: "Und es wurde dieses Haus vollendet bis zum dritten Tage des Monats Adar."

sixth year.] B.C. 516-5. It had thus been twenty years in progress, including the time during which the works were stopped.

6. *others.*] Rather, "the others," *οἱ λοιποί.* Comp. Ezra vi. 16.

7. *an hundred, &c.*] R. compares this "modest sacrifice," suiting well the day of small things (Zech. iv. 10), with the lavish offering of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 63).

8. *twelve goats, &c.*] This was a recognition of the unity of Israel, after the restoration, as before. In the Greek the reading varies. The A.V. appears to have had *πρὸς ἀριθμὸν τῶν φυλῶν*, but the best text has (according to F.'s punctuation) *δώδεκα πρὸς ἀριθμόν, ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχων κ.τ.λ.*, "twelve in number, from the twelve leaders of the tribes of Israel."

11. *They that were, &c.*] The reading of the Greek here varies considerably. As given in the last edition of Tischendorf, the sense would literally be: "And the children of Israel, of those that were of the captivity, kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month, when the priests and the Levites together and all the children of the captivity were sanctified; (1) for they were sanctified, (2) for the Levites together were sanctified."

The clause marked (2) is omitted in several MSS., and (1) and (2) together in a few; and F. would omit them both. But the best MSS. retain them. The reading of the Vulgate is scarcely more intelligible: "And the children of Israel kept . . . &c., when the priests and Levites were sanctified. All the children of the captivity were not sanctified together, because the Levites were all sanctified together." The text must be corrupt as it stands; but the general drift of the passage seems to be, that the Levites stood in less need of special purification than the rest, even than the priests.

15. *king of Assyria.*] Darius is so called, from a part of his dominions, as Cyrus (in Ezra v. 13) and Artaxerxes (in Neh. xiii. 6) are called kings of Babylon. The Assyrian characters are even said to have been employed by Persian sovereigns in their despatches and inscriptions. See Bp. Wordsworth's note on Ezra vi. 22, and Duker and Arnold on Thuc. iv. 50.

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sweareth the priests to put away their strange wives.

AND after these things, when Artaxerxes the king of the Persians reigned, came Esdras the son of Saraias, the son of [a] Ezerias, the son of Helchiah, the son of Salum,

[a] *Azarias.*

2 The son of Sadduc, the son of Achitob, the son of Amarias, the son of [b] Ezias, the son of [c] Meremoth, the son of Zaraias, the son of [d] Savias, the son of Boccas, the son of Abisum, the son of Phinees, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron ‖ the chief priest.

[b] *Ozias.* [c] *Meraioth.* [d] *Uzzi:* Some copies want these three names. ‖ Heb. *was first,* Ezra 7. 1.

3 This Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe, being very ready in the law of Moses, that was given by the God of Israel.

4 And the king did him honour: for he found grace in his sight in all his requests.

5 There went up with him also certain of the children of Israel, of the priests, of the Levites, of the holy singers, porters, and ‖ ministers of the temple, unto Jerusalem,

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6 In ‖ the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, in the fifth month, this was the king's seventh year; for they went from Babylon in the first day of the first month, and came to Jerusalem, according to the ‖ prosperous journey which the Lord gave them.

‖ Or, *Nethinims.* ‖ See Ezra 7. 7, 8, 9. ‖ Or, *success.*

7 For Esdras had very great skill, so that he omitted nothing of the law and commandments of the Lord, but taught all Israel the ordinances and judgments.

8 Now the copy of the ‖ commission, which was written from Artaxerxes the king, and came to Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord, is this that followeth;

‖ Or, *decree.*

9 King Artaxerxes unto Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord sendeth greeting:

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10 Having determined to deal graciously, I have given order, that such

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *And after these things.*] Between the end of the last chapter and the beginning of this a long interval has to be placed, from the sixth year of Darius (B.C. 516–5) to the seventh of Artaxerxes (B.C. 459-8). The same occurs between chaps. vi. and vii. of Ezra. This is assuming the Artaxerxes named to be Longimanus (B.C. 465-425), which is the most natural supposition. See R.'s note on Ezra vii. 1.

Esdras, &c.] For Ezra's genealogy, see the note on 2 Esdr. i. 1.

3. *as a scribe, being very ready.*] Rather, "as being a ready (or able) scribe," ὡς γραμματεὺς εὐφυὴς ὤν. The word εὐφυὴς, *bona indole præditus,* "of a good natural disposition," is replaced in Josephus by ἱκανῶς ἔμπειρος, "well versed." For the gradual development of the scribe's office among the Jews, see R.'s note on Ezra vii. 6.

5. *ministers of the temple.*] The ἱερόδουλοι, or Nethinim; on whom see the note on v. 35.

The sequence of what follows becomes clearer, if no notice is taken of the division of verses, and a longer pause is made after "fifth month."

6. *this was the king's seventh year.*] The way in which this fact is twice stated is noticeable. It is similarly repeated in Ezra vii. 7, 8; where it is also specified that their arrival at Jerusalem was on the *first day* of the fifth month; so that the caravan had been exactly four months on the road, from the first of Nisan (March) to the first of Ab (July).

7. *had very great skill.*] Such an incidental touch as this would shew Ezra himself not to be the writer. Compare the more modest description in Ezra vii. 10.

8. *Now the copy, &c.*] The sense is broken in the original, which runs, literally: "Now when the decree which had been written came from Artaxerxes the king to Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord, of which the subjoined is a copy." The word προσπίπτειν is used in 2 Macc. v. 10 (11), viii. 12, &c. of news coming to one's ears.

10. *Having determined.*] It is probable that some words are missing from the beginning of the decree, as here given, since the Greek begins with καί, "and." It may be that only the customary formula "and so forth," used to shorten the superscription, is wanting (see Ezra vii. 12); or it may be, as F. supposes, that some words of a petition had been recited first, and this "and"

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B. C. 457. of the nation of the Jews, and of the priests and Levites, being within our realm, as are willing and desirous, should go with thee unto Jerusalem.

11 As many therefore as have a mind thereunto, let them depart with thee, as it hath seemed good both to me and my seven friends the counsellors;

12 That they may look unto the affairs of Judea and Jerusalem, agreeably to that which is in the law of the Lord;

13 And carry the gifts unto the Lord of Israel to Jerusalem, which I and my friends have vowed, and all the gold and silver that in the country

‖ Or, *got.* of Babylon can be ‖found, to the Lord in Jerusalem,

14 With that also which is given of the people for the temple of the Lord their God at Jerusalem: and that silver and gold may be collected for bullocks, rams, and lambs, and things thereunto appertaining;

15 To the end that they may offer sacrifices unto the Lord upon the B. C. 457. altar of the Lord their God, which is in Jerusalem.

16 And whatsoever thou and thy brethren will do ‖with the silver and ‖ Or, *with the rest of,* Ezra 7. 18. gold, that do, according to the will of thy God.

17 And the holy vessels of the Lord, which are given thee for the use of the temple of thy God, which is in Jerusalem, thou shalt set before thy God in Jerusalem.

18 And whatsoever thing else thou shalt remember for the use of the temple of thy God, thou shalt give it out of the king's treasury.

19 And I king Artaxerxes have also commanded the keepers of the treasures in Syria and Phenice, that whatsoever Esdras the priest and the reader of the law of the most high God shall send for, they should give it him with speed,

20 To the sum of an hundred ‖ Or, talents of silver, likewise also of wheat *measures,* or, *salt,* even to an hundred ‖cors, and an Ezra 7. 22.

(="and so," like "Atque ego" in Cic. 'Epp. ad Div.' iv. 6, quoted by F.) was used to introduce the concession in reply.

11. *my seven friends, &c.*] Rather, "my seven beloved counsellors." All the commentators refer to Esther i. 14, where mention is made of "the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom." Rawlinson quotes in addition the notice in Herod. iii. 84, of seven leading families in Persia, who formed the conspiracy against the Pseudo-Smerdis. Bertheau further quotes Justin, 'Hist.' i. 9, § 19, where these seven conspirators are mentioned.

12. *may look unto.*] Gk. ἐπισκέψωνται, implying an official inspection.

13. *my friends.*] Referring to the "friends the counsellors" of *v.* 11. This is made clear by Ezra vii. 15.

and all the gold, &c.] The construction, as F. points out, is: "and that all gold (or, every piece of gold) and silver that is found in the country of Babylon for the Lord at Jerusalem, along with what has been given by the people for the temple of the Lord their God which is in Jerusalem, be gathered together."

16. *with the silver, &c.*] More literally, "with gold and silver," there being no article. That is, "whatever can be done by money, that do." In Ezra vii. 18, it is "with the rest of," &c., which is more natural.

17. *the holy vessels.*] Referred to in viii. 25 below.

18. *thou shalt remember.*] Gk. ὑποπίπτῃ σοι, like *tibi subvenerint* in the Vulg., taken in the sense of "occur to thee," "come into thy mind." But F. denies that this is the right meaning here, and prefers the general one of "befalling," with which Wahl agrees.

19. *send for, &c.*] Rather, "whatsoever message Esdras, &c., may send," ὅσα ἐὰν ἀποστείλῃ.

with speed.] Rather, "diligently," ἐπιμελῶς. The comparative, ἐπιμελέστερον, is the word used above in vii. 2, where it is rendered, somewhat laxly, "very carefully."

20. *To the sum of, &c.*] This would limit the demand on the provincial treasuries. One hundred talents of silver would amount to about 24,300*l.* The *cor*, or *homer*, is fixed by some at about 86 gallons; by others, at about 44. The *piece*, or butt (French, "une pièce de vin"), Gk. μετρητής, nearly answered to our firkin, being, according to one system,

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B. C. 457. hundred pieces of wine, and other things in abundance.

21 Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently unto the most high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his sons.

22 I command you also, that ye require no tax, nor any other imposition, of any of the priests, or Levites, or holy singers, or porters, or ministers of the temple, or of any that have doings in this temple, and that no man have authority to impose any thing upon them.

23 And thou, Esdras, according to the wisdom of God ordain judges and justices, that they may judge in all Syria and Phenice ‖ all those that know the law of thy God; and those that know it not thou shalt teach.

24 And [e] whosoever shall transgress the law of thy God, and of the king, shall be punished diligently, whether it be by death, or other punishment, by penalty of money, or by imprisonment. B. C. 457.

25 ¶ Then said Esdras the scribe, Blessed be the only Lord God of my fathers, who hath put these things into the heart of the king, to glorify his house that is in Jerusalem:

26 And hath honoured me in the sight of the king, and his counsellors, and all his friends and nobles.

27 Therefore was I encouraged by the help of the Lord my God, and gathered together men of Israel to go up with me.

28 And these are the chief according to their families and several dignities, that went up with me from Babylon in the reign of king Artaxerxes:

29 Of the sons of Phinees, Gerson: of the sons of Ithamar, [f] Gamael: of the sons of David, [g] Lettus [h] the son of Sechenias:

‖ Heb. *of those that know,* Ezra 7. 25.

[e] Ezra 7. 26.

[f] Or, *Daniel.*

[g] Or, *Chattus.*

[h] Ezra 8. 3, *of the sons of Shechaniah, of the sons of Parosh.*

between eight and nine gallons. See the art. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES in 'Dict. of the Bible,' iii. p. 1742.

and other things in abundance.] In Ezra vii. 22 it is "and salt without prescribing how much." The variation is due to the confusion between καὶ ἄλλα and καὶ ἅλα. The latter is the better-supported reading. Comp. above, vi. 30.

22. *you also.*] Addressed to the Persian officials in Palestine.

no tax.] This was more liberal than even the edict of Darius (ch. iv. 50). The grant of such great privileges naturally raises the question: To what was this striking indulgence due? Professor Sayce (*ubi sup.*, p. 61) thinks that we may see in it "a recognition that the troubles of the first few years of the reign of Artaxerxes had been due to the anger of the God of Israel. Esther, the Jewess, had been the wife of Xerxes, and it is difficult not to think that she may have had some influence over the religious ideas of the new king."

any that have doings, &c.] Gk. πραγματικοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, a general term for all servants and others employed about the Temple. The Vulgate *scribis templi* points to a v. l. γραμματικοῖς, for which there is a little authority.

23. *thou shalt teach.*] As Reuss remarks, this is not to be understood as conveying to Ezra a general commission to make proselytes ("pour faire de la propagande") among the heathen residents in Palestine, but only as conferring upon him an ecclesiastical authority over his own countrymen. At the same time it is plain, as R. points out, that Ezra's commission, including in it the power of capital punishment (*v.* 24), must have superseded in some respects that of the regular governors of the province.

24. *or other punishment.*] The alternatives were death and a less penalty; the latter being subdivided into fine and imprisonment (or banishment, ἀπαγωγή). In Ezra vii. 26, three forms of the inferior penalty are given.

26. *all his friends.*] As *counsellors* has been already mentioned, *friends* must here be used in a wider sense. See above, *vv.* 11, 13.

28. *And these are, &c.*] Ezra viii. 1 *sqq.*

several dignities.] See the note above, on i. 5.

29. *Gamael.*] So in the Aldine. The best text has Gamaliel. In Ezra it is Daniel, which Bertheau thinks confirmed by Neh. x. 7.

Lettus.] Rather, *Lattus*, Λαττούς (Ald.), but the best text has Attus, Ἀττούς, answering to the Hattush of Ezra. He was grandson of Shechaniah (1 Chron. iii. 22). In Ezra viii.

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B. C. 457. 30 Of the sons of Pharez, Zacharias; and with him were counted an hundred and fifty men:

31 Of the sons of Pahath Moab, Eliaonias, the son of [i] Zaraias, and with him two hundred men:

32 [k] Of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias the son of Jezelus, and with him three hundred men: of the sons of Adin, Obeth the son of Jonathan, and with him ‖ two hundred and fifty men:

33 Of the sons of Elam, Josias son of [l] Gotholias, and with him seventy men:

34 Of the sons of Saphatias, [m] Zaraias son of Michael, and with him [n] threescore and ten men:

35 Of the sons of Joab, [o] Abadias son of [p] Jezelus, and with him two hundred and [q] twelve men:

36 [r] Of the sons of Banid, Assalimoth son of Josaphias, and with him an hundred and threescore men:

37 Of the sons of Babi, Zacharias son of Bebai, and with him twenty and eight men:

38 Of the sons of [s] Astath, Johannes *son of* [t] Acatan, and with him an hundred and ten men:

39 Of the sons of Adonikam the last, and these are the names of them, Eliphalet, Jeuel, and [u] Samaias, and with them [x] seventy men:

40 Of the sons of ‖ Bago, Uthi the son of Istalcurus, and with him seventy men.

41 And these I gathered together

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[i] *Zerachaiah.*

[k] Or, *of the sons of Shechaniah the son of Jahaziel.*

‖ Heb. *fifty men.*

[l] Or, *Athaliah.*

[m] Or, *Zebadiah.*

[n] Or, *fourscore men.*

[o] Or, *Obadiah.*

[p] Or, *Jehiel.*

[q] Or, *eighteen men.*

[r] Or, *of the sons of Shelomith the son of Josiphiah.*

[s] Or, *Azgad.*

[t] Or, *Catan.*

[u] Or, *Shemaia.*

[x] Or, *sixty men.*

‖ Heb. *Bigvai.*

2, 3, the text wants re-arranging. See R.'s note there.

30. *Pharez.*] The Phoros of v. 9.

31. *Pahath Moab.*] Ch. v. 11.

Eliaonias.] In Ezra, Elihoenai.

32. *Jezelus.*] Called in Ezra, Jahaziel. R. would alter the reading there to agree with the LXX. and this passage. Another Jezelus is mentioned in *v.* 35 below.

Adin.] Comp. v. 14. *Obeth* in Ezra is Ebed. The word means "slave," and is found in compound names, as Ebed-Melech (Jer. xxxviii. 7).

33. *Elam.*] Ch. v. 12. *Josias*, Ἰεσίας, called in Ezra viii. 7 Jeshaiah. On the other hand, the Jeshaiah of Ezra viii. 19 is in this chapter (*v.* 48) called Osaias. *Gotholiah* is the same as the Athaliah (which is also found as a female name) in Ezra, the initial *ayin* being replaced by the Greek guttural.

34. *Saphatias.*] Called in v. 9 Saphat, otherwise Shephatiah.

Zaraias.] To be distinguished from the two of the same name mentioned before in this chapter, *vv.* 2, 31. In Ezra it is Zebadiah.

35. *Joab.*] See the note on ch. v. 11, where a clause containing the name of Joab is omitted in the English Version. It is doubtful whether the one there referred to is the same as this Joab. *Abadias* is in Ezra Obadiah.

36. *Banid.*] This form is from the Aldine, Βανίδ, probably a corruption of Βανία (by interchange of Α and Δ). The Vatican has Βανίας. In Ezra viii. 10, where the name should occur, it is thought by R. to have dropped out from its resemblance to *beney*, "sons."

Assalimoth.] In Ezra and in 1 Chron. iii. 19 (where it is a female name) the form is Shelomith: in the Greek here it is Σαλιμώθ. It is not unlikely that the form in the text, Assalimoth, is due to a wrong division of syllables in the names Βανί | ασΣαλιμώθ.

37. *Babi . . . Bebai.*] In Ezra viii. 11 the names are identical. Comp. v. 13.

38. *Astath.*] In v. 13, Sadas; in the Greek, Ασταδ. In Ezra, Azgad. *Acatan*, in Ezra Hakkatan, only differs from the form *Catan*, given in the margin, by having the Hebrew definite article prefixed. Compare the name Accoz in v. 38 with Coz in Ezra ii. 61.

39. *the last.*] That is, "the last of the sons of A." This may mean the last left in Babylon. R. thinks it denotes the younger branches of the family; which would come to the same thing, supposing the older members to have returned with Zerubbabel. Comp. v. 14.

40. *Bago.*] Called Bagoi in v. 14, Bigvai in Ezra. The name Bagoas is said to mean "eunuch" in Persian. See 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.*, where Dr. Westcott quotes Pliny, 'H. N.' xiii. 4, 9, in illustration.

Uthi the son of Istalcurus.] Instead of this we have in Ezra viii. 14, "Uthai and Zabbud," with marginal reading "Zaccur." It is difficult to see how καὶ Ζακκοὺρ could be changed to ὁ τοῦ Ἰσταλκούρου, though there is some

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B. C. 457. [y] to the river called Theras, where we pitched our tents three days: and then [z] I surveyed them.

42 But when I had found there none of the priests and Levites,

43 Then sent I unto Eleazar, and [a] Iduel, and [b] Masman,

44 And Alnathan, and Mamaias, and [c] Joribas, and Nathan, Eunatan, Zacharias, and Mosollamon, principal men and learned.

45 And I bade them that [d] should go unto [d] Saddeus the captain, [e] who was in the place of [f] the treasury:

46 And commanded them that they should speak unto Daddeus, and to [g] his brethren, and to the treasurers

B. C. 457.

[y] Or, *to the river called Ahava*, Ezra 8. 15.

[z] Or, *he numbered the people and the priests: but found none of the sons of Levi.*

[a] Or, *Ariel.* [b] Or, *Shemaiah.* [c] Or, *Jarib.* These men's names with their generations are rightly distinguished, Ezra 8. 16.

[d] Or, *Iddo.*

[e] Or, *of.*

[f] Or, *Casiphia.*

[g] Or, *the Nethinims at the place of Casiphia.*

resemblance between the last syllables. But the way in which the two previous names appear as one in the Aldine, Βαγουθί, will shew how liable such names are to be corrupted in transcription.

41. *the river called Theras.*] In the parallel passage of Ezra the expression is "the river that runneth to Ahava." And as it is called later on (Ezra viii. 21) "the river *of* Ahava," it would seem that this was the name both of a river and of a place. Rawlinson thinks that the spot can be identified with the modern *Hit*, called in Babylonian *Ibi*, a town on the Euphrates, about 80 miles N.W. from Babylon. Reuss thinks the spot unknown, and the "river" to have been one of the numerous canals, the "waters of Babylon." Why the name should be Theras, Θερᾶς, in the text, has not been satisfactorily explained. The LXX. at Ezra viii. 15 and 21 gives the forms Εὐὶ and Ἀουέ. F. thinks that Θερὰς or Θερὰ is only a perverted reading of the Hebrew אַהָוָא. One might almost suspect that Josephus converted it into πέραν, in his equivalent expression εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου.

43. The small number of Levites who were inclined to return was noticed in the first expedition. See above, v. 26. But the priests on that occasion (ib., *v.* 24) were conspicuous by their numbers, and in the parallel passage of Ezra here no mention is made of any failure on their part. But the fact that in *v.* 47 of this chapter "sons of Levi" appear to answer the requirement for men to "execute the priests' office" (*v.* 46), suggests the thought that the distinction between the two might be growing less marked.

43, 44. The following are the parallel lists of names in Ezra and 1 Esdras:—

Ezra viii. 16–19.	1 Esdras viii. 43–4.
1. Eliezer.	1. Eleazar.
2. Ariel.	2. Iduel, Ἰδουῆλος.
3. Shemaiah.	3. Masman, Μαιὰ καὶ
4. Elnathan I.	4. Alnathan. [Μασμάν.
5. Jarib.	5. Mamaias, Ζαμαίας.
6. Elnathan II.	6. Joribas.
7. Nathan.	7. Nathan.
8. Zechaniah.	8. Eunatan, Ἐννατάν.
9. Meshullam.	9. Zacharias.
10. Joiarib.	10. Mosollamon, Μοσόλ-
11. Elnathan III.	[λαμος.

From the above it will be seen, that if for *Masman* (No. 3 in 1 Esdras) we read with the best Greek text *Maia and Masman*, the number is the same in both lists. No. 1 of Ezra will then answer to 1 of the other, 3 to 6, 4 to 5, 5 to 7, 7 to 8, 8 to 10, 9 to 11, and 11 to 9. The *Maia* (No. 3 of 1 Esdras) may be merely a misreading of the last part of No. 5. The change of *Ariel*, "Lion of God," to *Iduel* is noticeable; and still more so the strange equivalent for the latter in the Vulgate, *Eccelon*. The Ἰδου- in Ἰδουῆλον appears to have been translated by *Ecce*, and the name *Ecce-elon* thus formed, which would naturally become *Eccelon*. *Eunatan* (No. 8 in 1 Esdr.) is simply a misprint for Ennatan, as it stands in the Geneva Version.

45. *Saddeus.*] In the Gk. Λοδδαῖος, Ald Δαδδαῖος; in Ezra, Iddo. The form Λοδδαῖος appears to have arisen from running together אֶל־עִדּוֹ in the Hebrew. See Bertheau's note on Ezra viii. 17. Bertheau suggests that the Nethinim may have been called the "brethren" of the Levites (*ib.*) from their dwelling together. But in the present passage the Nethinim, or "servants of the temple" (*v.* 49), are kept clearly distinct.

in the place of the treasury.] For this, we find in Ezra "at the place Casiphia," but in the LXX. the perverted phrase ἐν τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου, corrected in the present version to ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γαζοφυλακίου. As no such place as Casiphia is known, there are various conjectures to account for the name, and for γαζοφυλακίου as its equivalent. Perhaps the simplest way would be to suppose that the Hebrew בֶּסֶף, "silver," had been taken for a proper name, and Grecized in transliteration. Bertheau suggests that Casiphia might be the name of a college, or institution, where Levites were established; over which Iddo or Saddeus "the captain" presided.

46. *Daddeus.*] The same as the Saddeus above.

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B. C. 457. in that place, to send us such men as might execute the priests' office in the house of the Lord.

47 And by the mighty hand of our Lord they brought unto us skilful men of the sons of [h] Moli the son of Levi, the son of Israel, [i] Asebebia, and his sons, and his brethren, who were eighteen.

48 [k] And Asebia, and Annuus, and Osaias his brother, of the sons of Channuneus, and their sons, were twenty men.

49 And of the servants of the temple whom David had ordained, and the principal men for the service of the Levites, to wit, the servants of the temple, two hundred and twenty, the catalogue of whose names were shewed.

50 ¶ And there I ‖vowed a fast unto the young men before our Lord, to desire of him a prosperous journey both for us and them that were with us, for our children, and for the ‖cattle: B. C. 457.

51 For I was ashamed to ask the king footmen, and horsemen, and conduct for safeguard against our adversaries.

52 For we had said unto the king, that the power of the Lord our God should be with them that seek him, to support them in all ways.

53 And again we besought our Lord as touching these things, and found him favourable unto us.

54 Then I separated twelve of the chief of the priests, [l] Esebrias, and Assanias, and ten men of their brethren with them:

55 And I weighed them the gold, and the silver, and the holy vessels of the house of our Lord, which the king, and his council, and the princes, and all Israel, had given.

56 And when I had weighed it, I delivered unto them six hundred and

h Or, *Machli.*
i Or, *Sherebiah,* Ezra 8. 18.
k Or, *Also Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiah of the sons of Merari with his brethren,* Ezra 8. 19.
‖ Or, *proclaimed.*
‖ Heb. *substance.*
l *Serebias, and Hassibias.*

47. *Moli.*] In Ezra, Mahli; Gk. Μοολί. "Son" is here again used for grandson, as in vi. 1, and often. See Ex. vi. 16-19.

Asebebia.] In Ezra viii. 18, it is "they brought us a man, of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, . . . *and* Sherebiah;" which, if correct, would leave us to wonder why the name of one so distinguished should not have been recorded. The Alex. here, too, has the singular, "*a* skilful man," which would point to Asebebia as the one. If so, the "and" before Sherebiah in Ezra should, as R. suggests, be left out. But if we prefer to assume that a name has been lost, and that the "*and* Sherebiah" of Ezra viii. 18 is correct, the first letter of Ἀσεβηβίαν may represent such a missing καί, especially as in the Ald. the name appears as Ελσεβηβίαν.

48. *Annuus, &c.*] Gk Ἄννους. Some of the names given here are altogether unlike those in Ezra viii. 19. Asebia is of course Hashabiah, and Osaias is Jeshaiah (LXX. Ἰσαΐα); but the other two are very doubtful.

49. *whom David had ordained.*] F. agrees in this punctuation, placing a comma after Δαυίδ. But the sense requires us to read, "whom David and the principal men had ordained (lit. 'gave') for the service," &c., in accordance with Ezra viii. 20, "whom David and the princes had appointed." Comp. above, v. 29, and 1 Chron. ix. 2.

were shewed.] The use of the plural number seems due to the attraction of the word "names" just before.

50. *a fast.*] As Jehoshaphat had done: 2 Chron. xx. 3. Ezra would have many reasons for anxiety. "The passage of the troops to Egypt had no doubt increased the ordinary dangers of a road always infested by Beduins and brigands, and Ezra had been 'ashamed to require of the king an escort of soldiers and horsemen,' for he had told him that 'the hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.' The amount of gold and silver, however, which he was carrying with him (Ezra viii. 26, 27), gave him good reason to feel anxious." (Sayce, 'Ezra,' &c., p. 62.)

the young men.] The reason of this special addition to the account in Ezra viii. 21 is not clear. For the term employed, see note on v. 91 below, and comp. Neh. viii. 2.

54. *Esebrias.*] Gk. Ἐσερεβίας, Vulg. Sedebias (by interchange of *d* and *r* in Hebrew), the same as Sherebiah (Ezra viii. 18, 24) or Asebebia (above, v. 47). As Assanias answers to Hashabiah (Ezra viii. 19), both these were Levites; and the question arises, how they could be described as "chief of the priests." R. thinks that the Hebrew should be read as "to Sherebiah," &c.; that is, Ezra appointed twelve priests to form a joint body

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B. C. 457. fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels of an hundred talents, and an hundred talents of gold,

57 And twenty golden vessels, and ‖ twelve vessels of brass, even of fine brass, glittering like gold.

‖ Heb. *two vessels,* Ezra, 8. 27.

58 And I said unto them, Both ye are holy unto the Lord, and the vessels are holy, and the gold and the silver is a vow unto the Lord, the Lord of our fathers.

59 Watch ye, and keep them till ye deliver them to the chief of the priests and Levites, and to the principal men of the families of Israel, in Jerusalem, into the chambers of the house of our God.

60 So the priests and the Levites, who had received the silver and the gold and the vessels, brought them unto Jerusalem, into the temple of the Lord.

61 And from the river Theras we departed the twelfth day of the first month, and came to Jerusalem by the mighty hand of our Lord, which was with us: and from the ‖ beginning of our journey the Lord delivered us from every enemy, and *so* we came to Jerusalem. B. C. 457.

‖ Or, *dangers in the way.*

62 And when we had been there three days, the gold and silver that was weighed was delivered in the house of our Lord on the fourth day unto ‖ Marmoth the priest the son of Iri.

‖ Or, *unto Merimoth the son of Uriah the priest.*

63 And with him was Eleazar the son of Phinees, and with them were Josabad the son of Jesu and ‖ Moeth the son of Sabban, Levites: all was *delivered them* by number and weight.

‖ Or, *Noadiah the son of Binnui.*

64 And all the weight of them was written up the same hour.

65 Moreover they that were come out of the captivity offered sacrifice unto the Lord God of Israel, even

with these twelve Levites. But, as was suggested above (*v.* 46), the distinction between the two orders may have begun to disappear.

56. *talents, &c.*] Reuss interprets the parallel passage in Ezra as expressing the actual weight of the silver in talents: "un poids de six cent cinquante talents," &c., but the twenty golden vessels, or bowls, he gives as "valant mille dariques." Hence it is perhaps best to take all these amounts as representing value, not weight. So Bertheau. The value of the talent of silver was about 243*l.*

57. *brass, &c.*] In Ezra it is "two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold." F. thinks twelve more likely to have been the number. The "fine brass glittering like gold," χρησταῦ χαλκοῦ στίλβοντα χρυσοειδῆ (lit. "good," "genuine," brass or bronze), seems to point, as Dr. Bissell suggests, to the metal known as *orichalcum.* Reuss thinks the vessels were gilded ("d'un métal doré").

59. *into the chambers.*] Rather, "in the," &c., ἐν τοῖς παστοφορίοις. These were cells, or chambers in the cloisters surrounding the Temple. See F.'s note, and comp. 1 Kings vi. 5.

60. *unto Jerusalem.*] The Greek is τὰ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, "which were in Jerusalem." This might by a stretch of interpretation be supposed to mean "which had (before) been in J.," but the τὰ is probably faulty. It would be simplest to strike it out; only, as F. points out, it is in all the best MSS.

61. *twelfth day.*] Comp. *vv.* 6 and 41 above.

from the beginning.] The variety in the marginal reading is due to the obscurity of the Greek: ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ. F. says that εἴσοδος must have the sense of onset, attack; but would any Greek writer use εἴσοδος ἀπὸ in such a connection?

62. *that was weighed.*] Rather, "after being weighed," σταθέν, not τὸ σταθέν.

Marmoth.] In Ezra viii. 33, "Meremoth the son of Uriah." In the Geneva Version, "Marmoth the priest, the sonne of Iouri," with marginal reading, "Marmoth the son of Iori of Urie." This last may be traced to the Aldine reading μαρμωθιουρὶ ἱερεῖ, from which ἱερεῖ appears to have been understood as a proper name. Hence possibly the peculiar form *Iri* in the text. Urias is mentioned again in ix. 43.

63. *Jesu.*] The Levite Jessue, or Jeshua, mentioned above, v. 26. "Moeth the son of Sabban" appears in Ezra viii. 33 as "Noadiah the son of Binnui." The name of Binnui (LXX. Βαναΐα) probably lurks in the latter part of Σα-βάνου, and it might be possible to trace the change of Νωαδία to Μωέθ. A prophetess named Noadia is also mentioned in Neh. vi. 14.

64. *hour.*] Rather, "time."

B. C. 457. twelve bullocks for all Israel, fourscore and sixteen rams,

‖ Heb. *Seventy seven lambs, twelve he goats for a sin offering,* Ezra 8. 35.

66 ‖ Threescore and twelve lambs, goats for a peace offering, twelve; all of them a sacrifice to the Lord.

67 And they delivered the king's commandments unto the king's stewards, and to the governors of Celosyria and Phenice; and they honoured the people and the temple of God.

68 Now when these things were done, the rulers came unto me, and said,

69 The nation of Israel, the princes, the priests and Levites, have not put away from them the strange people of the land, nor the pollutions of the Gentiles, *to wit*, of the Canaanites, Hittites, Pheresites, Jebusites, and the Moabites, Egyptians, and Edomites.

[m] Ezra 9. 2.

70 [m] For both they and their sons have married with their daughters, and the holy seed is mixed with the strange people of the land; and from the beginning of this matter the rulers and the great men have been partakers of this iniquity.

71 And as soon as I had heard these things, I rent my clothes, and the holy garment, and pulled off the hair from off my head and beard, and sat me down sad and very heavy. B. C. 457.

72 So all they that were then moved at the word of the Lord God of Israel assembled unto me, whilst I mourned for the iniquity: but I sat still full of heaviness until the evening sacrifice.

73 Then rising up from the fast with my clothes and the holy garment rent, and bowing my knees, and stretching forth my hands unto the Lord,

74 I said, O Lord, I am confounded and ashamed before thy face;

‖ Or, *have abounded.*

75 For our sins ‖ are multiplied above our heads, and our ignorances have reached up unto heaven.

76 For ever since the time of our fathers we *have been* and are in great sin, even unto this day.

77 And for our sins and our fathers' we with our brethren and our kings and our priests were given up unto the kings of the earth, to the

66. *for a peace offering.*] The Geneva Version, more correctly, "for salvation," ὑπὲρ σωτηρίου, as a thanksgiving for safe preservation on their journey. It will be noticed that all the numbers here are multiples of twelve, again expressive of the unity and completeness of Israel. The number 77 in Ezra viii. 35 does not accord with this. Bertheau regards it as the intensification ("die starke Steigerung") of the number seven.

67. *and they honoured, &c.*] *I.e.* the Persian officials just mentioned. The word "stewards," οἰκονόμοι, answers to the διοίκηται of the LXX. at Ezra viii. 36, where the original word is rendered "lieutenants." Reuss properly translates it by *satrapes royaux.*

68. *Now when, &c.*] Ezra ix. 1 *sqq.* Between this verse and the last an interval must be placed. From Ezra vii. 9 we learn that they reached Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month (July–Aug.); and from Ezra x. 9, that the meeting on the subject now introduced was held on the twentieth day of the ninth month (Chisleu, = Nov.–Dec.). Hence something like four months must be supposed to have elapsed. During this interval, as Stanley suggests ('Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv.), there would have been time for the residents in Palestine to become acquainted with the copies of the Law brought from Chaldea by Ezra and his followers. Hence the stir which arose.

69. *Egyptians.*] The insertion of this name among those of the Canaanitish races shews, as Reuss observes, the great extent to which a mixture of races had been going on.

71. *pulled off, &c.*] R. notices that while shaving the head was a common sign of mourning among Orientals (Job i. 20; Jer. vii. 29, &c.), plucking off the hair was unusual. Bertheau, however, compares the conduct of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 25).

72. *then.*] It would appear that the English translator read τότε here, but the best text (as well as the Aldine) has ποτέ, "as many soever as were," &c.

the evening sacrifice.] Compare the conduct of Elijah on Mount Carmel, 1 Kings xviii. 26.

75. *our sins, &c.*] R. aptly compares Ps.

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B.C. 457. sword, and to captivity, and for a prey with shame, unto this day.

78 And now in some measure hath mercy been shewed unto us from thee, O Lord, that there should be left us a root and a name in the place of thy sanctuary;

79 And to discover unto us a light in the house of the Lord our God, and to give us ‖ food in the time of our servitude.

‖ Heb. *life*, Ezra 9. 8.

80 Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before the kings of Persia, so that they gave us food;

81 Yea, and honoured the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Sion, that they have given us a sure abiding in Jewry and Jerusalem.

82 And now, O Lord, what shall we say, having these things? for we have transgressed thy commandments, which thou gavest by the hand of thy servants the prophets, saying,

83 That the land, which ye enter into to possess as an heritage, is a land polluted with the pollutions of the strangers of the land, and they have filled it with their uncleanness. B.C. 457.

84 Therefore now shall ye not join your daughters unto their sons, neither shall ye take their daughters unto your sons.

85 Moreover ye shall never seek to have peace with them, that ye may be strong, and eat the good things of the land, and that ye may leave the inheritance of the land unto your children for evermore.

86 And all that is befallen is done unto us for our wicked works and great sins: for thou, O Lord, didst make our sins light,

87 And didst give unto us such a root: but we have turned back again to transgress thy law, and to mingle ourselves with the uncleanness of the nations of the land.

88 ‖ Mightest not thou be angry with us to destroy us, till thou hadst left us neither root, seed, nor name?

‖ Or, *Be not angry, &c.*

89 O Lord of Israel, thou art true: for we are left a root this day.

90 Behold, now are we before thee in our iniquities, for we cannot stand

xxxviii. 4, "mine iniquities are gone over mine head."

78. *in some measure.*] κατὰ ποσόν τι. But Tisch. and F. prefer to accentuate it κατὰ πόσον τι, "in how great a measure!"

a root.] In Ezra ix. 8 the expressive metaphor is used of "*a nail* in his holy place." Comp. Eccles. xii. 11; Isai. xxii. 23. R. thinks that by "holy place" is meant "his holy land;" that is, "the land of Israel," comparing Zech. ii. 12. But surely the present passage shews the Temple to be referred to. Comp. Ps. xxiv. 3, xxvi. 9.

79. *to give us food.*] The words in the Greek thus rendered are the same as are rendered in the next verse "so that they gave us food;" δοῦναι ἡμῖν τροφήν. The latter should probably be altered in the English to coincide with the other. Comp. Ezra ix. 9, where the LXX. has ζωοποίησιν, "quickening," or "keeping alive."

83. *That.*] This word should be omitted; ὅτι being the usual mark of a quotation. For the general form of the reference to the law of Moses (no particular text being quoted, but the sense of several), see Reuss's note. In the next verse there is a reference to Deut. vii. 1 *sqq.*

85. *peace, &c.*] In Ezra ix. 12 still more strongly, "nor seek their peace or their wealth (welfare)." As Bertheau points out, the prohibition in Deut. xxiii. 6 was limited to seeking the peace and prosperity of the Ammonites and Moabites. In *v.* 7 *ib.* the people were distinctly commanded *not* to abhor the Edomite or the Egyptian, for reasons there given; both which peoples are included in the list above, *v.* 69. Ezra, in his zeal for the law, had allowed himself to be carried even beyond the strict letter of it.

86. *didst make... light.*] Dr. Bissell explains this as "didst lighten us of;" but it should rather be, "didst punish less than they deserved." So Wahl, who compares Ezra ix. 13.

88. *Mightest not thou, &c.*] So in the Geneva Version. But there seems no reason for so translating οὐχὶ ὠργίσθης ἡμῖν, "thou becamest not angry with us," the reading of the Vat. and Aldine.

89. *true.*] ἀληθινός, which here appears to be used in the sense of ἀληθής, *verax*. The

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B. C. 457. any longer by reason of these things before thee.

n Ezra 10. 1. 91 n And as Esdras in his prayer made his confession, weeping, and lying flat upon the ground before the temple, there gathered unto him from Jerusalem a very great multitude of men and women and children: for there was great weeping among the multitude.

92 Then Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel, called out, and said, O Esdras, we have sinned against the Lord God, we have married strange women of the nations of the land, and now is all Israel ‖ aloft.

‖ Or, *exalted*, Deut. 28. 13. Baruch 2. 5. 93 Let us make an oath to the Lord, that we will put away all our wives, which we have taken of the heathen, with their children,

94 Like as thou hast decreed, and as many as do obey the law of the Lord. B. C. 457.

95 Arise, and put in execution: for to thee doth this matter appertain, and we will be with thee: do valiantly.

96 So Esdras arose, and took an oath of the chief of the priests and Levites ‖ of all Israel to do after these things; and *so* they sware. ‖ Heb. *and all Israel*, Ezra 10. 5.

CHAPTER IX.

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3 *Esdras assembleth all the people.* 10 *They promise to put away the strange wives.* 20 *The names and number of them that did so.* 40 *The law of Moses is read and declared before all the people.* 49 *They weep, and are put in mind of the feast day.*

a Ezra 10. 6, &c. a THEN Esdras rising from the court of the temple went to the chamber of Joanan the son of Eliasib,

reasoning, according to F., is this: "Thou, O Lord, art true in thy promises; and therefore it is not according to our works that we are still left remaining at this day."

91. Ezra x. 1 *sqq.* There also a change is made from the first person to the third. For the conclusions as to the authorship to be drawn from the circumstance, see R.'s note there.

children.] The word in the Greek is *νεανίαι*, "young men," and in Ezra x. 1 (in the LXX.) *νεανίσκοι*, the word used in *v.* 50 above. The terms "men, women, and children" go so naturally together, that the Greek translator must have had some object in replacing the last by "young men," especially as *νεανίας* could be used of one no longer what we should call young, as by Xenophon of Agesilaus when he came to the throne at the age of 40. The reason perhaps lay in the nature of the topic discussed, which would concern adults alone.

92. *Jechonias.*] In Ezra, Shechaniah. If Jeelus (Ἰέηλος) his father is the same as Hierehelus of ix. 27 (and both are sons of Elam, Ezra x. 2 and *ib.*), he had himself contracted one of the forbidden marriages.

married.] In the Greek, *συνῳκίσαμεν*, "cohabited with," a less respectful word.

and now is all Israel aloft.] *καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐπάνω πᾶς Ἰσραήλ.* The margin gives the alternative rendering "is exalted." And *ἐπάνω* is the word used in the LXX. of the passages referred to, Deut. xxviii. 13, "and thou shalt be *above* only, and not beneath," and Baruch ii. 5. But surely this was not a moment to talk of the exaltation of Israel. In Ezra x. 2 it is "yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing," which is appropriate, but does not help to clear the present text. As F. points out that some MSS. have *παντὸς* for *πᾶς*, this might countenance the Vulgate reading, *et nunc es super omnem Israel:* "and now art thou over all Israel." This would agree with the tone of *vv.* 94, 95, and would only necessitate the change of *ἐστὶν* to *εἶ σύ*. Even without any change, reading *παντός*, we might interpret it "and now is there one over all Israel," whether the application be to Ezra or to God. Comp. the LXX. of Neh. viii. 5.

93. *Let us make, &c.*] The words "in this matter" are wanting either at the beginning or end of this clause, to answer to the *ἐν τούτῳ* of the Greek. The Geneva Version has "concerning this."

with their children.] On the victory thus gained "over the natural affections of the whole community," see the remarks of Dean Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv.

95. *Arise, &c.*] The abruptness of the Greek is striking: *ἀνάστα, ἐπιτέλει.* The ascendency also thus ascribed to Ezra,—what Stanley calls "this acknowledged supremacy of Ezra's personal force,"—accords with the interpretation put upon the last clause of *v.* 92.

CHAPTER IX.

1. *Joanan.*] There was a Joanan, grandson of Eliashib (Neh. xii. 10, 11), who was

B. C. cir. 457.

2 And remained there, and did eat no meat nor drink water, mourning for the great iniquities of the multitude.

3 And there was a proclamation in all Jewry and Jerusalem to all them that were of the captivity, that they should be gathered together at Jerusalem:

4 And that whosoever met not there within two or three days, according as the elders that bare rule appointed, their cattle should be seized to the use of the temple, and himself ‖ cast out from them that were of the captivity.

‖ *utterly destroyed,* Josh. 10. 28.

5 And in three days were all they of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin gathered together at Jerusalem the twentieth day of the ninth month.

6 And all the multitude sat trembling in the broad court of the temple because of the present foul weather.

7 So Esdras arose up, and said unto them, Ye have transgressed the law in marrying strange wives, thereby to increase the sins of Israel.

B. C. cir. 457.

8 And now by confessing give glory unto the Lord God of our fathers,

9 And do his will, and separate yourselves from the heathen of the land, and from the strange women.

10 Then cried the whole multitude, and said with a loud voice, Like as thou hast spoken, so will we do.

11 But forasmuch as the people are many, and it is foul weather, so that we cannot stand without, and this is not a work of a day or two, seeing our sin in these things is spread far:

12 Therefore let the rulers of the multitude ‖ stay, and let all them of our habitations that have strange wives come at the time appointed,

‖ Or, *stand.*

13 And with them the rulers and

high-priest at a later period (ib., *v.* 22); but as his son Jaddua was high-priest in B.C. 332 (see R.'s note on Neh. xii. 10), he could not, by any reasonable calculation, be the one here referred to.

2. *remained there.*] Or, "lodged there," αὐλισθεὶς ἐκεῖ. The LXX. of Ezra x. 6 has the curious reading of ἐπορεύθη twice repeated, on which see Bertheau's note. But the Aldine has ηὐλίσθη there.

4. *within two or three days.*] In Ezra x. 8, more precisely, "within three days." As so short a time was allowed for the people, wherever resident, to repair to the capital, "it is clear," as Sayce remarks, "that the number of the Jewish inhabitants in the country must have been small."

seized to the use of the temple.] Gk. ἀνιερωθήσονται, for which in Ezra the word is ἀναθεματισθήσεται. Either word might mean simply the being devoted, an "Einziehung zum Besten des Tempels," as Bertheau words it, but the Hebrew of Ezra x. 8 implies something stronger than this, the actual destruction of the cattle or other property. See Gesenius, *s. v.* חֵרֶם, and F.'s note on the text (where for Numb. xxvii. 28 *sqq.* read Levit. xxvii. 28 *sqq.*).

cast out.] Not banished, but "separated from the congregation" (Ezra x. 8); that is, as R. explains it, "excommunicated."

5. *ninth month.*] See note above, on viii. 68.

6. *the broad court.*] Comp. v. 47, and note. The same place is apparently meant in 2 Chron. xxix. 4 (where Reuss explains it as "la grande cour, devant la façade du temple"), and Neh. viii. 1. Bertheau, on the latter passage, agrees with R. in thinking that the open space or court in question was not immediately in front of the temple porch, between it and the eastern boundary, but between the latter and the water-gate in the town walls.

foul weather.] In the ninth month, Chisleu, answering to part of our November and December, the rainy season would, as a rule, have begun. See Thomson's 'The Land and the Book,' p. 91.

10. *the whole multitude.*] On this decision by the voice of a popular assembly, see Stanley, 'Jewish Church' (*ubi sup.*, p. 108). It is noticeable that the word rendered "congregation" in Ezra x. 1 is in the LXX. ἐκκλησία.

11. *forasmuch as.*] These words are not wanted, the Greek being in the simpler form of Ezra x. 13.

12. *stay.*] Not "stand," as in the margin, but remain in Jerusalem, to form arrangements for carrying out the resolution of the general assembly.

B. C. cir. 457. judges of every place, till we turn away the wrath of the Lord from us for this matter.

14 Then Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them: and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.

15 And they that were of the captivity did according to all these things.

16 And Esdras the priest chose unto him the principal men of their families, all by name: and in the first day of the tenth month they sat together to examine the matter.

17 So their cause that held strange wives was brought to an end in the first day of the first month. B. C. cir. 456.

18 And of the priests that were come together, and had strange wives, there were found;

19 Of the sons of Jesus the son of Josedec, and his brethren; [b] Mathelas, and Eleazar, and [c] Joribus, and [d] Joadanus.

20 And they gave their hands to put away their wives, and to offer [‖] rams to make reconcilement for their [e] errors.

21 And of the sons of Emmer;

[b] Or, *Maasias.* [c] Or, *Jarib.* [d] Or, *Gedaliah.* [‖] Heb. *a ram.* [e] Or, *purification.*

habitations.] Rather, "settlements," κατοικιῶν. The same word is found in *v.* 37 below, for "were in their habitations" (with marg. reading "villages"), referring to the different spots outside Jerusalem where the returning Jews had taken up their abode.

at the time appointed.] Gk. λαβόντες χρόνον, lit. "receiving a time;" that is, apparently, having a time appointed them severally for making any declarations required. This would agree with Ezra x. 13, where the LXX. has ἐλθέτωσαν εἰς καιρούς, but the expression is unusual.

14. *Then Jonathan, &c.*] As in *v.* 16 it is said that Ezra chose the members of the council, it is not clear who these persons were, or what title they had to act in the matter. But Reuss renders the parallel clause in Ezra, "Il n'eut que Jonatan... qui s'opposèrent à cela;" and Neteler, "Nur Jonathan ... standen dagegen auf;" and R. also would make the sense to be, that those here mentioned were the only "opponents" of the measure. It is difficult to reconcile the Greek of the present passage with this meaning: Ἰωνάθας κ.τ.λ. ἐπεδέξαντο κατὰ ταῦτα. In Ezra (x. 15) the LXX. has πλὴν Ἰωνάθαν κ.τ.λ. μετ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτου. The assumption of J. D. Michaelis, that the two first named were chosen by the people as their representatives in the matter, and the others nominated by Ezra as assessors or joint arbiters with them (συνεβράβευσαν αὐτοῖς), has, as F. remarks, no authority in the text. F.'s own conclusion is, that Ezra appointed the regular commission (*v.* 16), but that the persons here named undertook the task [without waiting for any such formal appointment?] when some of those implicated had begun to come to Jerusalem, to take the necessary preliminary steps.

Levis and Sabbatheus.] The Geneva Version leaves out the words "and Levis" altogether. One person alone is probably meant, Sabbatæus, or Shabbethai, the Levite. So in Ezra x. 15; where also Theocanus, or Thocanus, appears as Tikvah.

16. *tenth month.*] Tebeth, answering to parts of our December and January. From this to the first day of the first month (Nisan or Abib) would be three months (not two, as R. on Ezra x. 17); a space of time not too long for the many difficult questions that would have to be settled.

17. *that held.*] Gk. τοὺς ἐπισυνέχοντας. The force of the compound should be noticed, implying that they had something over and above what the law allowed them.

18. *that were come together.*] This is not accurate, as the clause is in the nominative, οἱ ἐπισυναχθέντες (Vat.). But the Aldine has οἱ ἐπισυνεχθόντες, which may be an error either for -έχοντες or -ελθόντες. The Geneva Version translates according to the former: "which had married strange wives." The Vulgate has *permisti*, "mixed up" with the other culprits. Judgment begins at the house of God.

19. *Jesus.*] The former high-priest. In Ezra x. 18 the four names which follow are: Maaseiah, Eliezer, Jarib, and Gedaliah. The difference between the first names in each list is probably due to mistaking *s* for *th* (in Greek, C for Θ). See 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.* The interchange of I and Γ, and of Δ and Λ in the two forms of the last name, are also easy to understand.

20. *gave their hands.*] Gk. ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας, a phrase which in 'Add. ad Esth.' i. 14 is used for "to lay hands on." Here it answers to ἔδωκαν χεῖρα in the LXX. of Ezra, "they pledged themselves."

errors.] The marginal reading "purification" is due to the reading of the Aldine, ἁγνείας for ἀγνοίας.

21. *Emmer.*] In Ezra, Immer. His family,

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B. C. cir. 456.

Ananias, and Zabdeus, and [f] Eanes, and [g] Sameius, and [h] Hiereel, and [i] Azarias.

22 And of the sons of [k] Phaisur; Elionas, Massias, Ismael, and Nathanael, and [l] Ocidelus, and [m] Talsas.

23 And of the Levites; Jozabad, and Semis, and [n] Colius, who was called [o] Calitas, and [p] Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.

24 Of the holy singers; [q] Eleazurus, Bacchurus.

25 Of the porters; Sallumus, and [r] Tolbanes.

26 Of them of Israel, of the sons of [s] Phoros; [t] Hiermas, and [u] Eddias, and Melchias, and [x] Maelus, and Eleazar, and [y] Asibias, and Baanias.

27 Of the sons of Ela; Matthanias, Zacharias, and [z] Hierielus, and Hieremoth, and [a] Aedias.

28 And of the sons of [b] Zamoth; [c] Eliadas, [d] Elisimus, [e] Othonias, Jarimoth, and [f] Sabatus, and [g] Sardeus.

29 Of the sons of Bebai; Johannes, and Ananias, and [h] Josabad, and [i] Amatheis.

30 Of the sons of [k] Mani; [l] Olamus, [m] Mamuchus, [n] Jedeus, Jasubus, [o] Jasael, and Hieremoth.

31 ‖ And of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moosias, Lacunus, and

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[f] *Harim.* [g] *Maasiah.* [h] *Jehiel.* [i] *Uzziah.* [k] *Pashur.* [l] *Josabad.* [m] *Elasah.* [n] *Kelaiah.* [o] *Kelitah.* [p] *Pethahiah.* [q] *Eliashib.* [r] *Telem.* [s] *Parosh.* [t] *Ramiah.* [u] *Jesiah.* [x] *Miamin.* [y] *Malchiah.* [z] *Jehiel.* [a] *Abdi.* [b] *Zattu.* [c] *Elioenai.* [d] *Eliashib.* [e] *Mattaniah.* [f] *Zabad.* [g] *Aziza.* [h] *Zabbai.* [i] *Athlai.* [k] *Bani.* [l] *Meshullam.* [m] *Malluch.* [n] *Adaiah.* [o] *Sheal.* ‖ Of the names in ver. 31, 32, 34, 35, See Ezra 10. 30, 31, 34, &c.

and those of Pashur and Harim, were mentioned among the priestly families in Ezra ii. 37–39. Comp. above v. 24. The peculiar spelling of Eanes is due to a misprint of Ἤανης for Μάνης in the Aldine. The Vat. has Μάνης. According to the marginal note, it answers to Harim in Ezra x. 21, but it really is all that remains to answer to three names in Ezra; and probably something has been lost from the text.

22. *Phaisur.*] In Ezra, Pashur. In v. 25 above, Phassaron. Most of the names in this verse agree with those in Ezra, the only important variations being in the last two. Ocodelus, Ὠκόδηλος (in Ald. Ὠκίδηλος, whence the form in the A.V.) is in place of Jozabad; and Talsas (so Ald.), Σαλόας, is in place of Elasah.

23. The six names of Levites agree with those in Ezra x. 23, except that Jonas, the last, is in place of Eliezer. In 'Dict. of the Bible,' under ELIEZER (i. p. 527, No. 9) he is mistakenly referred to as Eleazurus, from the next verse.

24. *Eleazurus.*] In the Aldine Ἐλιάζουφος, whence probably the form in the A. V., φ being read as ρ. In the Vat. it is Ἐλιάσιβος, answering to Eliashib in Ezra. It will be noticed that here we have two singers and two porters to answer to one singer and three porters in Ezra. Hence it might be conjectured that the four names originally agreed, the Uri of Ezra having got corrupted into Bacchurus.

26. *Phoros.*] Mentioned first of the ordinary lay people, as above, v. 9. The names of his seven descendants here given nearly agree with those in Ezra x. 25, the form Eddias (for Iezias) being due to Ἐδδίας in the Aldine. The difference is in Asibias replacing Malchijah. But the LXX. gives Ἀσαβία for the latter name in Ezra.

27. *Ela.*] In v. 12, Elam. The absence of the final *m* in the Aldine is no doubt due to the next word beginning with that letter. Of his sons, the names of five only are given in the A. V. (following the Aldine) as against six in Ezra x. 26; that is, Aedias (Ald. Ἀηδίας, Vat. Αἰδίας) answers to Abdi and Eliah together. But the best text has here also Ἰωαβδίος . . . καὶ Αἰδίας. Allowing for the common confusion of Δ and Λ, the last name properly represents Eliah; so that the lists agree.

28. *Zamoth.*] Above, v. 12, where he is called Zathui. Of the six names which follow, Othonias is the equivalent for Mattaniah in Ezra, and Sardeus (Ald. Σαρδαῖος, but Vat. Ζεραλίας) for Aziza.

29. *Bebai.*] v. 13. The fourth of his sons, Amatheis, is called in Ezra x. 28 Athlai. The form in the A. V. is due to the Aldine Ἐμαθείς, Vat. Ἀμαθίας.

30. *Mani.*] In v. 12, Bani, as in Ezra. The names of his sons agree substantially with those in the parallel list, the only apparent exception being Olamus for Meshullam. Olamus (Ὠλαμός) is probably the last two syllables of the Hebrew name, with a Greek termination added. In viii. 44 we have the same name under the form Mosollamon, and in *v.* 14 above, Mosollam. The last mentioned, if one of the council, could not well be the one here named.

31. *Addi.*] The name or title corresponding to this in Ezra x. 30 is Pahath-Moab, on which see the note on v. 11. The name Addi is found in Luke iii. 28, but not in the O. T. The correspondence between the eight names which follow, and those in Ezra, will best

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B. C. cir. 456. Naidus, and Mathanias, and Sesthel, Balnuus, and Manasseas.

32 And of the sons of Annas; Elionas, and Aseas, and Melchias, and Sabbeus, and Simon Chosameus.

33 And of the sons of Asom; [p] Altaneus, and [q] Matthias, and [r] Bannaia, Eliphalat, and Manasses, and Semei.

34 And of the sons of Maani; Jeremias, Momdis, Omaerus, Juel, Mabdai, and Pelias, and Anos, Carabasion, and Enasibus, and Mamnitanaimus, Eliasis, Bannus, Eliali, Samis, Selemias, Nathanias: and of the sons of Ozora; Sesis, Esril, Azaelus, Samatus, Zambis, Josephus. B. C. cir. 455.

35 And of the sons of Ethma; Mazitias, Zabadaias, Edes, Juel, Banaias.

36 All these had taken strange

[p] *Mattenai.* [q] *Mattithiah.* [r] *Zobad.*

appear by a parallel list, with the order slightly changed:—

1 Esdras.	Ezra x. 30.
1. Naathus.	1. Adna.
2. Moosias.	4. Maaseiah.
3. Lacunus.	2. Chelal.
4. Naidus.	3. Benaiah.
5. Mathanias.	5. Mattaniah.
6. Sesthel.	6. Bezaleel.
7. Balnuus.	7. Binnui.
8. Manasseas.	8. Manasseh.

Of the above (1) appears to be only a transposition, Να-αθ for Ἀδ-να (Ἐδνὲ, Vat.); (4) is probably the latter part of Benaiah; (6) in like manner of Bezaleel (Βεσελεήλ). (7) Balnuus is explained by Βανουΐ, the LXX. form of Binnui.

32. *Annas.*] So Ald.; Vat. Anan. The name stands in place of Harim in Ezra x. 31. In v. 25 above, a priest of this name appears in the A. V. as Carme (Χαρμί); but the Harim here referred to is probably the Ares of v. 10 above. The name Ares is wanting in 'Dict. of the Bible.' It would take too much space to set out in parallel lists the names of the more numerous families. The first five names in the text answer fairly well to the first five in Ezra; the remaining name (probably corrupt), Chosameus, Χοσαμαῖος, is all that is left in place of Benjamin, Malluch and Shemariah.

33. *Asom.*] In Ezra x. 33, Hashum. The same name also appears disguised under the form Lothasubus, *v.* 44 below. Six sons here answer to seven in Ezra. The second name, Altaneus (Ἀλταναῖος), has probably lost its initial letter *m* from the name preceding ending in that letter. Hence it corresponds to Mattenai. Bannaia is from the Aldine, but the Vat. has Σαβανναῖος, nearer to Zabad. There is nothing to answer to Jeremiah in Ezra's list; but as there is one of this name at the head of the next family (*v.* 34), without anything to correspond in Ezra, it is probable that the word has only got misplaced.

34. *Maani.*] A *Mani* has been mentioned already, *v.* 30. There is a similar duplicate in Ezra's list, in which two *Bani's* appear as heads of families (x. 29, 34). Of the long list of names of sons following, Jeremiah has been accounted for in the last note; Omaerus is from the Ald. Ἰωμάηρος; Pelias is a mistake for Pedias (Λ for Δ), answering to Bedeiah; Anos answers to Vaniah (Οὐουνία); Carabasion is probably a corruption of καὶ Ῥαβασίων (the form in the Vat.), καὶ being wanted before this name; Enasibus and Eliasis may be duplicate forms answering to Eliashib. Mamnitanaimus is plainly a corruption, the Aldine having the stranger form Μαμνιματαναΐμος, repeated in the Geneva Version. It stands in place of the two names (if they should be two) in Ezra, Mattaniah and Mattenai. The next name in Ezra's list, Jaasau, is not reproduced here, perhaps as being wanting in the LXX. of Ezra (x. 37), where there is an awkward change to καὶ ἐποίησαν κ. τ. λ. instead of the proper name.

of the sons of Ozora.] There is no such indication of a fresh family in Ezra x. 40. From its position, the name appears to answer to Machnadebai in that list, but in form bears some resemblance to Sharai (Ὀζωρά, Ald. Σαριού). Sesis answers to Shashai (Σεσεΐ), and Esril (Ἐσρίλ) to Azareel (Ἐζριήλ). The form Zambis is due to the Ald. Ζαμβίς. The Vat. has Ζαμβρί. This is seen to correspond to Amariah, when the sibilant at the beginning is removed (the preceding word ending in *s*), and the common insertion of β between μ and ρ is allowed for, as in Ἀμβράμ for Amram.

35. *Ethma.*] How this name came to be substituted for the Nebo (Ναβού) of Ezra x. 43, it is hard to conjecture. It is noticeable that in v. 21 above there is nothing but the word Nephis to answer both to Nebo and Magbish in Ezra. As Mr. Grove ('Dict. of the Bible,' art. Nebo) identifies Nebo with the modern *Beit-Nûbah*, it is just conceivable that the first syllable of Ethma is the remnant of βηθ-. The last syllable is also the first of the next word Mazitias, and might thus be accounted for.

Mazitias, &c.] A name is wanting before this, to answer to the Jeiel of Ezra. Its presence is testified to by the Vulg. Idelus.

B. C. cir. 456. wives, and they put them away with their children.

37 And the priests and Levites, and they that were of Israel, dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the country, in the first day of the seventh month: so the children of Israel were in their ‖ habitations.

‖ Or, *villages.*

38 [s] And the whole multitude came together with one accord into the broad place of the holy porch toward the east:

[s] Neh. 8. 1. cir. 445.

39 And they spake unto Esdras the priest and reader, that he would bring the law of Moses, that was given of the Lord God of Israel.

40 So Esdras the chief priest brought the law unto the whole multitude from man to woman, and to all the priests, to hear the law in the first day of the seventh month.

B. C. cir. 445.

41 And he read in the broad court before the holy porch from morning unto midday, before both men and women; and all the multitude gave heed unto the law.

42 And Esdras the priest and reader of the law stood up upon a pulpit of wood, which was made *for that purpose.*

43 And there stood up by him Mattathias, Sammus, Ananias, Azarias, Urias, [t] Ezecias, [u] Balasamus, upon the right hand:

[t] Or, *Hilkiah.* [u] Or, *Maasiah.*

44 And upon his left hand stood [x] Phaldaius, Misael, Melchias, [y] Lothasubus, and [z] Nabarias.

[x] Or, *Pedaiah.* [y] Or, *Hashum.* [z] See Neh. 8. 4.

45 Then took Esdras the book of

Omitting Zebina from Ezra's list (as is done in the Alex.), the other five names on each side agree; Ἡδαΐς being Ἰαδαί.

36. With this verse the part of the account taken from the canonical Book of Ezra, or corresponding to it, comes to an end. The Book of Ezra itself ends with what Stanley calls the "dry words:" "all these had taken strange wives; and some of them had wives by whom they had children;"—a contrast, in its want of human tenderness, to "that pathetic passage of the primitive records of their race which tells how, when their first father drove out the foreign handmaid with her son into the desert, it 'was very grievous in his sight.'"

37. At this point the narrative runs parallel to Neh. vii. 73 *sqq.*; the two last clauses of which should begin ch. viii. See R.'s note there. The language in Neh. vii. 73 (first part) is simply a repetition of Ezra ii. 70; and Neh. viii. 1, as well as the present passage, should begin as Ezra iii. 1 does.

Between the events just related and the public reading of the Law by Ezra, we must place an interval of thirteen years, from the eighth to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 457–445. On the question of Ezra's absence from Jerusalem during that period, see the art. EZRA in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

the first day, &c.] The first of Tisri, or Ethanim (= part of Sept. and Oct.), was to be a day of holy convocation (Lev. xxiii. 24). Hence it would be a suitable day for such an assembly as is here described. Neteler, on Neh. viii. 2, tries to shew that by "first day of the seventh month" there must be meant the first day of the Feast (of Tabernacles), and not of the actual month.

38. *the broad place.*] See note on ix. 6.

39. *reader.*] Gk. ἀναγνώστης. So in *v.* 42 below. The term is not used in Nehemiah. This last scene of the story, in which Ezra appears, first and foremost, as a reader and expounder of the Law to the people, is of great interest, as containing the beginnings of many important changes. The formation of the canon, the rise and growth of synagogue worship, the extension of the office of the scribe,—these and other great developments were involved in it. See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv.

40. *from man, &c.*] In Neh. viii. 3 there is the additional clause "and those that could understand," implying young people, the νεανίαι of viii. 91.

41. *the broad court, &c.*] See above, *vv.* 6, 38. In the Geneva Version this is rendered, "in the *first* broad place of the gate of the temple," an error which seems due to the reading of the Aldine, ἐν τῷ πρότου κ.τ.λ., mistaken for πρώτου or πρώτῳ. In v. 47 (46) the LXX. has τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος. There is no difficulty about the Greek text, as Dr. Bissell seems to find; πυλών being not the gate (πυλή), but the porch, as it is properly rendered. See further, Bertheau on Neh. viii. 1.

42. *a pulpit of wood.*] Rather, "upon the wooden pulpit (or platform) that had been prepared;" τοῦ ξυλίνου βήματος, κ.τ.λ. Compare the "stairs" (marg. "scaffold") of the Levites in Neh. ix. 4, and R.'s note there.

43. *there stood, &c.*] In the text twelve names are given, of those who assisted Ezra,

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B. C. cir. 445. the law before the multitude: for he sat ‖ honourably in the first place in the sight of them all.

‖ Heb. above them all.

46 And when he opened the law, they stood all straight up. So Esdras blessed the Lord God most High, the God of hosts, Almighty.

47 And all the people answered, Amen; and lifting up their hands they fell to the ground, and worshipped the Lord. B. C. cir. 445.

48 Also Jesus, Anus, Sarabias, Adinus, Jacubus, Sabateas, [a] Auteas, Maianeas, and Calitas, Azarias, and Joazabdus, and Ananias, Biatas, the Levites, taught the law of the Lord, making them withal to understand it.

[a] Or, *Hodijah.*

seven on his right hand and five on his left. In Neh. viii. 4, thirteen names are given, six of those on the right, and seven of those on the left. Both arrangements seem to offend against our notions of symmetry. The following are the parallel lists; the names from Nehemiah being printed in italics:—

1. Mattathias / *Mattithia*	1. Phaldaius / *Pedaiah*
2. Sammus / *Shema*	2. Misael / *Mishael*
3. Ananias / *Anaiah*	3. Melchias / *Malchiah*
4. Azarias / ———	4. Lothasubus / *Hashum*
5. Urias / *Urijah*	5. Nabarias / *Zechariah*
6. Ezecias / *Hilkiah*	6. ——— / *Hashbadana*
7. Balasamus / *Maaseiah*	7. ——— / *Meshullam*

From this it will appear that the first three on each side are the same in both lists. The fourth name on the right, in Esdras, namely Azarias, has none to correspond to it in Nehemiah; and it would be the easiest solution of the difficulty to suppose that a name had dropped out in the Hebrew. The fourth on the left in Esdras, Lothasubus (Λωθάσουβος, Ald. Ἀωθάσουβος), plainly contains the name of Hashum or Hashub (-ἀσούβ). Comp. the note on ix. 33 above. The fifth on the right is the same in both. The fifth on the left, Nabarias, may be a corruption of Zechariah (sixth in Nehemiah). Of the rest I can give no probable explanation. The lists in the Vulgate agree pretty closely with those given above, except that seven names are found for the left side, *Sabus* being inserted after *Abusthas* in the fifth place. It is possible, however, that *Abusthas-sabus* may be nothing more than a further perversion of Ἀωθάσουβος.

45. *honourably.*] Gk. ἐπιδόξως, referring to the elevated or conspicuous position in which he was placed. Comp. Neh. viii. 5. The words "he sat" appear at first to disagree with the statement in *v.* 42, that "he stood up" upon the raised platform. Sitting was the proper position for a teacher among the Jews; and hence the expression in *v.* 42 may mean only that he took his place there. In any case, the word "up" should be omitted in *vv.* 42 and 43.

46. *opened the law.*] In the Geneva Version it is: "And they all stood upright *when he expounded* the Law." The expression in Luke xxiv. 32 would seem at first to be a good parallel, "while he opened to us the Scriptures;" but there the word is διήνοιγεν; here, ἐν τῷ λῦσαι. The Vulgate *absoluisset* is of doubtful import. F. is probably right in explaining it as "unfasten" or "unroll." This will agree best with Neh. viii. 5.

48. The names in the parallel lists are:—

1 Esdras.	Neh. viii. 7.
1. Jesus.	1. Jeshua.
2. Anus.	2. Bani.
3. Sarabias.	3. Sherebiah.
4. Adinus.	4. Jamin.
5. Jacubus.	5. Akkub.
6. Sabateas.	6. Shabbethai.
7. Auteas.	7. Hodijah.
8. Maianeas.	8. Maaseiah.
9. Calitas.	9. Kelita.
10. Azarias.	10. Azariah.
11. Joazabdus.	11. Jozabad.
12. Ananias.	12. Hanan.
13. Biatas.	13. Pelaiah.

Most of them can be easily identified. *Anus* (Ἀνούς, Ald.; Ἀννιούθ, Vat.) appears to have lost its first consonant; *Adinus* (from the Ald.) is in the Vat. Ἰαδωνός; *Auteas* (Αὐταίας) looks unlike Hodijah, but may have been nearer it in sound; *Biatas* (Ald. Βιάτας) is in the best text Φαλίας. The LXX. of Neh. viii. 7 gives only the first three names.

the Levites.] This is more correct than the corresponding expression in Nehemiah: "*and* the Levites," as if these thirteen had not been Levites, representatives of the great Levitical families whose names they bear. See R.'s note on Neh. viii. 7.

taught.] Rather, "did teach," or "were teaching." Reuss finds a difficulty in realizing the scene. Did the Levites above mentioned divide the people into so many groups, each instructing one? Or did each Levite rise and speak in turn? If so, how could he be heard? In either case, he adds, it is difficult to imagine a multitude of people standing

B. C. cir. 445.

49 [a] Then spake Attharates unto Esdras the chief priest and reader, and to the Levites that taught the multitude, even to all, saying,

50 This day is holy unto the Lord; (for they all wept when they heard the law:)

51 [b] Go then, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send part to [‖] them that have nothing;

52 For this day is holy unto the Lord: and be not sorrowful; for the Lord will bring you to honour.

53 So the Levites published all things to the people, saying, This day is holy to the Lord; be not sorrowful.

B. C. cir. 445.

54 Then went they their way, every one to eat and drink, and make merry, and to give part to them that had nothing, and to make great cheer;

55 Because they understood the words wherein they were instructed, and for the which they had been assembled.

[a] *Then Nehemiah, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that instructed the people, said unto all the people,* Neh. 8. 9.

[b] Neh. 8. 10.

[‖] Or, *the poor.*

patiently to listen to an explanation of the Pentateuch, from morn to mid-day. But, besides the novelty and interest of the occasion, we need not suppose the restraint to have been more irksome than it really was. Scottish Covenanters would not have winced under it.

making . . . to understand.] Gk. ἐμφυσιοῦντες, a striking term, which is repeated, in the passive voice, in *v.* 55. A cognate word, ἐμφυσᾶν, is used (as F. points out) in John xx. 22 for "he *breathed on* them." The idea is thus that of *inspiring* or infusing doctrine into the learner's mind.

49. *Attharates.*] In Neh. viii. 9 it is "Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha." Above, in v. 40 we had "Nehemias and Atharias" (Ἀθαρίας, here Ἀθαράτης); where the Persian title had not been understood, and so, as the marginal note says, two had been made of one. For the origin and meaning of Tirshatha, see Sayce, 'Ezra,' &c., p. 23; and comp. R.'s note on Neh. viii. 9.

50. *This day is holy, &c.*] As being the Feast of Trumpets. Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Lect. xliv. (p. 126), calls it the Feast of Tabernacles; but that was later on in the same month.

51. *part.*] More correctly in the Geneva Version, "presents." The word used, ἀποστολαί, is used in later Greek for gifts at parting, and then, generally, for gifts, as in 1 Macc. ii. 18, &c. In Neh. viii. 10 the word is "portions," which would be as appropriate as any.

55. *and for the which, &c.*] By this rendering the sense appears to be complete, and the book to end naturally. But there is nothing in the Greek to answer to the words "for the which." The sentence really ends with "wherein they were instructed;" after which come the words καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν, "And they were gathered together," as if the beginning of a fresh section. This would correspond with the sequence in Neh. viii. 13, where, after the record of the same events, there follows: "*And* on the second day *were gathered together* the chief of the fathers," &c. The Old Latin and the Vulgate both end the sentence in such a way as to make the account seem complete; and Josephus ('Antiqq.' xi. 5, § 5) winds up with a rhetorical addition about their keeping the feast for eight days (he had called it the Feast of Tabernacles, though the 1st and not the 15th day of the month is spoken of), and about Ezra's dying full of years and honours and being buried at Jerusalem. On the abruptness of the ending, see further Reuss, 'Chronique ecclésiastique,' Introd. p. 48.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON iv. 52.

No satisfactory account of the number seventeen has been proposed. The best MSS. (A and B) agree in reading: καθὰ ἔχουσιν ἐντολὴν ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα προσφέρειν ἄλλα τάλαντα δέκα κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, but, of course, with nothing to shew whether ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα should be taken as one word, or divided. The Old Latin and Vulgate agree in connecting "offerre" (=προσφέρειν) with what precedes; in inserting "et" before "alia per singulos annos;" and in having nothing to represent the numeral ἑπτακαίδεκα. The Syriac also (as Dr. Gwynn informs me) omits it. Hence it seems most natural to conclude, that the ἑπτὰ was first inserted in the margin (perhaps as a reference to the seven lambs of Numb. xxviii. 11, &c.), and thence found its way into the text. The repetition of δέκα, and the subsequent insertion of a καί, could be easily accounted for.

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THE

SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. TITLE.

In the earliest citations made by name from this book, the author is called "The Prophet Esdras" (Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' iii. 16; cf. Ambros. 'De bono Mortis,' c. xii.). The necessity of distinguishing it from the canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, as well as from the Greek Esdras (our 1 Esdras), has led to various modes of classification, some of them rather intricate. In old editions of the Vulgate it appears as the Third Book of Esdras; Ezra and Nehemiah together making the First Book, and our 1 Esdras the Second. In editions published since the Council of Trent (which left on one side as Apocryphal the Prayer of Manasses and the two Books of Esdras), Ezra and Nehemiah count as the First and Second of Esdras, and our two Apocryphal Books as the Third and Fourth. This would be a simple and sufficient method, but for the fact that chaps. i., ii., xv., xvi. of our 2 Esdras are confessedly of a different authorship from that of the integral portion of the Book (chaps. iii.–xiv.). Hence, in one of the two oldest and most important manuscripts which contain it—the Codex Sangermanensis—the first two chapters rank separately as 'Liber Ezræ Secundus,' the main body of the work (chaps. iii.–xiv.) as 'Liber Ezræ Quartus,' and the two concluding chapters as 'Liber Ezræ Quintus.' In this arrangement a part of our 1 Esdras makes the 'Liber Ezræ Tertius.' In our Authorized Version, following the example of the Genevan, the two Apocryphal Books are called the First and Second of Esdras; a title justified, in case of the latter, by the opening words of the book itself: "The second book of the prophet Esdras." A name less liable to confusion would be the "Latin Esdras," as distinguished from the "Greek Esdras" (our 1 Esdras, which exists in a Greek original). The title found in a Greek writer of the sixth century, Anastasius Sinaita, namely Ἔσδρα ἀποκάλυψις, 'The Revelation of Esdras,' is so appropriate, that Dr. Westcott and others have wished it could be restored. But the publication by Tischendorf, in 1866, of a later and inferior work bearing this very title, would render the adoption of that name for the work now before us a source of confusion. See, on this subject, Hilgenfeld, 'Messias Judæorum,' 1869, pp. xviii.–xxii.; Volkmar, 'Das vierte Buch Esra,' in 'Handbuch der Einleit. in die Apokryphen,' 1863, pp. 279 *sqq.*; Bensly, 'The Missing Fragment,' &c., 1875, p. 86; Westcott, art. ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF, in 'Dict. of the Bible'; Tischendorf, 'Proleg.' to the work just referred to, p. xii.

§ II. Original Language and Versions.

That the original language in which this book was written was Greek admits of no doubt. Two fragments, if not more, have been preserved in Greek: v. 35 in Clement of Alexandria, and viii. 23 in the 'Apostolical Constitutions.' The list of the twelve prophets in i. 39, 40, follows the order of the Greek LXX. But, besides this, the Latin Version, the oldest and most important of all, bears traces of Greek idiom on every page, almost in every line. To select but a few instances. The genitive is found after a comparative, as *horum majora*, v. 13; *majus aliorum capitum*, xi. 14. Genders are used which can only be accounted for by the influence of original forms in Greek, as *signaculum* (= σφραγίς) . . . *tradita est*, x. 23; *caput* (= κεφαλή) . . . *sed et ipsa*, xi. 4. Constructions are found which admit of only the same explanation; as the frequent use of *et* answering to καὶ temporal, *et factum est* . . . *et cor meum*, &c. vi. 36, x. 2, and often; the accusative for dative after *nocuerunt*, as in xi. 42; the attraction of the relative, as in *ex omnibus istis quibus prædixi tibi*, vi. 25, and the like. In some cases the text may be successfully amended by attention to this fact, as in the ingenious correction of *pater aspice* by reference to περίβλεψον, proposed by Bensly (*ubi sup.*, p. 25 *n.*). On the other hand, there are some peculiarities of construction which cannot be thus accounted for, such as the constant use of the ablative to express duration of time (xiii. 58, *et passim*). One idiom, commonly called a Hebraism, is also very frequently used,—that of the participle joined with the cognate verb to intensify the sense: as in *excedens excessit*, iv. 2; *odiens odisti*, v. 30, and many more. A collection of the most striking Grecisms will be found in Van der Vlis, 'Disputatio critica de Ezræ Libro apocrypho,' &c., 1839, pp. 10–14.

The Latin Version above mentioned deserves to hold the first place, both for antiquity and fidelity to the original. Van der Vlis, indeed (*ubi sup.*, p. 2), gives the preference to the Aethiopic; but when the text of the Latin is corrected and restored, as it still may be to a very considerable extent, there seems no reason to refuse it the precedence claimed for it by one of its most recent editors (Fritzsche, 'Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.,' 1871, p. xxvi.). That it is closely literal will have been inferred from what was said before of the traces of Greek idiom preserved in it. In Fritzsche's opinion it was made in the third century. Ambrose of Milan (374–379) adopts or paraphrases many passages in it (comp. 'De bono Mortis,' c. x., with 2 Esdr. v. 42, 50–55, and vii. 80*–87*; *ib.* c. xi. with 2 Esdr. vii. 91*–101*; *ib.* c. xii. with 2 Esdr. vii. 39*–42*; 'De excessu Satyri,' i. 2, with 2 Esdr. x. 6–11; 'Epist.' xxix. with 2 Esdr. xvi. 59). Jerome, 'adv. Vigilant.,' refers to it in a passage often quoted, or rather mis-quoted (see Bensly, p. 41 *n.*, and the note on vii. 102* below). More doubtful is the supposed reference to the Latin Esdras in Tertullian, 'De præscrip. Hæret.' c. iii. (see note on viii. 20), and his allusion to xiv. 37 *sqq.* in his 'De habitu mul.' c. iii. Equally vague and uncertain is the reference to v. 50–55 and xiv. 10, 17 (about the world's growing old) in the 'Ad Demetrianum' of Cyprian. It may be added in passing that the references in Volkmar, p. 273, are inaccurate and misleading. Two passages from the original Greek, v. 5 and viii. 3, have been supposed to be cited in the Epistle of Barnabas (c. xii. and c. iv.), but without good grounds. See Charteris, 'Canonicity' (1880), p. vii. *n.*; and Salmon, 'Historical Introd. to the New Test.' (1886), p. 108. On the other hand, there is reason to think that Irenæus ('adv. Hæres.' v. 36) had in mind the words of ii. 31, in the passage which he introduces with a vague "quemadmodum Prophetia ait." See Dr. Salmon, as above, p. 459 *n.*, and Pearson, 'On the Creed,' art. v. (ed. 1723, p. 242). The words of ii. 34, 35 are embodied in the ancient 'Missa pro Defunctis' (see the 'Breviar. ad usum.. Sarum,' edd. Procter and Wordsworth, fasc. ii. p. 527), whence the origin of the common use of the word Requiem (Walcott's 'Sacred Archæol.' *s. v.*). As Canon Eddrup points out, the words of ii. 36, 37 were also used as an Introit for Whitsun Tuesday (Blunt, 'Annotated Book of Com. Prayer,' ed. 1884, p. 302).

Besides the Latin Version, four others (of cc. iii.–xiv.) are in existence: the Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Armenian. Of these, the best, in Fritzsche's judgment, is the Syriac. Like the Aethiopic, it bears the marks of having been made directly from the Greek, though not so literal a translation as the Latin. It was edited by Ceriani in 1868, in vol. v. of 'Monumenta Sacra et Profana,' from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The existence of the Arabic text was pointed out by an English writer, John Gregory, in 1646 (Bensly, *ubi sup.*, p. 1 *n.*); and a translation of it by Simon Ockley was afterwards published, as an appendix to vol. iv. of Whiston's 'Primitive Christianity Reviv'd,' 1711. The Arabic text itself has only recently been made accessible to scholars. Volkmar, in 1863, made use of Ockley's English version to supply the long passage missing after vii. 35. Hilgenfeld, still later, used a Latin retranslation of Ockley for his 'Messias Judæorum.' But in 1863 Ewald had published the Arabic text, with a German translation, in vol. xi. of the 'Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,' from which it was afterwards reprinted separately. The MS. used by Ewald is the same as that from which Ockley made his translation long before (Bodl. 251), and its date has been added by the scribe at the end as the "year of the holy martyrs 1051;" that is, according to Ewald (p. 21), the year 1354 of our era. Whether made directly from the Greek, as Hilgenfeld thinks, or from the Syriac, as Fritzsche inclines to believe, the Arabic Version is more of a paraphrase than the others, and in consequence less trustworthy. Still more recently, in 1877, the text of the Arabic Version was published by Gildemeister, with a Latin translation, from a manuscript (Ar. 462) in the Vatican. The age of this MS. is considered to be about the same as that of the Bodleian; both being referred to the 14th century. The Version it contains differs in many points from that translated by Ewald, and appears to have been made independently from the Greek. The readings of these two Versions are often quoted in the following notes; but from my ignorance of Arabic I have had to depend entirely on the renderings of Gildemeister and Ewald.

The Aethiopic Version, though cited as early as 1661, in the 'Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum' of Job Ludolf, was not printed till 1820. In this case also, as in that of the Arabic, the MS. used was in the Bodleian Library. The editor, Dr. Richard Laurence, Professor of Arabic, and afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew, at Oxford, added a twofold rendering of it, in Latin and English. Van der Vlis (p. 77) finds great fault with this edition, on the ground of its editor having scrupulously preserved the inaccuracies of his MS., and suggests many emendations. A surer basis for revision is afforded by the various readings collected from other MSS. by Aug. Dillmann, and printed at the end of Ewald's edition of the Arabic; and these have been further enriched by a collation of MSS. made by Fr. Prätorius at Frankfort and Berlin. Evidence of the Aethiopic Version having been made directly from the Greek is furnished by Van der Vlis (*ubi sup.*, pp. 77 *sqq.*), and both he and Fritzsche estimate its value highly.

The Armenian Version, though published, according to Bensly, as early as 1666, and found in the Armenian Bible of 1805 (Venetiis, 4 vol.), appears to have been unnoticed by scholars till attention was called to it by Ceriani in 1861. A Latin translation of it was made by J. H. Petermann for Hilgenfeld's 'Messias Judæorum;' but as the Armenian diverges most widely of all from the rest, and, in Fritzsche's opinion, was not made originally from the Greek, its value is comparatively small.

There should be noticed in conclusion an attempt at reproducing the original Greek. This was made by Hilgenfeld, with the assistance of Paul de Lagarde and Hermann Rönsch, and inserted in his 'Messias Judæorum.' The task was executed with undoubted ability, though separate words and phrases are open to question. But it is surely going too far to make this modern retranslation a basis for proving coincidences between the author of 2 Esdras and the writers of the

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New Testament. When, for instance, Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*, p. lxix.) points to the close resemblance between 2 Peter i. 19, "as unto a light that shineth in a dark (*or* squalid) place," and 2 Esdras xii. 42, it is obvious that a good deal will depend on the question whether αὐχμηρῷ was the actual word used for "dark" in both passages, or not.

§ III. State of the Text.

The text of the Latin Version—the only one that will be here noticed—has been disfigured by many errors and corruptions, but these are gradually disappearing in the light of critical inquiry. A short account of the chief manuscripts will make this better understood. Until within the last ten years, the MS. universally regarded as the oldest and most important was that known as Codex Sangermanensis (S.), so called from its having belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain des Prés. It is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, being part of the second volume of the Latin Bible numbered MS. 11504–5, fonds Latin (Bensly, *ubi sup.*, p. 5). It bears its own record of date; namely, "the eighth year of Louis le Débonnaire" (= A.D. 822). Without entering into minute details, it may be stated in brief that from this all the later MSS. known appear to have been derived. The two others on which Fritzsche mainly relied, after S., for his critical recension of the text in 1871, were the Codex Turicensis (T.), and the Codex Dresdensis (D.). The dates to which these are referred—the 13th and 15th centuries respectively—will shew how inferior their value is likely to be. Moreover, all three, as well as all others known until recently, had one remarkable omission in common. It had long been observed how abrupt was the transition from *v.* 35 to *v.* 36 of the vii. chapter of this book. Something was plainly wanted to connect the two. And as the Oriental versions became known, it was found that in all of them there was a connecting passage of considerable length. When, further, it was discovered, on a closer examination of S., that a leaf had been at some early time cut out of this MS., which might have contained the missing portion, the field was cleared for a very interesting discovery. This discovery it was the good fortune of a Cambridge scholar to make; or, rather, it came as the due reward of long and patient investigation. Mr. R. L. Bensly, the Reader in Hebrew of Gonville and Caius College, and one of the Old Testament Revision company, had been struck by the description given in a catalogue of a Latin biblical MS. in the Bibliothèque Communale of Amiens, once the property of the neighbouring Benedictine Abbey of Corbie. Its age is given in the catalogue as the 9th century. Space forbids more details; but Mr. Bensly's description of his first examination of the MS. is so full of interest that it must not be omitted. "The perusal of a few verses," he says, "served to shew the great value of this new critical aid; I read on with growing interest till I approached the place of the long-familiar chasm: then, as my eye glided on to the words *et apparebit locus tormenti*, I knew that the oldest and best translation of this passage was at last recovered; that another fragment of the Latin was gathered up; and that now at last—an event which can scarcely happen again in these latter days—a new chapter would be added to the Apocrypha of our Bible." ('Missing Fragment,' p. 7.) It detracts but little from the interest and importance of such a discovery to learn that it was, in a manner, anticipated by the researches of an earlier explorer, the Rev. John Palmer, of St. John's College, Cambridge, Professor of Arabic in that University from 1804 to 1819. In November 1826 Professor Palmer examined, among other MSS. then preserved at Alcalá de Henares (the ancient Complutum), in Spain, a Latin Bible described as 'Biblia Latino-Gothica maximæ molis,' and referred by the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott to about the end of the 8th century. From this Professor Palmer extracted the missing passage of cap. vii., in a form substantially agreeing with that obtained by Mr. Bensly. Professor Palmer's papers, however, lay forgotten after his death in 1840, and his transcript might never have become known but for its publication in vol. vii. of the 'Journal of

Philology,' in 1877, by the Rev. J. S. Wood, of St. John's College. A few readings from this MS., referred to as 'MS. Complut.,' are given in their place; and it will be seen how remarkably this fresh witness confirms, in several instances (ch. vii., *vv.* 55*, 98*, 104*), the conjectural emendations of Mr. Bensly.

The Amiens MS. is denoted by the letter A. It is considered to be of co-ordinate authority with S., though entirely independent of it; and, what is a noticeable fact, it contains the text from which our own writer Gildas quoted, some centuries before the date of either of the two earliest extant MSS. ('Missing Fragment,' p. 36.) A comparison of the readings in A. and S. with those in the Vulgate, will form a necessary element in the notes following. The reader will thus be able to judge for himself of the condition in which the Latin text has come down to us. He will see further that, in case of the present book, it is not so much in explaining the subject-matter that a commentator's difficulty lies, as in determining what it was that the author actually said.

§ IV. Analysis of the Contents.

Leaving out of consideration, for the moment, chaps. i., ii., xv., xvi., as confessedly of later origin, we find the real Second Book of Esdras to be filled with an account of visions—or, more precisely, three revelations and four visions—granted to Ezra during the Captivity. In the thirtieth year of that Captivity, Ezra is represented as musing on the dealings of God with His people, and troubled to account for their continued affliction. Could Divine justice allow greater wrongdoers still, such as the Babylonians themselves, to bear rule over them? Would not the Almighty weigh both in an impartial balance? (ch. iii.)

First Vision (ch. iv.–ch. v. 14).*—To answer these doubting questions, the angel (or, as he is called in iv. 36, the archangel) Uriel is sent to him, and propounds to him three problems. Can Ezra weigh the flame of fire, or measure the wind, or recall the days that are past? If he can do none of these, how can he presume to challenge the inscrutable dealings of God? By another parable, taken from the sea and the forest, the angel teaches him the same lesson. Does Ezra still doubt? Then a day of reckoning is coming, when all wrongs will be redressed. On the prophet's enquiring whether this day is far off or nigh at hand, its nearness is shewn by "similitudes." Signs of the approaching end make up the rest of this revelation.

Second Vision (ch. v. 20–ch. vi. 34).—After fasting and praying seven days, as the angel had commanded him, the prophet is again troubled in spirit. The lot of the chosen people is still a mystery. He cannot solve the question why the Most High should have suffered them to be led into captivity. The angel Uriel is again commissioned to reason with him, and declares that he will make this clear to him, if he can first perform certain hard conditions which he then proposes. On Ezra professing himself, as before, unable to do so, the angel assures him that it is a far harder thing to understand the judgments of God. The mention of a final judgment suggests to Ezra the thought, whether it were not better to be of the number of those who should be alive when the end of all things drew near. They would at least feel that God was nigh at hand for them. Or again, why should not the Almighty have made all the successive generations of men live at once upon earth, that so none might be far removed from the ultimate rectification of all wrong? The analogy of the successive birth of children is brought forward as an answer to this. Then if the Earth be our mother, and we her children,—so reasons the prophet,—is it the case that the latter generations of men are inferior to the former, even as the last-born child is often more puny

* The arrangement of Van der Vlis is here followed. According to his view, chap. iii. is introductory, and chap. xiv. is an Epilogue. Volkmar divides them rather differently, thus: *First Vision*, iii. 1–v. 20; *Second Vision*, v. 21–vi. 34; *Third Vision*, vi. 35–ix. 25; *Fourth Vision*, ix. 26–x. 59; *Fifth Vision*, x. 60–xii. 50; *Sixth Vision*, xii. 51–xiii. 56; *Seventh Vision*, xiii. 57–xiv. 47.

than the rest? This is declared to be so. Ezra next enquires who it is, through whom God will at last visit His world, and is answered that it is even the speaker himself, the angel Uriel, who here assumes the attributes of the Word of God. All things in the beginning, he says, "were made through me alone, and through none other." To yet further questions as to the signs of the final visitation, a series of tokens and portents is revealed, ending with a short picture of millennial happiness, when "evil shall be put out, and deceit shall be quenched."

Third Vision (ch. vi. 35–ch. ix. 25).—After an interval of seven days, Ezra's heart is again "vexed within him," and he renews his communing with the Lord. Regarding the world as created for the chosen people first of all, he enumerates the works of creation in order, and then asks why, if all other races of mankind were indeed but as outcasts compared to the children of Israel, the chosen race should be dispossessed of their inheritance. The reply to this is, that for Adam's sin "the entrances of this world were made narrow, full of sorrow and travail." But there was this to console the good, that, though now they suffered "strait" things, they might hope in the future for "wide." The signs that should precede this wider and more glorious scene are then again adverted to; and at this point the language becomes very striking, though bearing marks of interpolation: "After these years shall my son Christ die, and all men that have life. And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days." After that a state of happiness should follow, such as was set forth at the close of the Second Revelation.

At this point (ch. vii. 35) comes in the passage long missed from the Latin Version, in which the final judgment is described. Ezra expresses his fear that very few will obtain the reward of the just; and the angel denies not that it is so, adding reasons why such should be the case. The most precious things of the earth are the rarest. Then if so, the prophet continues, the lot of man is indeed a hard one, and it would have been better for him to be even as the beasts that perish. The next question that arises is, whether a state of rewards and punishments follows immediately after death. The soul of man, is the answer, on leaving the body, comes to do homage before the throne of the Most High. If it be the soul of one who has despised His law, it finds no resting-place, but is visited with seven dolours. In like manner there are seven consolations to refresh the souls of those who have died in the fear of God. The time for experiencing each of these allotted portions is the mystical seven days; after which they pass to the habitations prepared for them. Ezra goes on to enquire whether a man may intercede with God at the final judgment for a fellow-man, and is told that at that time no man may make intercession for another, but each shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. The examples of intercession cited by Ezra from the Scriptures, as of Abraham for the people of Sodom, and the like, are not allowed to stand as arguments to the contrary. They had reference to a temporal state; the kind of intercession which Ezra asks about would affect an eternal state. This drives Ezra to exclaim that it would have been better not to create Adam, with freedom of will to sin, than to leave the race of men thus prone to fall, with the prospect of punishment after death. The angel can but answer that such are the conditions of the fight; but that the joy over those who attain salvation is greater than the sorrow for those who fail. Ezra confesses that God is merciful and patient, or the world could not continue. Owning the truth of what the angel declares to him, that there is much common earth in the world and but little gold, he still extols the goodness of Him who preserves the works of His hands. Passing from man in general, as God's handiwork, to his own fellow-countrymen, Ezra again prays for himself and them, that God would not look upon the sins of His people. The angel (speaking here, as elsewhere, as if himself God) encourages Ezra in his prayer. As the husbandman sows much seed, but only a part comes up; so out of the multitude of created men, part only should be saved. But for such as Ezra there need be no fear. For them rest was prepared.

To the prophet's wish to learn something of the time, as well as the signs, of the last judgment, the angel replies by discouraging vain curiosity: "Be thou not curious how the ungodly shall be punished, and when." This Revelation ends with a repetition of Ezra's sorrow that so many more should be lost than are saved, and a parable of a vine by way of answer.

Fourth Vision (ch. ix. 26–ch. x. 59).—Ezra is communing with himself in "the field which is called Ardath," and gives utterance to the thought that, whereas a ship in the sea or a seed in the ground may perish, without the sea or the ground suffering loss, yet with his countrymen it was not so. They had received the Law, and had not kept it. But in their case the receivers had been made to suffer; while the Law, corresponding to the seed sown, had remained unharmed. These reflections are interrupted by the appearance of a woman in distress on his right hand. She is lamenting with a loud voice, and, when questioned, makes known to him that the cause of her mourning was the death of an only son, born after thirty years of sterility, who had died on the very day of his wedding. The prophet strives to comfort her, by shewing how small her loss is, compared with that which had befallen the chosen people as a nation. While bidding her shake off her heaviness, a marvellous change takes place before his eyes. The woman is seen no more; but, where she stood, there arises a great city, Sion itself, whose story had been foreshadowed in the sufferings of the bereaved mother. A vision of future glory is promised by Uriel to the prophet, as a reward for his virtues.

Fifth Vision (ch. xi. 1–ch. xii. 39).—The night following, Ezra sees in a dream an eagle rising from the sea, with twelve wings and three heads. While her wings overshadowed the earth, there grew out of them eight "contrary feathers," or pinions. The middle head of the three was the greatest, but all the heads alike remained at rest. When a voice came forth, it was from the midst of the body. Presently a wing arose on the right side, and reigned over all the earth. But it passed away, and gave place to another, which endured for a longer time; so that a voice came, saying, "There shall none after thee attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof." So it was with all the wings in succession: all rose up in turn to reign, though some were deposed without reigning. With the twelve wings there came to an end two of the pinions. Of the remaining six, two placed themselves under the protection of the head on the right-hand side, the other four "continuing in their place." Of these latter, two soon perished, but the other two "thought in themselves to reign." Upon this, the middle head, that was the greatest, took to itself the other two heads, and together with them devoured these two remaining pinions. The middle head then exercised dominion over the earth, and cruelly oppressed it, till it suddenly disappeared, and there were left only the two side heads. These in like manner bare rule, till the one on the right hand devoured that on the left; so that now there remained only the right-hand head, and the two pinions that had put themselves under its protection. At this point, a roaring lion comes forth from a wood, and with human voice upbraids the eagle with its tyranny, and commands it to appear no more. Upon this, the head still remaining passes away, and the two pinions, after attempting to reign by themselves, pass away also; so that now there is an end of the monster altogether.

On Ezra's praying for an interpretation of this vision, the angel shews him that this eagle represents the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel. The twelve wings were twelve kings, who should reign in succession, the reign of the second being the longest of them all. The voice from out of the midst of the body signified the outbreak of civil discord. The eight pinions, in like manner, were so many kings, whose reigns should be brief and unprosperous. The three heads were also three kings, of whom the middlemost and greatest would die a natural death, the other two falling by the sword. The lion was the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the "anointed" one, who should reprove the kingdoms of the world for their unrighteousness and cruelty, and

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on the other hand bring a joyful deliverance for His own. This interpretation Ezra is to write in a book, and teach it to the wise among the people.

Sixth Vision (ch. xii. 40–ch. xiii. 58).—For seven days Ezra remains in the open field, as the angel commanded him. Seeing that he does not return, his fellow-countrymen come and expostulate with him. He only is left to them, and they repine at being forsaken. He reassures them and bids them depart, and then at the end of the seven days a vision of the night is sent to him. He sees in his dream a wind arising from the sea. The form of a man appears, and all things tremble at the look of him. But presently a multitude of men are gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, to subdue him that arose out of the sea. He on his part lifts up against them neither sword nor spear, but from his mouth he discharges upon them a blast of mingled fire and tempest, which consumes them all. Then he summons to him another multitude, this time a peaceful one. The interpretation of this vision given by the angel is that the Man seen in it is He whom the Most High has reserved for the last times to be a deliverer and judge, even the Son of God. He should come and stand upon Mount Sion, and by the power of the law, which is compared to the blast of fire proceeding from his mouth, should destroy all that opposed themselves.

The peaceful multitude that was afterwards gathered together to him, consists of the ten tribes carried into captivity by the Assyrians, who had migrated into a far-off region, that they might keep the law of their God. And the reason why the Conqueror came from the deep sea is this, that, just as none can tell what is in the depths of the sea, so none can understand the things of the Son of God; at least, till the time of that last day. With this, the angel leaves Ezra, promising to shew him yet further wonders after three days are past; and the prophet spends that interval in wandering abroad, glorifying God for His mercies.

Epilogue, or Seventh Vision (ch. xiv.).—After this, as Ezra is sitting under an oak on the third day, there comes to him a voice out of a bush, as of old to Moses, enjoining him to make known openly some of the things that he has seen and heard, and to keep others secret. Time is hastening to its close. Of the twelve ages which the world had to run, ten and a half are spent, and only one and a half remain. Therefore Ezra must prepare for his departure. On the prophet's asking who shall take his place as a guide and admonisher of the people, the angel bids him withdraw from the congregation forty days; in which interval, with the aid of five ready writers, he is to make a record of what he has seen and heard. Part is to be published; part to be kept secret. Ezra does so. After a parting charge to the people, he withdraws from them, accompanied by his scribes. Then a cup is given to him, "full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire," on drinking which his spirit and memory are strengthened. For forty days he dictates to the five, and they write in all ninety-four books. Of these, twenty-four (being the number of books in the Old Testament) are published openly; the other seventy are kept back, to be divulged only to the wise among the people. In the Oriental versions this is followed by a closing passage, giving the year of the events, as computed from the Creation, and ending with the assumption of Ezra.

Additions to 2 Esdras (2 Esdr. chaps. i., ii., xv., xvi.).—The prophet Esdras, whose genealogy is set forth at the outset, is commissioned by God to shew His people their sinful deeds, and to put them in mind of His mercies in time past. While He would have been to them as a Father, they had turned their faces from Him. His servants the prophets, whom He had sent unto them, they had taken and slain. Wherefore now He would forsake their offerings, and would give their habitation to a people that should come after; a people who, though they had not yet heard of Him, should believe in Him, and unto whom there should be given for leaders the ancient patriarchs of Israel (chap. i.).

The controversy which God has with His people is continued. They are bidden to remember what was done to Sodom and Gomorrha. Even yet God is

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willing to give His children the kingdom which Israel had rejected. For their help would He send His servants Esay and Jeremy; for them He would prepare fountains flowing with milk and honey. Let these therefore do that which is right: let them judge the fatherless, defend the orphan, and discharge all the other duties of life. If the chosen people refuse to hear the voice speaking to them, Esdras is charged to turn to the heathen, and bid them "look for their Shepherd," who should give them everlasting rest. The prophet sees in vision, in response to this call, a great multitude whom he cannot number standing upon Mount Sion; and in the midst of them "a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest." These, the angel tells him, are the glorified people of God, and the one in the midst of them, wearing a crown, is the Son of God. Such are the wonderful things that Esdras is commanded to make known to his countrymen (chap. ii.).

The latter section (chaps. xv., xvi.) begins almost as if in direct continuation of the former. Esdras is bidden, though not by name, to speak in the ears of God's people the words of prophecy which the Lord would put into his mouth, and to "cause them to be written in paper," as being faithful and true. But a difference of subject is soon perceived. The earth is declared to be full of wickedness, and the plagues to chastise it are ready at hand. As Egypt had aforetime been smitten, and God's people led out like a flock, even so should it be now. Woe is pronounced upon the world and them that dwell therein; for wars and seditions shall arise, and the right hand of the Lord shall not spare. A "horrible vision" from the east is proclaimed. The dragons of Arabia shall come forth, and the Carmanians, like wild boars from the wood, and they shall lay waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians. Clouds shall come from the east and from the north, and again there shall come great storms from the south and north and west, which strong winds from the east shall dispel. In vague and mysterious language it is announced that wrath will go forth against Babylon. Asia, as a partaker with Babylon, is to share her plagues. Like as she has done to the children of God, so should it be done to her and her children (chap. xv.).

The proclamation of woe is continued against Babylon and Asia, against Egypt and Syria. As an arrow shot from a bow cannot return, so the plagues denounced must go on to their fulfilment. Trees shall yield their fruit, but there shall be none to gather it; grapes shall ripen, but there shall be none to tread them. These things are signs for the servants of the Lord to understand. When the evil days come, let them be as pilgrims upon the earth. Let all sit lightly to their occupations: "he that selleth, let him be as he that fleeth away; and he that buyeth, as one that will lose." If they will abstain from evil, the time will soon come when "iniquity shall be taken away out of the earth," and righteousness shall reign among them. The Lord knoweth the hearts of men. He who created all things at the first, who knoweth the number of the stars, and spreadeth out the heavens like a vault, "surely He knoweth your inventions," saith the prophet, and how can men hide their sins before Him? If they will leave off from their sins, God will deliver them from all troubles. A day of wrath is at hand, a "great insurrection" upon those that fear the Lord. Let not the beloved of the Lord be afraid, nor let their sins weigh them down. They who were so "bound with their sins and covered with their iniquities," were as a field overgrown with thorns, the end of which is to be burned.

§ V. General Character of the Work.

A tone of melancholy pervades the book, — meaning by that the Fourth Book proper (chaps. iii.–xiv.). The place and time at which the scene is laid require that this should be so. Ezra, musing in the outskirts of Babylon in the thirtieth year of the Captivity, could not consistently have been made to take a bright and hopeful view of the future, —such, for instance, as is set forth in the Book of Enoch. We need not stay to raise the chronological difficulty, that

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Ezra is thus placed some ninety years too early. In what has been called the apocalyptic class of these writings, it is usual to find the most eminent names in the history of Israel chosen for the bearers of the revelations. (Schodde, 'Book of Enoch,' 1882, p. 14.) But there was, perhaps, more than a sense of artistic fitness in making the shades of the picture so dark. There are tokens that the book was written by one whose mind was impressed by some recent visitation. Like the third and fourth books of the Sibylline Oracles, or the 'De Civitate Dei' of Augustine, it may be regarded as the utterance of one who had witnessed such terrible scenes, that the speedy advent of Messiah must seem the only thing to be hoped for. Hence the bitter complaints of the heathen going unpunished, and the anticipations of vengeance. Hence the limiting of salvation to "very few" (vii. 70), and the sufferings and death of Messiah himself (vii. 29). There is something very solemn in the idea of the world being "turned into the old silence" for seven days. At the same time, the faithful Jew is encouraged to hope for future restoration. The peaceful multitude who were to be assembled at the holy mountain (xiii. 39) are the ten tribes, lost to outward view, but not forgotten.

As regards the doctrinal character of the book, some striking resemblances have been pointed out between its teaching and that of St. Paul. Passages like iii. 20 *sqq.* remind us at once of the Epistle to the Romans, just as the imagery throughout recalls the Revelation of St. John. The wildness of this imagery, in some of the Visions at least, has caused many readers to disparage the book, and drawn the attention away from the deep problems of human life which are propounded in it,—problems like those with which Bishop Butler deals in the First Part of his 'Analogy.' Such was at first its effect on the learned Dr. Lee, who, in a letter to Simon Ockley (published in his Ἀπολειπόμενα, 1752), has recorded the stages through which his mind passed, during the study of the book, from contempt to a qualified admiration.

The additions at the beginning and end (chaps. i., ii., and xv., xvi.) are of a very different character. In the first portion the Jews are upbraided for their rebellion against God, and the call of the Gentiles is foretold (i. 35). In the last portions the judgments to come upon heathen nations are pronounced, and God's chosen people exhorted to stand fast through the time of trial (xvi. 40 *sqq.*), till the triumph of righteousness should come. The frequent allusions to the New Testament (i. 30, ii. 43 *sqq.*, xv. 35, xvi. 54, &c.), as well as the anti-Jewish tone of the first part, betoken a Christian writer. It is in this part also that the resemblance to the 'Shepherd' of Hermas is most striking. (Compare especially 'Similitude' ix. 6 with 2 Esdr. ii. 43.) A complete list of parallel passages, or what are supposed to be such, between 2 Esdras and the New Testament, is given in the work of Dr. Lee above referred to, pp. 112–125.

§ VI. Date and Authorship.

(1) Chaps. iii.–xiv. The plain citation of a passage (v. 35) by Clement of Alexandria (fl. 193–217), who quotes the verse in Greek, with the addition of Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης λέγει ('Strom.' iii. 16), fixes the date within reasonable limits in one direction. But when we try to approximate more closely, the materials for forming a judgment seem insufficient. Admitting, for the moment, that the author of the older portion, with which we are here concerned, was a Jew, not a convert to Christianity, is there any internal evidence to shew whether his work appeared before the time of Christ, or after? Hilgenfeld thinks there is, and lays stress on such expressions as "Esau is the end of the world" (vi. 9), *i.e.* of this *age*, which he interprets of Herod the Great; "and of all builded cities thou hast hallowed Sion unto thyself" (v. 25, comp. vi. 4), which he thinks inconsistent with the feelings of a Jew writing after the final destruction of Jerusalem. Another argument urged on the same side is, that no Jew, writing after the death of Christ, would have introduced the prophecy of Messias dying (vii. 29), of which Christians would be likely to lay hold. The passages on which Hilgenfeld mainly

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relies are quoted in the Prolegomena to his 'Messias Judæorum,' p. lxi. On the other hand, it is contended that such expressions as the "casting down the walls" (xi. 42) point with as much probability to a date subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, as v. 25 or vi. 4 can do to an earlier date. The computation of time in xiv. 11 is too vague to be relied on, though Hilgenfeld tries to press that into his service; and in like manner the signs and portents enumerated in v. 3 *sqq.*, though capable of being referred to what we read of as preceding the Battle of Actium, might no doubt, with a little research, be found to have had their fulfilment at other epochs as well.

Space forbids more details. It must suffice, then, to say that the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the reign of Domitian as the time in which the author wrote. The interpretation put upon the Vision of the Eagle (chaps. xi., xii.) will influence the decision, one way or the other; and if the conclusion be right that the author wrote when the *third head* was still ruling (see Appendix), and that that head was Domitian, we may assign the latter portion of the period A.D. 81–96 with some probability as the date of 2 Esdras. In this conclusion most authorities are now agreed. Ewald, indeed, would place the time of composition a little earlier, while Titus was still alive ('Das vierte Ezrabuch,' 1863, p. 19), but Fritzsche ('Libri Apocr.,' Præf. p. xxvii.) speaks of the end of the first century A.D. as fixed upon by the common consent of almost all scholars. Such, too, is the opinion of Schürer ('Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,' II Theil, 1886, pp. 656, 657).

That the author was a non-Christian Jew can admit of little doubt. Throughout the book there is a patriotic love and admiration of the race, and a conviction that the world was made for their sakes. Jewish traditions are introduced, such as those about Behemoth and Leviathan (vi. 49). The language used concerning the death of Messiah (vii. 29), and the computation at the end of ch. xiv. (found in the Versions) by years *anno mundi*, may be thought to point to a Jew of Alexandria, rather than to one living in Palestine. If so, we may the more easily account for the writer's acquaintance with Roman history subsequent to the time of Antony, and also for the quotation of his work by Clemens Alexandrinus.

(2) Chaps. i., ii., and xv., xvi. The author of the additions (i., ii., and xv., xvi.) was undoubtedly a Christian, and probably a Christian Jew of Alexandria. There is little difference of opinion as to the date of the latter portion, which is given by Alfred de Gutschmid ('Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie,' 1860, p. 1. *sqq.*) as about A.D. 263; by Volkmar, about A.D. 260; and by Hilgenfeld, about A.D. 268. Some reasons for this conclusion will be found in the notes on xv. 28 *sqq.* The date of the first part is not fixed so unanimously. Hilgenfeld thinks it was written by the same author, and at the same time, as the second; but it was more probably earlier.

The authorities chiefly relied on for the commentary which follows—Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Fritzsche, Ewald—have been specified in the Introduction. One must be named by me apart from the rest, the discoverer and editor of the *Missing Fragment*, R. L. Bensly. Had he consented to undertake the present task, and to anticipate the results of his long and patient study of the Latin text, I should not have dreamt of approaching it. Till his critical edition of the Latin text appears, this, and any like attempt, must be regarded as merely provisional. Except in a very few instances, I have avoided consulting any English commentaries, such as that of the Rev. Prebendary Eddrup, from a desire that the work should be as much as possible my own. But I have derived some benefit from the 'Introduction to 2 Esdras' of Dr. Bissell, in the volume of Lange's Commentary containing the Apocrypha, and have taken a few marginal references (in most cases with acknowledgment) from Churton's 'Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures' (1884). The works of Apel ('Libri Vet. Test. Apocr.,' 1837) and Gutmann ('Die Apokryphen des Alt. Test.,' 1841), being limited to Greek texts, do not include 2 Esdras.

J. H. L.

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II. ESDRAS.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Esdras is commanded to reprove the people.* 24 *God threateneth to cast them off,* 35 *and to give their houses to a people of more grace than they.*

THE second book of the prophet [a]Esdras, the son of Saraias, the son of Azarias, the son of Helchias, the son of ‖Sadamias, the son of Sadoc, the son of Achitob,

[a] Ezra 7. 1.

‖ Or, *Shallum.*

2 The son of Achias, the son of Phinees, the son of Heli, the son of Amarias, the son of Aziei, the son of Marimoth, the son of Arna, the son of Ozias, the son of Borith, the son of Abisei, the son of Phinees, the son of Eleazar,

3 The son of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi; which was captive in the land of the Medes, in the reign of Artaxerxes king of the Persians.

4 And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,

[b] Is. 58. 1.

5 Go thy way, and [b]shew my people their sinful deeds, and their children their wickedness which they have done against me; that they may tell their children's children:

6 Because the sins of their fathers are increased in them: for they have forgotten me, and have offered unto strange gods.

7 Am not I even he that brought them out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage? but they have provoked me unto wrath, and despised my counsels.

8 Pull thou off then the hair of thy head, and cast all evil upon them, for they have not been obedient unto my law, but it is a rebellious people.

9 How long shall I forbear them, unto whom I have done so much good?

10 Many kings have I destroyed for their sakes; [c]Pharaoh with his servants and all his power have I smitten down.

[c] Ex. 14. 28.

11 [d]All the nations have I destroyed before them, and in the east I have scattered the people of two provinces, even of Tyrus and Sidon, and have slain all their enemies.

[d] Num. 21. 24. Josh. 8, & 10, & 12.

CHAPTER I.

1. *The second book.*] For the title here given, see the Introduction, § I.

the son of Saraias.] If this Saraias be the Seraiah of Zedekiah's time, it is obvious, as Canon Rawlinson points out (Ezra vii. 1), that three or four links are wanting between him and Esdras. By piecing together the genealogies given in 1 Chron. vi., Ezra vii., 1 Esdras viii., and the present one, we may obtain a fairly complete list, as follows:—1. Aaron; 2. Eleazar; 3. Phinehas; 4. Abishua; 5. Bukki (= Boccas, 1 Esdr. viii. 2, = Borith, 2 Esdr. i.); 6. Uzzi (= Sarias, 1 Esdr. viii., = Ozias, 2 Esdr. i.); 7. Zerahiah (= Zaraias, 1 Esdr. viii., = Arna, 2 Esdr. i.); 8. Meraioth (= Marimoth or Meremoth); 9. Amariah; 10. Ahitub; 11. Zadok; 12. Ahimaaz; 13. Azariah; 14. Johanan (the last six from 1 Chron. vi.); 15. Azariah (= Ezias, 1 Esdr. viii., = Aziei, 2 Esdr. i.); 16. Amariah; 17. Heli; 18. Phinees; 19. Achias (the last three from 2 Esdr. i.); 20. Ahitub; 21. Meraioth (from 1 Chron. ix. 11); 22. Zadok; 23. Shallum (= Salame, or Sadamaias, 2 Esdr. i.); 24. Hilkiah; 25. Azariah; 26. Seraiah; 27. Jehozadak (from 1 Chron. vi.); 28, 29, 30. (three probably missing); 31. Ezra.

3. *Artaxerxes.*] Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, reigned from B.C. 464 to 425. See the note on Ezra vii. 1.

4. *And the word of the Lord, &c.*] It has been observed that this formula does not occur in the writings of the true Ezra.

11. *Tyrus and Sidon.*] Gutschmid thinks that there is a special reference in this to the

12 Speak thou therefore unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord,

[e] Ex. 14. 29.

13 [e]I led you through the sea, and in the beginning gave you a large and safe ‖passage; [f]I gave you Moses for a leader, and Aaron for a priest.

‖ Or, *street.*

[f] Ex. 3. 10. & 4. 14.

[g] Ex. 13. 21.

14 [g]I gave you light in a pillar of fire, and great wonders have I done among you; yet have ye forgotten me, saith the Lord.

15 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, The [h]quails were as a token to you; I gave you tents for your safeguard: nevertheless ye murmured there,

[h] Ex. 16. 13. Ps. 105. 40.

16 And triumphed not in my name for the destruction of your enemies, but ever to this day do ye yet murmur.

17 Where are the benefits that I have done for you? when ye were hungry and thirsty in the wilderness,

[i] Num. 14. 3.

[i]did ye not cry unto me,

18 Saying, Why hast thou brought us into this wilderness to kill us? it had been better for us to have served the Egyptians, than to die in this wilderness.

19 Then had I pity upon your mournings, and gave you manna to eat; [k]so ye did eat angels' bread.

[k] Wisd. 16. 20.

[l] Num. 20. 11. Wisd. 11. 4.

20 [l]When ye were thirsty, did I not cleave the rock, and waters flowed out ‖to your fill? for the heat I covered you with the leaves of the trees.

‖ Or, *abundantly.*

21 I divided among you a fruitful land, I cast out the Canaanites, the Pherezites, and the Philistines, before you: [m]what shall I yet do more for you? saith the Lord.

[m] Is. 5. 4.

22 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, When ye were in the wilderness, ‖in the river of the Amorites, being athirst, and blaspheming my name,

‖ Or, *at the bitter waters, or, waters of Marah,* Ex. 15. 23, 25.

23 I gave you not fire for your blasphemies, but cast a tree in the water, and made the river sweet.

24 What shall I do unto thee, O Jacob? thou, [n]Juda, wouldest not obey me: I will turn me to other nations, and unto those will I give my name, that they may keep my statutes.

[n] Ex. 32. 8.

25 Seeing ye have forsaken me, I will forsake you also; when ye desire me to be gracious unto you, I shall have no mercy upon you.

26 [o]Whensoever ye shall call upon me, I will not hear you: for ye have defiled your hands with blood, and your feet are swift to commit manslaughter.

[o] Is. 1. 15.

27 Ye have not as it were forsaken me, but your own selves, saith the Lord.

28 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, Have I not prayed you as a father

destruction of Tyre by the troops of Pescennius Niger, in the contest for the empire between him and Severus, A.D. 193. The hostility of the Phœnicians to the Jews (Joseph. 'c. Apion.' i. 13) would make the latter exult at such an overthrow. But the prophecies of Isaiah (ch. xxiii.) and Ezekiel (ch. xxvi. *sq.*) against Tyre and Sidon would appear sufficient to account for the language of the text. It has been observed that the description of these cities as *in the east* points to the west as the quarter from which the author writes.

13. *a large and safe passage.*] "Large" here = broad, or spacious, as in Ps. xxxi. 8, "Thou hast set my feet in a large room." But if *in invio* be read (from S.) instead of the Vulg. *in initio*, the sense would be, "and I provided for you broad roads laid down in the pathless (sea)," *i.e.* "a highway in the deep." Comp. Isa. li. 10.

14. *have I done.*] Rather, "did I:" the simple preterite should be kept through all this passage.

20. *leaves of the trees.*] This seems meant to replace the "pillar of a cloud" (Exod. xiii. 21), not mentioned in its natural context, in *v.* 14 above. Comp. also Baruch v. 8.

22. *river of the Amorites.*] The reading of D., S., T. is *flumine Amorreo;* but the latter word, which strictly means only "Amorite," is probably a corruption of *amaro*, the equivalent of Marah, "bitter." Otherwise, as Arnald points out, there would be a confusion between the events which happened at the "brooks of Arnon" (Numb. xxi. 15) and at "the waters of Marah" (Exod. xv. 23).

25. *I shall.*] Rather, "I will."

26. *are swift, &c.*] Comp. Prov. i. 16; Rom. iii. 15.

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his sons, as a mother her daughters, and a nurse her young babes,

29 That ye would be my people, ‖ and I should be your God; that ye would be my children, and I should be your father?

30 [p] I gathered you together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings: but now, what shall I do unto you? I will cast you out from my face.

31 [q] When ye offer unto me, I will turn my face from you: for your solemn feast days, your new moons, and your circumcisions, have I forsaken.

32 I sent unto you my servants the prophets, whom ye have taken and slain, and torn their bodies in pieces, whose blood I will require of your hands, saith the Lord.

33 Thus saith the Almighty Lord, [r] Your house is desolate, I will cast you out as the wind doth stubble.

34 And your children shall not be fruitful; for they have despised my commandment, and done the thing that is evil before me.

35 Your houses will I give to a people that shall come; which not having heard of me yet shall believe me; to whom I have shewed no signs, yet they shall do that I have commanded them.

36 They have seen no prophets, yet they shall call their sins to remembrance, and acknowledge them.

37 I take to witness the grace of the people to come, whose little ones rejoice in gladness: and [s] though they have not seen me with bodily eyes, yet in spirit they believe the thing that I say.

38 And now, brother, behold what glory; and see the people that come from the east:

39 Unto whom I will give for leaders, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Oseas, Amos, and Micheas, Joel, Abdias, and Jonas,

40 Nahum, and Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zachary, and Malachy, which is called also an [t] angel of the Lord.

‖ Or, *as I am your God.*

[p] Matt. 23. 37.

[q] Is. 1. 13, 14.

[r] Matt. 23. 38. Luke 13. 35.

[s] John 20. 29.

[t] Mal. 3. 1.

CHAPTER II.

1 *God complaineth of his people:* 10 *yet Esdras is willed to comfort them.* 34 *Because they refused, the Gentiles are called.* 43 *Esdras seeth the Son of God, and those that are crowned by him.*

THUS saith the Lord, I brought this people out of bondage, and I gave them my commandments

29. *and I should be.*] The marginal reading "as I am," &c., appears to assume a reading *ut ego vobis* in place of *et ego vobis*, for which there is no authority.

30. *as a hen.*] The unmistakeable reference to St. Matt. xxiii. 37 should be noticed, as bearing on the age and religion of the writer. The nearest parallels in the O. T. (Deut. xxxii. 11; Ps. xci. 4) would not be sufficient to account for the language used.

32. *I sent unto you.*] This might be an allusion to the words of Jeremiah (xxv. 4); but the tenor of the passage which follows, and especially the language of *v.* 33, "your house," &c. (comp. Matt. xxiii. 38), seem to point to Matt. xxiii. 34–38 as the source of the whole.

35. *to whom, &c.*] Rather, "they to whom I have shewed no signs shall," &c.

36. *sins.*] Vulg. *iniquitatum.* But Bensly cites the reading of A. and S. as *antiquitatum*, a word rendered, in the singular, "ancient estate" in Ezek. xvi. 55.

37. Comp. Matt. xiii. 17.

38. *And now, brother.*] The want of fitness in the term "brother" here employed, when God is the speaker, must be obvious. Bensly, observing that S. has *pater* by the first hand, ingeniously conjectures that the original reading may have been περιβλεψον, and that the abbreviated form of περι was mistakenly rendered *pater*. The resemblance of the passage to Baruch iv. 36, 37, makes this conjecture still more probable, as the *cum gloria* of the Latin (="with glory," not "what glory") answers closely to an expression in Bar. v. 6.

39. *Abraham, &c.*] This list contains the names of the three patriarchs and the twelve minor prophets; the latter being arranged in the order of the Septuagint.

40. *angel.*] Rather, "messenger."

by my servants the prophets; whom they would not hear, but despised my counsels.

2 The mother that bare them saith unto them, Go your way, ye children; for I am a widow and forsaken.

3 I brought you up with gladness; but with sorrow and heaviness have I lost you: for ye have sinned before the Lord your God, and done that thing that is evil before him.

4 But what shall I now do unto you? I am a widow and forsaken: go your way, O my children, and ask mercy of the Lord.

5 As for me, O father, I call upon thee for a witness over the mother of these children, which would not keep my covenant,

6 That thou bring them to confusion, and their mother to a spoil, that there may be no offspring of them.

7 Let them be scattered abroad among the heathen, let their names be put out of the earth: for they have despised my ‖covenant.

‖ Or, *sacrament*, or, *oath*.

8 Woe be unto thee, Assur, thou that hidest the unrighteous in thee! O thou wicked people, remember [a] what I did unto Sodom and Gomorrha;

[a] Gen. 19. 24.

9 Whose land lieth in clods of pitch and heaps of ashes: even so also will I do unto them that hear me not, saith the Almighty Lord.

10 Thus saith the Lord unto Esdras, Tell my people that I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem, which I would have given unto Israel.

11 Their glory also will I take unto me, and give these [b] the everlasting tabernacles, which I had prepared for them.

[b] Luke 16. 9.

12 They shall have [c] the tree of life for an ointment of sweet savour; they shall neither labour, nor be weary.

[c] Rev. 2. 7. & 22. 2, 14.

13 Go, and ye shall receive: pray for few days unto you, that they may be shortened: [d] the kingdom is already prepared for you: [e] watch.

[d] Matt. 25. 34.

[e] Mark 13. 37.

14 Take heaven and earth to witness; for I have broken the evil in pieces, and created the good: for I live, saith the Lord.

15 Mother, embrace thy children, and ‖bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

‖ Or, *bring them up with gladness, as a dove make their feet fast: for, &c.*

CHAPTER II.

2. *The mother, &c.*] The striking resemblance between this passage and Baruch iv. should be noticed. Sion, or Jerusalem, is there also represented as a widowed mother, alternately lamenting and rejoicing over her children: "Go your way, O my children, go your way: for I am left desolate" (*v.* 19)—"With joy did I nourish them; but sent them away with weeping and mourning" (*v.* 11).

5. *O father.*] These words must be understood to be uttered by the Son of God. They lend some countenance to the reading "Father" (*Pater*, for *frater*, or περι-) in i. 38.

7. *covenant.*] The marginal reading is nearer the Latin, *sacramentum*.

8. *Assur.*] We might expect Babylonia to be thus apostrophized, rather than Assyria; in other words, the scene of the later captivity of Ezra's own time, rather than that of the earlier one of the ten tribes. But probably the word Assur has a wider meaning, as in the 'Orac. Sibyll.' iii. 268, quoted by Hilgenfeld.

9. *that hear me not.*] Rather, "that have not heard me."

11. *everlasting tabernacles.*] The "everlasting habitations" of St. Luke xvi. 9, the words in the Latin being the same. The reminiscences of the N. T. in the next two verses will also be noticed.

14. *broken in pieces.*] *Contrivi* in the Vulg., but the best MSS. read *omisi*, "I have overlooked," or "passed over."

15. *as a pillar.*] This reading, found in Coverdale, is due to a conjectural alteration of *sicut columba* to *sicut columnam;* and this again was due to a needless connection of *sicut columba* with the words following, instead of those preceding. The text in A. and S. is *educam illos cum lætitia sicut columba*, "I will lead them forth with gladness like a dove." See Bensly, p. 25.

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16 And those that be dead will I raise up again from their places, and bring them out of the graves: for I have known ‖my name in Israel.

‖ Or, *thy name, O Israel.*

17 Fear not, thou mother of the children: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

18 For thy help will I send my servants Esay and Jeremy, after whose counsel I have sanctified and prepared for thee twelve trees laden with divers fruits,

19 And as many fountains flowing with milk and honey, and seven mighty mountains, whereupon there grow roses and lilies, whereby I will fill thy children with joy.

20 Do right to the widow, judge for the fatherless, give to the poor, defend the orphan, clothe the naked,

21 Heal the broken and the weak, laugh not a lame man to scorn, defend the maimed, and let the blind man come into the sight of my clearness.

22 Keep the old and young within thy walls.

23 [f] Wheresoever thou findest the dead, ‖take them and bury them, and I will give thee the first place in my resurrection.

[f] Tobit 1. 17, 18.

‖ *signing bury them.*

24 Abide still, O my people, and take thy rest, for thy quietness shall come.

25 Nourish thy children, O thou good nurse; stablish their feet.

[g] John 17. 12.

26 [g] As for the servants whom I have given thee, there shall not one of them perish; for I will require them from among thy number.

27 Be not weary: for when the day of trouble and heaviness cometh, others shall weep and be sorrowful, but thou shalt be merry and have abundance.

28 The heathen shall envy thee, but they shall be able to do nothing against thee, saith the Lord.

29 My hands shall cover thee, so that thy children shall not see hell.

30 Be joyful, O thou mother, with thy children; for I will deliver thee, saith the Lord.

31 Remember thy children that sleep, for I shall bring them out of the sides of the earth, and shew mercy unto them: for I am merciful, saith the Lord Almighty.

32 Embrace thy children until I come and ‖shew mercy unto them: for my wells run over, and my grace shall not fail.

‖ Or, *preach.*

33 I Esdras received a charge of the Lord upon the mount Oreb, that I should go unto Israel; but when I came unto them, they set me at nought, and despised the commandment of the Lord.

34 And therefore I say unto you, O ye heathen, that hear and understand, look for your Shepherd, he shall give you [h] everlasting rest; for he is nigh at hand, that shall come in the end of the world.

[h] Matt. 11. 29.

16. *in Israel.*] Rather, "in them;" *in illis* being the reading of the best MSS. The reference is to God's people in *v.* 10. Compare also Isa. xxvi. 19.

18. *after whose counsel.*] Comp. Isa. xl. 13, 14. The imagery which follows is a reminiscence of Rev. xxii. 2, and perhaps also of the Book of Enoch, c. xxiv. (Schodde's transl. p. 99). Comp. also the twelve mountains in the 'Similitudes' of Hermas ('Pastor,' c. xxviii.).

20. *the fatherless.*] Lit. "the ward;" Lat. *pupillo.*

23. *take them, &c.*] The marginal reading is nearer to the Latin as it now stands: *signans commenda sepulchro.* Tobit i. 17, 18 offers a good illustration of obedience to the precept. For *signans* comp. *consignati*, vi. 5.

first place.] The Latin, *primam sessionem*, is apparently a close rendering of the πρωτοκαθεδρίαν of the original Greek.

31. *sides.*] Vulg. *lateribus*, but probably the true reading is *latibulis*, "hiding-places," or "secret places."

32. *until I come and shew mercy unto them.*] These words go together, the Vulg. being *et præstem illis misericordiam.* But the best reading is *prædica* for *præstem*; making the sense, "embrace, &c. till I come, and proclaim to them my mercy."

33. *Oreb.*] Like a second Moses. Comp. xiv. 3.

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35 Be ready to the reward of the kingdom, for the everlasting light shall shine upon you for evermore.

36 Flee [i] the shadow of this world, receive the joyfulness of your glory: I testify my Saviour openly.

37 O receive the gift that is given you, and be glad, giving thanks unto him that hath called you to the heavenly kingdom.

38 Arise up and stand, behold [k] the number of those that be sealed [l] in [l] the feast of the Lord;

39 Which are departed from the shadow of the world, and [m] have received glorious garments of the Lord.

40 Take thy number, O Sion, and [l] shut up those of thine that are clothed in white, which have fulfilled the law of the Lord.

41 [n] The number of thy children whom thou longedst for, is fulfilled: beseech the power of the Lord, that thy people, which have been called from the beginning, may be hallowed.

42 [o] I Esdras saw upon the mount Sion a great people, whom I could not number, and they all praised the Lord with songs.

43 And in the midst of them there was a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns, and was more exalted; which I marvelled at greatly.

44 So [p] I asked the angel, and said, [l] Sir, what are these?

45 He answered and said unto me, These be they that have put off the mortal clothing, and put on the immortal, and have confessed the name of God: now are they crowned, and receive palms.

46 Then said I unto the angel, What young person is it that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands?

47 So he answered and said unto me, [q] It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world. Then began I greatly to commend them that stood so stiffly for the name of the Lord.

48 Then the angel said unto me, Go thy way, and tell my people what manner of things, and how great wonders of the Lord thy God, thou hast seen.

[f] 1 Cor. 7. 31.
[k] Rev. 7. 3, 4.
[l] Or, *for.*
[i] Matt. 22. 1, &c. Rev. 19. 9.
[m] Rev. 3. 4. & 7. 14.
[l] Lat. *conclude.*
[n] Rev. 6. 11.
[o] Rev. 7. 9.
[p] Rev. 7. 14.
[l] Or, *Lord.*
[q] Rev. 2. 10.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Esdras is troubled,* 13 *and acknowledgeth the sins of the people:* 28 *yet complaineth that the heathen were lords over them, being more wicked than they.*

IN the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city I was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed,

36. *the shadow.*] Comp. Wisdom ii. 5, and the language of Colet in his 'Exposition of Romans' (ed. 1873, p. 153), "dum hic sumus et manemus in hac vana et umbratili vita, hoc fumoso corpusculo obfuscati." For the use of *vv.* 34–37 in ancient Liturgies, see Introd. p. 72.

testify.] Rather, "call to witness;" Lat. *testor.*

40. *shut up.*] *I.e.* "conclude," or "finish." Conversely in Rom. xi. 32, Gal. iii. 22, "concluded" is used in the sense of "shut up."

42. *a great people.*] Besides the obvious allusions in this and the following verses to Rev. vii. 9 *sqq.*, there is a striking resemblance to some passages in the 'Pastor' of Hermas ('Sim.' ix. 6, and viii. 2, 3, quoted by Hilgenfeld): "And lo! after a little while I see an array of many men coming, and in the midst a man lofty in his stature, so as to overtop the tower. . . . And the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought. And there were brought crowns made as it were of palms, and he crowned the men. . . . 'Who then, Lord,' say I, 'are they that are crowned, and that enter into the tower?' 'These be they that suffered for the law.'"

45. *clothing.*] Rather, "robe;" Lat. *tunicam.*

46. *young person.*] An uncalled-for change from the "young man" of *v.* 43; the Latin word in both places being *juvenis.*

47. *so stiffly.*] Lat. *fortiter.*

CHAPTER III.

1. *In the thirtieth year.*] This verse presents many difficulties. The best Latin texts have *ego Salathiel qui et Esdras.* Why the name of Salathiel, or Shealtiel, the father of Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 2; Matt. i. 12), should

and my thoughts came up over my heart:

2 For I saw the desolation of Sion, and the wealth of them that dwelt at Babylon.

3 And my spirit was sore moved, so that I began to speak words full of fear to the most High, and said,

4 O Lord, who bearest rule, thou spakest at the beginning, when thou didst plant the earth, and that thyself alone, and commandedst the people,

[a] Gen. 2. 7.

5 [a] And gavest a body unto Adam without soul, which was the workmanship of thine hands, and didst breathe into him the breath of life, and he was made living before thee.

6 And thou leddest him into paradise, which thy right hand had planted, before ever the earth came forward.

7 And unto him thou gavest commandment to love thy way: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death in him and in his generations, of whom came nations, tribes, people, and kindreds, out of number.

[b] Gen. 6. 12.

8 [b] And every people walked after their own will, and did wonderful things before thee, and despised thy commandments.

[c] Gen. 7. 10.

9 [c] And again in process of time thou broughtest the flood upon those that dwelt in the world, and destroyedst them.

10 And it came to pass in every of them, that as death was to Adam, so was the flood to these.

[d] 1 Pet. 3. 20.

11 Nevertheless one of them thou leftest, namely, [d] Noah with his household, of whom came all righteous men.

12 And it happened, that when they that dwelt upon the earth began to multiply, and had gotten them

be given to Esdras, is not easy to say. Volkmar thinks that as Ezra was regarded as the true restorer of the people from the Captivity, he might be regarded in a spiritual sense as the father of the first actual leader, Zerubbabel. Again, the date (the "thirtieth year" from B.C. 606) would suit Salathiel, but not Ezra, who was alive in the second half of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 464–425). Hilgenfeld tries to make the earlier date admissible, by assuming Ezra's father to have been the High Priest Seraiah, whose death at the taking of Jerusalem is recorded in 2 Kings xxv. 18–21. This is out of the question. The form of beginning was perhaps suggested by the opening words of Ezekiel (i. 1), though it is by no means agreed what meaning should there be attached to the expression "in the thirtieth year."

3. *sore moved.*] Lat. *ventilatus est*, a word not found in the Vulgate, and pointing perhaps to some form of *αἰωρεῖσθαι*, rather than to Hilgenfeld's *ἐκινήθη*, or Volkmar's *ἐσείσθη*. The word *timorata*, rendered "full of fear," is the equivalent in the Vulg. for *εὐλαβεῖς*, rendered "devout" in Luke ii. 25, Acts viii. 2.

4. *didst plant.*] Vulg. *plantasti.* Bensly (p. 23) shews good reason for reading *plasmasti*; also *pulveri* for *populo*, and *et dedit tibi* for *et dedisti.* The sense would then be: "Thou commandedst the dust, and it gave unto thee Adam, a lifeless body." Comp. vi. 53.

6. *came forward.*] Lat. *adventaret*, as if to answer to *παραγενέσθαι*, though *γενέσθαι* is more likely. The 'Liber Jubilæorum' (quoted by Hilgenfeld) represents Paradise as created on the third day.

7. *to love thy way.*] Vulg. *diligere viam tuam.* But Bensly has shewn the true reading to be *diligentiam unam tuam* (p. 56 *n.*) = "one observance of thine;" that is, the one command to be observed respecting the forbidden fruit. The same word occurs in *v.* 19 below, and is there mistranslated "diligence."

in him.] Rather, "for him."

8. *did wonderful things.*] The MSS. are pretty equally divided between *in ira* and *mira* (Bensly, p. 32). Cod. A. has *impie*, which would make better sense: "and did wickedly."

10. *in every of them.*] Vulg. *in unoquoque.* But the best MSS. have *in uno casu*, "in one lot." Van der Vlis thinks the passage originally ran: "and their lot was one; as for Adam to die, so for these the deluge."

11. *of whom came all, &c.*] The best reading is *et ex eo justos* (not *justi*) *omnes* = "and all the righteous ones sprung from him." But the Arabic, in Ewald's rendering, "und von ihm sind alle Gerechte," supports the Vulgate.

12. *it happened.*] Rather, "it came to pass," as in *v.* 10.

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many children, and were a great people, they began again to be more ungodly than the first.

13 Now when they lived so [e] wickedly before thee, [e] thou didst choose thee a man from among them, [f] whose name was [f] Abraham.

14 Him thou lovedst, and unto him only thou shewedst thy will:

15 And madest an everlasting covenant with him, promising him that thou wouldest never forsake his seed.

16 [g] And unto him thou gavest Isaac, and [h] unto Isaac also thou gavest Jacob and Esau. As for Jacob, thou [i] didst choose him to thee, and put by Esau: and so Jacob became a great multitude.

17 And it came to pass, that when thou leddest his seed out of Egypt, [k] thou broughtest them up to the mount Sinai.

18 And bowing the heavens, thou didst set fast the earth, movedst the whole world, and madest the depths to tremble, and troubledst the men of that age.

19 And thy glory went through four gates, of fire, and of earthquake, and of wind, and of cold; that thou mightest give the law unto the seed of Jacob, ‖ and diligence unto the generation of Israel.

20 And yet tookest thou not away from them a wicked heart, that thy law might bring forth fruit in them.

21 For the first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed, and was overcome; and so be all they that are born of him.

22 Thus [l] infirmity was made permanent; and the law (also) in the heart of the people with the malignity of the root; so that the good departed away, and the evil abode still.

23 So the times passed away, and the years were brought to an end: [m] then didst thou raise thee up a servant, called David:

24 [n] Whom thou commandedst to build a city unto thy name, and to offer incense and oblations unto thee therein.

25 When this was done many years, then they that inhabited the city forsook thee,

26 And in all things did even as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also had a wicked heart:

27 And so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies.

28 Are their deeds then any better that inhabit Babylon, that they should therefore have the dominion over Sion?

[e] Gen. 12. 1.
[f] Gen. 17. 5.
[g] Gen. 21. 2, 3.
[h] Gen. 25. 25, 26.
[i] Mal. 1. 2, 3. Rom. 9. 13.
[k] Ex. 19. 1. Deut. 4. 10.
[l] Rom. 7. 8, &c.
[m] 1 Sam. 16. 13.
[n] 2 Sam. 5. 2. & 7. 5, 13.

‖ Or, *and to all the generation of Israel, that they should keep it with diligence.*

13. *Now when.*] Rather, "And it came to pass, when," &c., repeating the beginning of *v.* 12.

14. *thy will.*] Vulg. *voluntatem tuam.* The best MSS. add *secrete noctu*, while, in place of *voluntatem tuam*, Fritzsche and Van der Vlis prefer *finem temporum*, as more agreeable to the Arabic (= *das Ende der Zeit*) and Aeth.

18. *didst set fast.*] This is out of keeping with the rest of the passage, the tone of which is like that of Ps. xviii. 7–15, or lxviii. 8. Hence "thou shookest the earth" should probably be read, as if ἔσεισας had got altered to ἔστησας. Gildemeister renders the Arabic word in his translation by *concussisti.*

19. *four gates.*] For three of these Hilgenf. aptly compares the manifestation to Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 11, 12. For the fourth, we may refer to the "hail" of Exod. ix. 23, and Ps. xviii. 13. The author of the Arabic Version in the Vatican appears to have read θῆρας for θύρας in the Greek text.

diligence.] See note above on *v.* 7.

21. *and so be all.*] Lat. *sed et omnes*, which seems to favour the opinion that the words *et non solus ille* once preceded; an equivalent phrase, "and not he alone," still existing in the Arabic and the Aethiopic.

22. *and the law.*] The sense becomes much clearer if we render: "and thy law was in the heart of the people along with the evil root;" *i.e.* both implanted and growing together. The Arabic accords with this (= *mit der bösen Wurzel zusammen*).

28. *Are their deeds.*] This is preceded in the best MSS. of the Latin, and in the versions, by a clause = "And I said in my heart."

29 For when I came thither, and had seen impieties without number, then my soul saw many evildoers in this thirtieth year, so that my heart failed me.

30 For I have seen how thou sufferest them sinning, and hast spared wicked doers: and hast destroyed thy people, and hast preserved thine enemies, and hast not signified it.

‖ Or, *I conceive.*

31 ‖I do not remember how this way may be left: Are they then of Babylon better than they of Sion?

32 Or is there any other people that knoweth thee beside Israel? or what generation hath so believed thy covenants as Jacob?

33 And yet their reward appeareth not, and their labour hath no fruit: for I have gone here and there through the heathen, and I see that they ‖flow in wealth, and think not upon thy commandments.

‖ Or, *abound.*

34 Weigh thou therefore our wickedness now in the balance, and their's also that dwell in the world; and so shall thy name no where be found but in Israel.

35 Or when was it that they which dwell upon the earth have not sinned in thy sight? or what people have so kept thy commandments?

36 Thou shalt find that Israel by name hath kept thy precepts; but not the heathen.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The angel declareth the ignorance of Esdras in God's judgments,* 13 *and adviseth him not to meddle with things above his reach.* 23 *Nevertheless Esdras asketh divers questions, and receiveth answers to them.*

AND the angel that was sent unto me, whose name was Uriel, gave me an answer,

2 And said, Thy heart hath gone too far in this world, and thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the most High?

3 Then said I, Yea, my lord. And he answered me, and said, I am sent to shew thee three ways, and to set forth three similitudes before thee:

4 Whereof if thou canst declare me one, I will shew thee also the way that thou desirest to see, and I shall shew thee from whence the wicked heart cometh.

5 And I said, Tell on, my lord.

29. *thither.*] Rather, "hither."

in this thirtieth year.] Rather, "in these thirty years," as in the Arabic, "diese 30 Jahre lang."

30. *and hast not signified it.*] The obscurity of this and the following clause is removed by adopting an emendation of Van der Vlis (confirmed, as Bensly points out, p. 23, by the reading of one MS.); namely, *nihil nemini* for *nihil memini.* The sense would then be: "and hast not signified at all to any one, how this way is to be forsaken (*i.e.* how this purpose or counsel of depressing Sion is to come to an end)." The Arabic has "und doch niemanden kundthatest wie dieser Weg ein Ende habe."

34. *and so shall thy name, &c.*] It is not easy to account for the reading of the Vulgate, followed in our English Version: *et non invenietur nomen nisi in Israel.* For *nomen tuum* it is natural to conjecture *momentum* (the "turn of the scale"), and to keep up the metaphor. The Arabic gives the most intelligible sense—"to find out whether the one in the least outweigh the other." So in Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican MS.,—"et vide utra lanx deprimatur."

36. *Israel by name.*] There is no authority for "Israel" here. The Vulgate has *hos quidem per nomina.* In S. and T. there is *hos* for *homines* (possibly a contraction of the same word). With this text the meaning would be: "men by name thou shalt find to have kept," &c.; that is, "here and there a few noteworthy ones may be found to have kept the law of God, but not mankind in general."

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST VISION (ch. iv. 1—ch. v. 14).

1. *Uriel.*] This angel, the "fire of God," the angel of thunder and earthquakes (Bk. of Enoch, xx. 2), is not mentioned in the O. T. or Apocrypha excepting here and in *v.* 36; v. 20; x. 38. In Milton he is made the

> "regent of the sun, and held
> The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in heaven."
> *Par. Lost,* iii. 690.

Then said he unto me, Go thy way, weigh me the weight of the fire, or measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past.

6 Then answered I and said, What man is able to do that, that thou shouldest ask such things of me?

7 And he said unto me, If I should ask thee how great dwellings are in the midst of the sea, or how many springs are in the beginning of the deep, or how many springs are above the firmament, or which are the outgoings of paradise:

8 Peradventure thou wouldest say unto me, I never went down into the deep, nor as yet into hell, neither did I ever climb up into heaven.

9 Nevertheless now have I asked thee but only of the fire and wind, and of the day wherethrough thou hast passed, and of things from which thou canst not be separated, and yet canst thou give me no answer of them.

10 He said moreover unto me, Thine own things, and such as are grown up with thee, canst thou not know;

11 How should thy vessel then be able to comprehend the way of the Highest, and, the world being now outwardly corrupted, to understand the ‖corruption that is evident in my sight?

‖ Or, *incorruption.*

12 Then said I unto him, It were better that we were not at all, than that we should live still in wickedness, and to suffer, and not to know wherefore.

13 He answered me, and said, I went into a forest into a plain, and the [a]trees took counsel,

[a] Judg. 9. 8.

14 And said, Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may depart away before us, and that we may make us more woods.

[2] 2 Chr. 25. 18.

15 The floods of the sea also in like manner took counsel, and said, Come, let us go up and subdue the woods of the plain, that there also we may make us another country.

16 The thought of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it.

17 The thought of the floods of the sea came likewise to nought, for the sand stood up and stopped them.

18 If thou wert judge now betwixt these two, whom wouldest thou begin to justify? or whom wouldest thou condemn?

19 I answered and said, Verily it is a foolish thought that they both have devised, for ‖the ground is given

‖ Or, *the land.*

7. *springs.*] Lat. *quantæ venæ*, for which Volk. would read *quot fontes*. Comp. Job xxxviii. 16, "Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea?" For *venæ*, just after, V. der Vlis conjectures *viæ* = "how many ways there are above the firmament." This is confirmed by Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican Arabic:—"et (quot sint) viæ super cælum." Before the last clause in the verse, on the strength of the Oriental versions, Volk. and others would insert "or which are the entrances of hell." The wording of *v.* 8 seems to favour this.

8. Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 8; Rom. x. 6, 7.

9. *separated.*] That is, if man cannot explain the mysteries of the elements—fire, wind, &c.—by which he is always surrounded, and with which his life is inseparably bound up, how can he understand the mysteries of the unseen world? Comp. Wisdom, ix. 16.

11. *outwardly corrupted.*] Vulg. *et jam exterius corrupto sæculo.* The reading of A., *exterritus* (which Bensly, p. 32, shews to be for *exteritus* = *extritus*, "worn out"), clears up the sense of this obscure passage. It should be: "and, being worn out with a corrupt world, to understand," &c. For *evidentem* Volk. would read *evadentem* = "Him that escapes corruption," *i.e.* God, or "the world that escapes," &c.; the idea being: "How shall the corruptible and transitory apprehend the incorruptible and unchanging?"

12. *Then said I.*] Before these words there comes in the Oriental versions a clause = "And I fell on my face."

17. *stood up.*] *I.e.* rose as a barrier.

19. *ground.*] The marginal reading, "land," is better.

unto the wood, and the sea also hath his place to bear his ‖floods.

‖ Or, *waves.*

20 Then answered he me, and said, Thou hast given a right judgment, but why judgest thou not thyself also?

21 For like as ‖the ground is given unto the wood, and the sea to his floods: even so [b] they that dwell upon the earth may understand nothing but that which is upon the earth: and he that dwelleth above the heavens may only understand the things that are above the height of the heavens.

‖ Or, *the land.*

[b] Is. 55. 8, 9. John 3. 31. 1 Cor. 2. 14.

22 Then answered I and said, I beseech thee, O Lord, let me have understanding:

23 For it was not my mind to be curious of the high things, but of such as pass by us daily, namely, wherefore Israel is given up as a reproach to the heathen, and for what cause the people whom thou hast loved is given over unto ungodly nations, and why the law of our forefathers is brought to nought, and the written covenants come ‖to none effect,

‖ Or, *no where.*

24 And we pass away out of the world as grasshoppers, and our life is astonishment and fear, and we are not worthy to obtain mercy.

25 What will he then do unto his name whereby we are called? of these things have I asked.

26 Then answered he me, and said, The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt marvel; for the world hasteth fast to pass away,

27 And cannot comprehend the things that are promised to the righteous in time to come: for [c] this world is full of unrighteousness and infirmities.

[c] 1 John 5. 19.

28 But as concerning the things whereof thou askest me, I will tell thee; for the evil is sown, but the destruction thereof is not yet come.

29 If therefore that which is sown be not turned upside down, and if the place where the evil is sown pass not away, then cannot it come that is sown with good.

30 For the grain of evil seed hath been sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much ungodliness hath it brought up unto this time? and how much shall it yet bring forth until the ‖time of threshing come?

‖ Or, *floor.*

31 Ponder now by thyself, how great fruit of wickedness the grain of evil seed hath brought forth.

32 And when the ears shall be cut down, which are without number, how great a floor shall they fill?

33 Then I answered and said, How, and when shall these things come to pass? wherefore are our years few and evil?

34 And he answered me, saying,

20. *thyself.*] Rather, "for thyself."

23. *the high things.*] Vulg. *de superioribus tuis*, "the higher things of thine."

covenants.] Lat. *dispositiones*, "testaments." The destruction of the copies of the Law in the taking of Jerusalem is alluded to in xiv. 21.

24. *as grasshoppers.*] With the mingled idea of insignificance (Isa. xl. 22) and timidity (Job xxxix. 20), and perhaps of wandering also. For the desponding tone, comp. the Introd. § V.

26. *The more.*] The true sense appears to be: "If thou art in existence, thou wilt see; and if thou livest, thou wilt often marvel."

28. *destruction.*] Lat. *destructio*; but Bensly (p. 25) points out that A. originally read *districtio*, and S. has *destrictio*. Hence the true sense may be "the plucking up" (comp. Ezek. xvii. 9), which is more appropriate than "destruction."

29. *turned upside down.*] Vulg. *inversum*, but a better reading is *evulsum*, "torn up." Bensly, however, thinks the reading of A. to be conclusive: *si ergo non mensum* (= *messum*) *fuerit* = "be not reaped."

32. *cut down.*] Vulg. *secatæ*, but the best MSS. have *seminatæ*. Also the Oriental versions suggest the insertion of *seminis boni* after *spicæ* (*das Samenkorn des Guten* in the Arab.) = "when the ears of good seed have been sown," &c. That is, if the harvest of evil is abundant, how much more so will be that of the more prolific good?

Do not thou hasten above the most Highest: for thy haste is in vain to be above him, for thou hast much exceeded.

35 Did not the souls also of the righteous ask question of these things in their chambers, saying, How long shall I hope on this fashion? when cometh the fruit of the floor of our reward?

‖Or, *Jeremiel.*

36 And unto these things ‖Uriel the archangel gave them answer, and said, Even when the number of seeds is filled in you: for he hath weighed the world in the balance.

37 By measure hath he measured the times, and by number hath he numbered the times; and he doth not move nor stir them, until the said measure be fulfilled.

38 Then answered I and said, O Lord that bearest rule, even we all are full of impiety.

39 And for our sakes peradventure it is that the floors of the righteous are not filled, because of the sins of them that dwell upon the earth.

40 So he answered me, and said, Go thy way to a woman with child, and ask of her when she hath fulfilled her nine months, if her womb may keep the birth any longer within her.

41 Then said I, No, Lord, that can she not. And he said unto me, In the grave the chambers of souls are like the womb of a woman:

42 For like as a woman that travaileth maketh haste to escape the necessity of the travail: even so do these places haste to deliver those things that are committed unto them.

43 From the beginning, look, what thou desirest to see, it shall be shewed thee.

44 Then answered I and said, If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be meet therefore,

45 Shew me then whether there be more to come than is past, or more past than is to come.

46 What is past I know, but what is for to come I know not.

47 And he said unto me, Stand up upon the right side, and I shall expound the similitude unto thee.

48 So I stood, and saw, and, behold, an hot burning oven passed by before me: and it happened, that

34. *hast much exceeded.*] The reading here is doubtful. For *excessus* the best MSS. have *excelsus.* Hilgenfeld would make the sense to be: "for thou art concerned on thine own account, but the Highest on account of many." Comp. v. 33.

35. *souls of the righteous.*] Comp. Rev. vi. 9, 10. The word rendered "chambers" is *promptuariis*, found also in *v.* 41 below, lit. "store rooms," or garners, as in Ps. cxliv. 13, the only place where it appears to occur in the Vulgate.

the floor.] *I.e.* the threshing-floor, as in *v.* 39.

36. *Uriel.*] As Uriel is speaking, it would be strange for him to describe his own answer in the third person, as would be inferred from the English Version. Hence it should be noticed that in one MS. the name of the angel is given as Hieremihel; in another, Ieremiel, and so on. In the Latin texts he is called an archangel, and must not be identified with the angel who is speaking to Ezra. See Bensly, p. 31 *n.*

of seeds.] For *seminum in vobis* Van der Vlis conjectures *similium vobis* = "of those like you." This is supported by the reading of the Arabic: "wenn die Zahl der euch gleichenden voll seyn wird."

37. Comp. Wisdom xi. 20.

39. *the floors.*] *I.e.* that the ingathering of the righteous, as of corn from the threshing-floor, is not completed. See *v.* 32 above.

42. *to escape the necessity.*] That is, to get quickly over the inevitable pain; as in the Arabic: "der Schmerzen der Geburt sich zu entledigen."

43. *From the beginning.*] These words should rather end the previous verse: "the things that have been committed unto them from the beginning. Then shall it," &c. There is no authority for "look," the Latin being *Tunc tibi, etc.*

48. *oven.*] Comp. Ps. xxi. 9, "Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven in the time of thine anger," and Mal. iii. 1. We should now perhaps use the word "furnace."

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when the flame was gone by I looked, and, behold, the smoke remained still.

49 After this there passed by before me a watery cloud, and sent down much rain with a storm; and when the stormy rain was past, the drops remained still.

50 Then said he unto me, Consider with thyself; as the rain is more than the drops, and as the fire is greater than the smoke; but the drops and the smoke remain behind: so the ‖quantity which is past did more exceed.

‖ Or, *measure.*

51 Then I prayed, and said, May I live, thinkest thou, until that time? or ‖what shall happen in those days?

‖ Or, *who shall be?* Manuscript.

52 He answered me, and said, As for the tokens whereof thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part: but as touching thy life, I am not sent to shew thee; for I do not know it.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The signs of the times to come.* 23 *He asketh why God, choosing but one people, did cast them off.* 30 *He is taught, that God's judgments are unsearchable,* 46 *and that God doeth not all at once.*

NEVERTHELESS as concerning the tokens, behold, the days shall come, that they which dwell upon earth ‖shall be taken in a great number, and the way of truth shall be hidden, and the land shall be barren of faith.

‖ Or, *shall be found with great wealth.*

2 But [a]iniquity shall be increased above that which now thou seest, or that thou hast heard long ago.

[a] Matt. 24. 12.

3 And the land, ‖that thou seest now to have root, shalt thou see wasted suddenly.

‖ Or, *that thou treadest upon and seest.*

4 But if the most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see after the third trumpet that the sun shall suddenly shine again in the night, and the moon thrice in the day:

5 And blood shall drop out of wood, and the stone shall give his voice, and the people shall be troubled:

6 And even he shall rule, whom they look not for that dwell upon the earth, and the fowls shall take their flight away together:

50. *did more exceed.*] Rather, "hath exceeded." This clause should precede the one before it, as in the Geneva Version.

51. *or what.*] The marginal reading, "or who," is the best supported. The sense is: "or, if I am not then alive, who will be so?"

CHAPTER V.

1. *shall be taken in a great number.*] This is not very intelligible. The Vulg. has *apprehendentur in censu multo.* Volkmar, followed by Fritzsche, would read *insensu* = ἀνοίᾳ, "shall be found in great foolishness." But it is difficult to believe that any translator would use such a word as *insensus.* V. der Vlis ingeniously conjectures that the Greek word was φόβῳ, mistaken for φόρῳ, and that it is, "shall be found in great fear." The Arabic supports this.

3. *to have root.*] It is not easy to see what suggested this phrase to the English translator, the Vulg. having *et erit imposito vestigio quam nunc vides regnare,* &c. As the best MSS. vary between *incomposito* and *incompositio,* we may render: "and the land that thou now seest to bear rule, shall be disordered [lit. "with disordered step"], and they shall see it wasted." With this the Arabic agrees.

4. *after the third trumpet.*] For *tubam* of the Vulg. Hilgenf. conjectures *turbatam;* and assuming that there was an article in the Greek, which would have no equivalent in the Latin, he restores the text thus: καὶ ὄψει τὴν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην θορυβουμένην. "The land after the third" would be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, referred to below in xii. 11. But this seems far-fetched. The Arabic has a simpler reading: "thou shalt afterwards see these three signs;" *i.e.* that of the sun and moon, the blood, and the stone.

the sun.] Hilgenfeld has collected a series of parallel signs from apocryphal and other writings. In the 'Ascension of Isaiah' (iv. 5) we have: "and at his voice the sun shall rise by night, and he will cause the moon to appear at noonday." Blood trickling down from the cross was a sign added to the account of the Crucifixion in Mark xv. 33–37. The stone crying out is familiar to us from Hab. ii. 12; Luke xix. 40. For a supposed reference in Barnabæ *Ep.*, see the Introd. p. 72.

6. *he shall rule.*] Conjectured by some to refer to Octavian; by others to Herod the Great.

7 And the Sodomitish sea shall cast out fish, and make a noise in the night, which many have not known: but they shall all hear the voice thereof.

8 There shall be a confusion also in many places, and the fire shall be oft ‖sent out again, and the wild beasts shall change their places, and menstruous women shall bring forth monsters:

‖ Or, *slaked.*

9 And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall wit hide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber,

10 And shall be sought of many, and yet not be found: then shall unrighteousness and incontinency be multiplied upon earth.

11 One land also shall ask another, and say, Is righteousness that maketh a man righteous gone through thee? And it shall say, No.

12 At the same time shall men hope, but nothing obtain: they shall labour, but their ways shall not ‖prosper.

‖ Or, *be directed.*

13 To shew thee such tokens I have leave; and if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast seven days, thou shalt hear yet greater things.

14 Then I awaked, and an extreme fearfulness went through all my body, and my mind was troubled, so that it fainted.

15 So the angel that was come to talk with me held me, comforted me, and set me up upon my feet.

16 And in the second night it came to pass, that Salathiel the captain of the people came unto me, saying, Where hast thou been? and why is thy countenance so heavy?

17 Knowest thou not that Israel is committed unto thee in the land of their captivity?

18 Up then, and eat bread, and forsake us not, as the shepherd that leaveth his flock in the hands of cruel wolves.

19 Then said I unto him, Go thy ways from me, and come not nigh me. And he heard what I said, and went from me.

7. *Sodomitish sea.*] The name of Dead Sea, which we commonly employ, is not found in the Bible. The common belief that fish could not live in its waters finds expression in Ezek. xlvii. 9, and in a passage of Jerome quoted by Wordsworth (*in loc.*). The impression is not quite justified by facts.

and make a noise in the night.] By a simple change of *noctu* to *noctua* Volkmar would read "and the owl shall utter its cry." But there would be nothing portentous in that. A. de Gutschmid (quoted by Hilgenfeld) enumerates various portents, such as those here mentioned, recorded to have been observed before the Battle of Actium in B.C. 31.

8. *the fire, &c.*] Rather, "and fire shall oft break out." The word in the Latin should probably be *emittetur*, not *remittetur*. The Arabic supports this: "und dichtes Feuer wird losgelassen." Such an outbreak of fire in Rome is related in Dion Cassius to have occurred just before the Battle of Actium.

9. *wit.*] *I.e.* knowledge.

11. *that maketh.*] The sense should perhaps rather be: "has righteousness passed through thee, or one that doeth righteousness?" For the thought, comp. Amos vi. 10.

13. *seven days.*] In the 'Apocalypsis Baruchi' (ed. Fritzsche, p. 662), we find a similar passage: "vade igitur et sanctificare septem diebus, neque edas panem, neque bibas aquam, neque loquaris alicui." The resemblance in many points between that book and 2 Esdras is traced by Langen in his 'De Apocalypsi Baruch . . . Commentatio,' 1867.

SECOND VISION (ch. v. 15—ch. vi. 34).

16. *Salathiel.*] This is the spelling of the name in the Vulgate. Fritzsche reads Phaltiel. One of that name is found in 2 Sam. iii. 15 (the husband of Michal), called in 1 Sam. xxv. 44 Phalti. But as Salathiel, or Shealtiel, the father or uncle of Ezra (Ez. iii. 2; 1 Chr. iii. 19), was the head of the tribe of Judah at the return from the Captivity, there seems no reason for disturbing the name as it commonly stands.

19. *nigh me.*] After this is added in the best MSS., *usque a diebus* (al. *ad dies*) *vii. et tunc venies ad me* = "for seven days, and

20 And so I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, like as Uriel the angel commanded me.

21 And after seven days so it was, that the thoughts of my heart were very grievous unto me again,

22 And my soul recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began to talk with the most High again,

23 And said, O Lord that bearest rule, of every wood of the earth, and of all the trees thereof, thou hast chosen thee one only vine:

24 And of all lands of the whole world thou hast chosen thee one pit: and of all the flowers thereof one lily:

25 And of all the depths of the sea thou hast filled thee one river: and of all builded cities thou hast hallowed Sion unto thyself:

26 And of all the fowls that are created thou hast named thee one dove: and of all the cattle that are made thou hast provided thee one sheep:

27 And among all the multitudes of people thou hast gotten thee one people: and unto this people, whom thou lovedst, thou gavest a law that is approved of all.

28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou given this one people over unto many? and ‖ upon the one root hast thou prepared others, and why hast thou scattered thy only one people among many?

‖ Or, *over.*

29 And they which did gainsay thy promises, and believed not thy covenants, have trodden them down.

30 If thou didst so much hate thy people, yet shouldest thou punish them with thine own hands.

31 Now when I had spoken these words, the angel that came to me the night afore was sent unto me,

32 And said unto me, Hear me, and I will instruct thee; hearken to the thing that I say, and I shall tell thee more.

33 And I said, Speak on, my Lord. Then said he unto me, Thou art sore troubled in mind for Israel's sake: [b] lovest thou that people better than he that made them?

[b] ch. 8. 47.

34 And I said, No, Lord: but of

then shalt thou come unto me." The Arabic further adds, "and I will speak with thee."

24. *pit.*] Lat. *foveam.* As the reference is to the land of Palestine, some more general term is wanted. Van der Vlis thinks that ἀγρὸν may have been mistaken by the Latin translator for τάφρον. This is supported by the Vatican Arabic, according to Gildemeister's version:—"ex omnibus regionibus regionem unam." If Ewald's version of the Arabic be correct (*eine Tenne* = a threshing-floor), we might suppose that ἅλωνα rather than ἀγρὸν was the original reading.

one lily.] It is noticeable that, although the rose is so highly prized in the East, it is rarely mentioned in the Old Testament, and never in the New. In Canticles ii. 1, "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys," and in Is. xxxv. 1, "the desert shall . . . blossom as the rose," the name occurs, and in no other passage; and even there it is very doubtful what flower is meant. The "rose plant in Jericho" is mentioned in Ecclus. xxiv. 14. On the other hand, the lily (whatever flower it may have been) is often spoken of with honour, as in Matt. vi. 28. Perhaps Cant. ii. 2 and Hos. xiv. 5 would best illustrate the text.

25. *one river.*] As Sion is made the centre of interest, it would seem that we must interpret this, with Hilgenf., of the brook Kedron.

26. *dove.*] Comp. Cant. ii. 14; Ps. lxxiv. 19.

sheep.] Ps. lxxix. 13; lxxx. 1.

28. *upon the one root.*] The Vulg. has *et præparasti super unam radicem alias;* the best MSS. transpose the order to *unam rad. super alias.* If we assume, with Volkmar, that the Greek ἡτίμασας was mistaken for ἡτοίμασας, the sense will be clear: "and why hast thou dishonoured one root above others?" *i.e.* the Jewish race beyond the Gentiles. This would agree with the Arabic: "und verwarfst diese eine Wurzel mehr als die andern."

29. *And they, &c.*] Bensly (p. 26 *n.*) would restore the text thus: "and they which did gainsay thy promises have trodden down them that believed thy covenants."

33. *that people.*] Rather, "him" (Lat. *eum*); *i.e.* Israel.

very grief have I spoken: for my reins pain me every hour, while I labour to comprehend the way of the most High, and to seek out part of his judgment.

35 And he said unto me, Thou canst not. And I said, Wherefore, Lord? whereunto was I born then? or why was not my mother's womb then my grave, that I might not have seen the travail of Jacob, and the wearisome toil of the stock of Israel?

36 And he said unto me, Number me the things that are not yet come, gather me together the drops that are scattered abroad, make me the flowers green again that are withered,

37 Open me the places that are closed, and bring me forth the winds that in them are shut up, shew me the image of a voice: and then I will declare to thee the thing that thou labourest to know.

38 And I said, O Lord that bearest rule, who may know these things, but he [c]that hath not his dwelling with men? [c] Dan. 2. 11.

39 As for me, I am unwise: how may I then speak of these things whereof thou askest me?

40 Then said he unto me, Like as thou canst do none of these things that I have spoken of, even so canst thou not find out my judgment, or in the end the love that I have promised unto my people.

41 And I said, Behold, O Lord, yet art thou nigh unto them that be reserved till the end: and what shall they do that have been before me, or we that be now, or they that shall come after us?

42 And he said unto me, I will liken my judgment unto a ring; like as there is no slackness of the last, even so there is no swiftness of the first.

43 So I answered and said, Couldest thou not make those that have been made, and be now, and that are for

34. *part.*] Rather, "a part;" *i.e.* even a small portion. But it is possible that the Latin may not give the sense of the original correctly. The Arabic has "the track" (*die Spur*), which would be more expressive.

35. *why was not, &c.*] An interest attaches to the short passage from these words to the end of the verse, owing to its having been preserved in the original Greek. It is found in Clemens Alexandrinus ('Strom.' iii. 16, 100), introduced by the words Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης λέγει.

36. *the things.*] The Arabic has "the days," and Van der Vlis thinks that this was the reading in the Greek.

37. *the places.*] Rather, "the chambers," or "storehouses," the same word as was rendered "secret chamber" above, *v.* 9. If in place of "winds" we also read "spirits," or "souls" (πνεύματα = *spiritus*, not *flatus*, as in the Vulg.), the sense is clear: "Open the closed chambers (of the dead), and bring me forth the souls that are shut up in them." But it is doubtful whether πνεύματα would be used in such a sense, and Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican Arabic, "*tribus* in eis inclusas," seems to point to ΨΥΧΑϹ, "souls," as the original reading, which the translator mistook for ΦΥΛΑϹ (as if φῦλα) = "tribes."

the image of a voice.] A clause is here inserted in the Oriental versions, with some difference of position and wording = "and shew me the image of faces which thou hast not yet seen." Hence there is some probability in the conjecture of Van der Vlis, that the sentence originally ran: "and shew me the image of faces which thou hast not yet seen, and let me hear their voice."

the thing that, &c.] Rather, "the labour (or suffering) that thou askest to see."

38. *but he, &c.*] The close resemblance of this to Dan. ii. 11 should be noticed.

40. *or in the end.*] Vulg. *in fine*, but better MSS. have *in finem* = "the love to the end." Conversely "till the end" in the next verse should probably be "in the end," there being nothing to answer to "are reserved." It = "those who live in the end," or latter days.

42. *a ring.*] Or, "a crown" (*coronæ*), but still with the idea of a circle, in which there is neither beginning nor end, but where "the first shall be last and the last first." This passage is noticeable as being quoted by St. Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. x.: "Mirabiliter ait scriptura, coronæ esse similem illum judicii diem, in quo sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic non priorum velocitas."

to come, at once; that thou mightest shew thy judgment the sooner?

44 Then answered he me, and said, The creature may not haste above the maker; neither may the world hold them at once that shall be created therein.

45 And I said, As thou hast said unto thy servant, that thou, which givest life to all, hast given life at once to the creature that thou hast created, and the creature bare it: even so it might now also bear them that now be present at once.

46 And he said unto me, Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto her, If thou bringest forth children, why dost thou it not together, but one after another? pray her therefore to bring forth ten children at once.

47 And I said, She cannot: but must do it by distance of time.

48 Then said he unto me, Even so have I given the womb of the earth to those that be sown in it in their times.

49 For like as a young child may not bring forth the things that belong to the aged, even so have I disposed the world which I created.

50 And I asked, and said, Seeing thou hast now given me the way, I will *proceed to* speak before thee: for our mother, of whom thou hast told me that she is young, draweth now nigh unto age.

51 He answered me, and said, Ask a woman that beareth children, and she shall tell thee.

52 Say unto her, Wherefore are not they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but less of stature?

53 And she shall answer thee, They that be born in the strength of youth are of one fashion, and they that are born in the time of age, when the womb faileth, are otherwise.

54 Consider thou therefore also, how that ye are less of stature than those that were before you.

55 And so are they that come after you less than ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and have passed over the strength of youth.

56 Then said I, Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, shew thy servant by whom thou visitest thy creature.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *God's purpose is eternal.* 8 *The next world shall follow this immediately.* 13 *What shall fall out at the last.* 31 *He is promised more knowledge,* 38 *and reckoneth up the works of the creation,* 57 *and complaineth that they have no part in the world for whom it was made.*

AND he said unto me, In the beginning, when the ‖earth ‖Or, *circle of the earth.*

44. *that shall be, &c.*] Vulg. *creandi.* But a better reading is *creati* = "that have been created." For the sense comp. iv. 34.

45. The meaning is somewhat obscure. The general sense appears to be: "Couldest not Thou, who didst create all things at once in the beginning, cause that the world should even now receive all the generations of men that are to come upon it?" The words "as thou hast said," &c., refer most naturally to what is declared in the first chapter of Genesis. Hilgenfeld, not so probably, makes them refer to the statement in *v.* 42.

46. *If thou, &c.*] The best texts have, "If thou bringest forth ten children." The Vulg. *et si paris* was probably due to a mistaking of X. (*decem*) for & (*et*).

49. *the things, &c.*] The Vulg. has *ea quæ senum sunt;* better texts, *nec ea quæ senuit adhuc* = "nor she any longer, who has grown old." The world's time of parturition is preceded by a period of immaturity, and followed by one of exhaustion.

53. *in the strength of youth.*] Hilgenfeld quotes a number of passages in illustration of this thought of the world's growing old. One from Ambrose ('De bono Mortis,' c. x., quoted above) is directly suggested by the text: "Defecit enim multitudine generationis hoc sæculum tanquam vulva generationis, et tanquam senescens creatura robur juventutis suæ velut marcente jam virium suarum robore deposuit." Lucretius (ii. 1149 *sqq.*) had expressed the same thought before.

CHAPTER VI.

1. *In the beginning.*] As the question at the end of the preceding chapter is not directly answered, a clause is inserted in

was made, before the borders of the world stood, or ever the winds blew,

2 Before it thundered and lightened, or ever the foundations of paradise were laid,

3 Before the fair flowers were seen, or ever the moveable powers were established, before the innumerable multitude of angels were gathered together,

4 Or ever the heights of the air were lifted up, before the measures of the firmament were named, or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot,

5 And ere the present years were sought out, and or ever the inventions of them that now sin were turned, before they were sealed that have gathered faith for a treasure:

6 Then did I consider these things, and they all were made through me alone, and through none other: by me also they shall be ended, and by none other.

7 Then answered I and said, What shall be the parting asunder of the times? or when shall be the end of the first, and the beginning of it that followeth?

8 And he said unto me, From Abraham unto Isaac, when Jacob and Esau were born of him, [a] Jacob's hand held ‖ first the heel of Esau.

[a] Gen. 25. 26.

‖ Or, *from the beginning.*

9 For Esau is the end of the world, and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth.

10 The hand of man is betwixt

some of the versions for that purpose. Thus the Aethiopic (tr. by Hilgenf.) has: "Initio per filium hominis, et deinde ego ipse. Nam antequam," etc.

borders of the world.] Lat. *exitus sæculi*, "the outgoings" or "beginnings" "of the world." The Greek word was probably ἔξοδοι, found in the Septuagint version of Micah vi. 2: "whose *goings forth* have been from of old, from everlasting."

the winds blew.] The expression in the Latin is striking: *antequam spirarent* conventiones *ventorum*, "before the meetings of the winds blew," like Virgil's

"Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt," etc.

In the next verse also the diction is more florid in the Lat. than in the English.

3. *the moveable powers.*] Vulg. *motæ virtutes.* As one good MS. has *motuum*, the sense is probably "before the powers of the earthquakes were established." The Vatican Arabic supports this:—"antequam terræ motuum vires corroborarentur."

multitude.] Rather, "hosts;" Lat. *militiæ* = στρατιαί.

4. *the chimneys in Sion were hot.*] Vulg. *et antequam æstuarent camini in Sion.* But the two best MSS. have *æstimaretur camillum Sion.* Hence Bensly (p. 26 *n.*) concludes the true reading to be *scamillum ædificaretur*, or something similar in place of the latter word, = "or ever the foot-stool of Sion was set." The Arabic (according to Ewald) supports the Vulg., "ehe die Heerde in Sion glüheten;" but Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican MS. accords with Bensly's emendation:—"antequam commemoraretur quod sub pedibus Sionis est."

5. *were turned.*] Lit. "were estranged;" Lat. *abalienarentur.* The expression is obscure, but seems to mean "were diverted," and so "baffled," and made of no effect.

sealed.] Implying the final safety of the faithful, as the previous sentence implied the final confusion of the wicked. The point of time is anterior to the double scheme of retribution for the good and bad in the world that was to be.

7. *the parting asunder, &c.*] *I.e.*, the division between the old era and the new.

8. *unto Isaac.*] As MS. S. has "Abraham" in place of "Isaac," it is probable that the Greek was as Hilgenf. gives it: ἕως τῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, or τὸν τοῦ, as Volkmar. This is supported by the Arabic. The words "When Jacob," &c., should begin a fresh sentence. Abraham's seed would be the Messiah, with whom the new era was to begin, with no more interval between than separated the births of Esau and Jacob. In the allusion to the heel of Esau, Hilgenfeld thinks that he sees an indication of the writer's living in the reign of one of the Herods.

first.] The marginal reading is better.

10. *The hand of man.*] This yields no sense, though the Latin texts appear to offer no variations. For *hominis manus* Van der Vlis conjectures *homo est medius;* Hilgenf. *hominis membra.* The meaning would then be, that between the hand and the heel comes the whole body of man: one is the highest point, the other the lowest. Hence these are

the heel and the hand: other question, Esdras, ask thou not.

11 I answered then and said, O Lord that bearest rule, if I have found favour in thy sight,

12 I beseech thee, shew thy servant the end of thy tokens, whereof thou shewedst me part the last night.

13 So he answered and said unto me, Stand up upon thy feet, and hear a mighty sounding voice.

14 And it shall be as it were a great ‖motion: but the place where thou standest shall not be moved.

‖ Or, *earthquake.*

15 And therefore when it speaketh be not afraid: for the word is of the end, and the foundation of the earth is understood.

16 And why? because the speech of these things trembleth and is moved: for it knoweth that the end of these things must be changed.

17 And it happened, that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened, and, behold, there was a voice that spake, and the sound of it was like the sound of many waters.

18 And it said, Behold, the days come, that I will begin to draw nigh, and to visit them that dwell upon the earth,

19 And will begin to make inquisition of them, what they be that have hurt unjustly with their unrighteousness, and when the affliction of Sion shall be fulfilled;

20 And when the world, that shall begin to vanish away, shall be ‖finished, then will I shew these tokens: the books shall be opened before the firmament, and they shall see all together:

‖ Or, *sealed.*

21 And the children of a year old shall speak with their voices, the women with child shall bring forth untimely children of three or four months old, and they shall live, and be raised up.

22 And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty:

23 And [b]the trumpet shall give a sound, which when every man heareth, they shall be suddenly afraid.

[b] 1 Cor. 15. 52.

24 At that time shall friends fight one against another like enemies, and the earth shall stand in fear with those that dwell therein, the springs of the fountains shall stand still, and in three hours they shall not run.

the extremities, and with the heel of Esau ends the old age; with the hand of Jacob begins the new. The Vatican Arabic, in Gildemeister's rendering, gives an intelligible sense, but in the way of a paraphrase:—"atque sicut caput hominis initium corporis et primordium ejus est, et calx extrema ejus pars, nec est ubi disjungatur; eodem modo hoc ævum," etc.

14. *a great motion.*] The Vulg. has *commotio nec commovebitur, etc.* Van der Vlis ingeniously restored the true reading *commotione* from the first two words (see Bensly, p. 37 *n.*). Hence the passage will run: "And it shall be that the place whereon thou standest shall be shaken as with a shaking (or, earthquake)."

15. *is understood, &c.*] Rather, "and the foundations of the earth will understand (the voice), for the words are concerning them: they will tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end must be changed." Fritzsche and Hilgenf. agree substantially in giving the sense thus. Volkmar makes the last clause more intelligible by a conjectural insertion: "for they know that their end is at hand, and they must be changed." The English in *v.* 16 is unintelligible.

17. *many waters.*] Comp. Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2.

18. *the days come, that.*] The sense is obscured by a needless change of rendering for the same word *quando*. It should be: "the days come, when I will begin," &c. The word "when" introduces each clause till it is answered by "then" in *v.* 20. In *v.* 19 the words "what they be" should be cancelled.

20. *finished.*] Rather, "sealed up," as something now complete.

the books.] Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12.

they shall see.] Rather, "all shall see."

23. Comp. Amos iii. 6.

24. *and in three hours.*] Rather, "for three seasons," the Greek word rendered

25 Whosoever remaineth from all these that I have told thee shall escape, and see my salvation, and the end of your world.

26 And the men that are received shall see it, who have not tasted death from their birth: and the heart of the inhabitants shall be changed, and turned into another meaning.

27 For evil shall be put out, and deceit shall be quenched.

28 As for faith, it shall flourish, corruption shall be overcome, and the truth, which hath been so long without fruit, shall be declared.

29 And when he talked with me, behold, I looked by little and little upon him before whom I stood.

30 And these words said he unto me; I am come to shew thee the time of the night to come.

31 If thou wilt pray yet more, and fast seven days again, I shall tell thee greater things [f] by day than I have heard.

32 For thy voice is heard before the most High; for the Mighty hath seen thy righteous dealing, he hath seen also thy chastity, which thou hast had ever since thy youth.

33 And therefore hath he sent me to shew thee all these things, and to say unto thee, Be of good comfort, and fear not.

34 And hasten not with the times that are past, to think vain things, that thou mayest not hasten from the latter times.

35 And it came to pass after this, that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that I might fulfil the three weeks which he told me.

36 And in the eighth night was my heart vexed within me again, and I began to speak before the most High.

37 For my spirit was greatly set on fire, and my soul was in distress.

38 And I said, O Lord, thou spakest from the beginning of the creation, even the first day, and saidst thus; [c] Let heaven and earth be made; and thy word was a perfect work.

[f] See ch. 13. 52.

[c] Gen. 1. 1.

horas being probably ὥρας. See Van der Vlis, p. 12. Gildemeister renders the Vatican Arabic by "tribus annis."

25. *your.*] Rather, "my," with D., S., T.

26. *And the men, &c.*] Rather, "And they shall see the men that were taken up" (into heaven), as Enoch and Elijah. The Latin, *Et videbunt qui recepti sunt homines*, would also admit of the construction: "and the men that were taken up shall see it."

29. *I looked, &c.*] The Vulg. has *intuebar super eum ante quem stabam;* but one of the best MSS. has *intuebatur super quem stabam super eum.* Hence, following the lead of the other versions, Van der Vlis supposes *et movebatur locus* to have been the reading for *intuebatur*, = "and the place was shaken on which I stood." Hilgenfeld and Volkmar take the same view.

30. *the time of the night to come.*] Vulg. *tempus venturæ noctis.* But the text is very uncertain. The Arabic reads: "as in the past night" (*wie in der verwichenen Nacht*).

31. *by day.*] The marginal reference to xiii. 52 proves nothing, as will be seen by the explanation of that verse below. The sentence should end here, and the words "than I have heard" be omitted. The Vulg. has *quam audivi. Audita est, etc.* But the true reading (see Bensly, p. 37 *n.*) is *quoniam auditu audita est.*

34. *with the times, &c.*] The best text has *in*, not *cum.* The sense appears to be: "And be not eager to have foolish thoughts in regard to the times that are past, that thou," &c. Ezra would fain have hurried on the coming of the new era, but is bidden to bide his time. Comp. above, *v.* 44.

THIRD VISION (ch. vi. 35—ix. 25).

35. *the three weeks.*] One fast of seven days was mentioned before in v. 20, and from ix. 23 it is plain that the present one is to be the completion of the period. But, unless some omission is to be assumed, the three weeks are not accounted for. Volkmar thinks that the writer's mind was so full of the Book of Daniel, that he unconsciously adopted the expression in Dan. x. 2.

38. *was a perfect work.*] Vulg. *opus perfectum.* But a better reading is *opus perfecit* = "and thy word accomplished the work."

39 And then was the spirit, and darkness and silence were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet formed.

[d] Gen. 1. 3. 40 [d] Then commandedst thou a fair light to come forth of thy treasures, that thy work might appear.

[e] Gen. 1. 6. 41 [e] Upon the second day thou madest the spirit of the firmament, and commandedst it to part asunder, and to make a division betwixt the waters, that the one part might go up, and the other remain beneath.

[f] Gen. 1. 9. 42 [f] Upon the third day thou didst command that the waters should be gathered in the seventh part of the earth: six parts hast thou dried up, and kept them, to the intent that of these some being planted of God and tilled might serve thee.

43 For as soon as thy word went forth the work was made.

44 For immediately there was great and innumerable fruit, and many and divers pleasures for the taste, and flowers of unchangeable colour, and odours of wonderful smell: and this was done the third day.

45 [g] Upon the fourth day thou commandedst that the sun should shine, and the moon give her light, and the stars should be in order: [g] Gen. 1. 14.

46 And gavest them a charge to do [h] service unto man, that was to be made. [h] Gen. 1. 15. Deut. 4. 19.

47 Upon the fifth day thou saidst unto the seventh part, [i] where the waters were gathered, that it should bring forth living creatures, fowls and fishes: and so it came to pass. [i] Gen. 1. 20.

48 For the dumb water and without life brought forth living things at the commandment of God, that all people might praise thy wondrous works.

49 Then didst thou ordain two living creatures, the one thou calledst ‖Enoch, and the other Leviathan; ‖ *Behemoth.*

50 And didst separate the one from the other: for the seventh part, namely, where the water was

39. *And then was the spirit.*] The best reading is *et erat tunc spiritus volans* = "and then was the Spirit brooding." The Arabic comes still nearer to the language of Gen. i. 2: "und dein Geist das Wasser umschattele."

40. *a fair light.*] Rather, "the bright light."

41. *the spirit of the firmament.*] Lat. *spiritum firmamenti.* Ambrose ('De Spiritu Sancto,' ii. 7, quoted by Hilgenfeld) cites this as *spiritum cælorum.* It may seem natural to render this "breath of heaven," but more is meant by the phrase. The firmament was regarded as in some respects an animated being. See Colet's 'Letters to Radulphus,' p. 11.

42. *six parts.*] This notion of the comparative smallness of the part of the earth covered by water, is said to have encouraged Columbus in his enterprise. Volkmar refers to Humboldt, 'Kritische Untersuch. über die histor. Entwickelung . . . der neuen Welt,' i. 74, and to his 'Kosmos,' i. 305.

of God.] These words should probably be omitted, as the *a deo* of the Vulg. may be only *adeo.*

44. *there was.*] Rather, "there came forth."

innumerable.] The Latin is noticeable, as betraying by its extreme literalness a Greek original: *multitudinis immensus* = *ἄπειρος τοῦ πλήθους.*

unchangeable.] Vulg. *immutabili.* Another reading is *inimitabili.*

wonderful.] The Latin is *investigabilis*, corrected by Volkmar to *ininvestigabilis*, "past finding out" (*von einem unaufspürbaren Duft*).

45. *that the sun should, &c.*] More literally, "that there should be made the brightness of the sun, the light of the moon, and the array of the stars."

48. *For the dumb water.*] *I.e.* the water, though dumb and lifeless, brought forth living things. The epithet "dumb" applied to the water is striking, though a familiar one for the fishes which inhabit it.

49. *Enoch . . . Leviathan.*] The word Enoch, here and in *v.* 51, would appear to be a corruption of Behemoth. The hippopotamus and the crocodile are most commonly supposed to be the two creatures referred to. See Job xl. 15, and xli. 1. Their creation on the fifth day was a Rabbinical inference from Gen. i. 21; Psalm civ. 26 being perverted in the same way. The Arabic omits this passage.

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gathered together, might not hold them both.

51 Unto Enoch thou gavest one part, which was dried up the third day, that he should dwell in the same part, wherein are a thousand hills:

52 But unto Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely, the moist; and hast kept him to be devoured of whom thou wilt, and when.

[k] Gen. 1. 24. 53 [k] Upon the sixth day thou gavest commandment unto the earth, that before thee it should bring forth beasts, cattle, and creeping things:

[l] Gen. 1. 26. 54 [l] And after these, Adam also, whom thou madest lord of all thy creatures: of him come we all, and the people also whom thou hast chosen.

55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the world for our sakes.

56 As for the other people, which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto spittle: and hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel.

57 And now, O Lord, behold, these heathen, which have ever been reputed as nothing, have begun to be lords over us, and to devour us.

58 But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy firstborn, thy only begotten, and thy fervent lover, are given into their hands.

59 If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess an inheritance with the world? how long shall this endure?

CHAPTER VII.

4 *The way is narrow.* 12 *When it was made narrow.* 28 *All shall die, and rise again.* 33 *Christ shall sit in judgment.* 46 *God hath not made paradise in vain,* 62 *and is merciful.*

AND when I had made an end of speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel which had been sent unto me the nights afore:

2 And he said unto me, Up, Esdras, and hear the words that I am come to tell thee.

3 And I said, Speak on, my God. Then said he unto me, The sea is set in a wide place, that it might be deep and great.

4 But put the case the entrance were narrow, and like a river;

5 Who then could go into the sea to look upon it, and to rule it? if he went not through the narrow, how could he come into the broad?

6 There is also another thing; A city is builded, and set upon a broad field, and is full of all good things:

7 The entrance thereof is narrow, and is set in a ‖dangerous place to fall, like as if there were a fire on the right hand, and on the left a deep water:

‖ Or, *steep place.*

8 And one only path between

52. *hast kept him.*] The Latin texts have *eam*, "her." This may possibly be due to the influence of Jewish notions, such as Hilgenfeld describes, about the Leviathan; namely, that the female monster had been killed, and its flesh preserved to make part of the banquet which would be prepared to welcome the Messiah. Isa. xxvii. 1, xxv. 6, were passages quoted in support of this opinion.

54. *creatures.*] Rather, "works," *factis.*

55. *because thou madest.*] The best texts have "because thou hast said that thou madest."

56. Comp. Isa. xl. 15, "Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance;" to which is added in the LXX. "they shall be counted as spittle."

59. *an inheritance with.*] So in the Latin; but the sense should probably be: "the world as our inheritance."

CHAPTER VII.

4. *But put the case.*] This expression seems due to a wrong rendering of *positus* in the Latin: *erit autem ei introitus in angusto loco positus* = "yet it will have an entrance set in a narrow space." For *erit* Van der Vlis would read *est*. This is supported by the Arabic.

7. *in a dangerous place to fall.*] Lat. *in præcipiti*, simply meaning that the entrance is steep and narrow.

them both, even between the fire and the water, *so small* that there could but one man go there at once.

9 If this city now were given unto a man for an inheritance, if he never shall pass the danger set before it, how shall he receive this inheritance?

10 And I said, It is so, Lord. Then said he unto me, Even so also is Israel's portion.

11 Because for their sakes I made the world: and when Adam transgressed my statutes, then was decreed that now is done.

12 Then were the entrances of this world made narrow, full of sorrow and travail: they are but few and evil, full of perils, and very painful.

‖ Or, *greater.*

13 For the entrances of the ‖elder world were wide and sure, and brought immortal fruit.

14 If then they that live labour not to enter these strait and vain things, they can never receive those that are laid up for them.

15 Now therefore why disquietest thou thyself, seeing thou art but a corruptible man? and why art thou moved, whereas thou art but mortal?

16 Why hast thou not considered in thy mind this thing that is to come, rather than that which is present?

17 Then answered I and said, O Lord that bearest rule, thou hast ordained in thy [a]law, that the righteous should inherit these things, but that the ungodly should perish.

[a] Deut. 8. 1.

18 Nevertheless the righteous shall suffer strait things, and hope for wide: for they that have done wickedly have suffered the strait things, and yet shall not see the wide.

19 And he said unto me, There is no judge above God, and none that hath understanding above the Highest.

20 For there be many that perish in this life, because they despise the law of God that is set before them.

21 For God hath given strait commandment to such as came, what they should do to live, even as they came, and what they should observe to avoid punishment.

22 Nevertheless they were not obedient unto him; but spake against him, and imagined vain things;

23 And deceived themselves by their wicked deeds; and said of the most High, that he is not; and knew not his ways:

24 But his law have they despised, and denied his covenants; in his statutes have they not been faithful, and have not performed his works.

25 And therefore, Esdras, for the empty are empty things, and for the full are the full things.

9. *if he never.*] Bensly (p. 33) would read *si non hæres anteposito*, &c. = "if the heir shall not pass," &c.

12. *evil.*] Hilgenfeld thinks that the Greek word was πόνηραι, "laborious," mistaken by the translator for πονηραί, "evil." But this would make the repetition still more marked.

13. *the elder world.*] Lat. *majoris sæculi*, "the greater world:" that is, the world to come. As the tense is not marked in the Latin, we should also render: "*are* wide and sure, and *bring* immortal fruit."

14. Comp. Matt. vii. 13, 14; Acts xiv. 22.

18. *Nevertheless*, &c.] The connection seems to require: "*For* the righteous suffer . . . *but* they that have," &c. As regards the tense, ὑπομένουσι (as Volkmar points out) might easily be confused with ὑπομενοῦσι.

20. *For there be many*, &c.] The reading of the best MS. expresses this in the form of a wish: "For let many (or, the many) perish in this life, seeing that the law, &c. is despised." Volkmar would render the latter clause, "rather than that the law . . . should be despised."

21. *even as they came.*] This clause is out of place. The Latin is: *mandans enim mandavit Deus venientibus quando venerunt*, = "For God gave commandment to those who came (into the world) when they came, what they should," &c.

23. *deceived themselves.*] Lat. *et proposuerunt sibi circumventiones delictorum.* Hilgenfeld represents the Greek by παραβάσεις πλημμελημάτων. If it were certain that those were the words, we might suppose παραβάσεις to have been misread περιβάσεις, and so translated *circumventiones.*

25. Comp. Matt. xiii. 12.

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26 Behold, the time shall come, that these tokens which I have told thee shall come to pass, and the bride shall appear, and she coming forth shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth.

27 And whosoever is delivered from the foresaid evils shall see my wonders.

28 For my son Jesus shall be revealed with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice within four hundred years.

29 After these years shall my son Christ die, and all men that have life.

30 And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, like as in the ‖former judgments: so that no man shall remain.

‖ Or, *first beginning.*

31 And after seven days the world, that yet awaketh not, shall be raised up, and that shall die that is corrupt.

32 And the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and so shall the dust those that dwell in silence, and the secret places shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them.

33 And the most High shall appear upon the seat of judgment, and misery shall pass away, and the long suffering shall have an end.

34 But judgment only shall remain, truth shall stand, and faith shall wax strong:

35 And the work shall follow, and the reward shall be shewed, and the good deeds shall be of force, and wicked deeds shall bear no rule.

26. *and she coming forth shall be seen.*] Vulg. *et apparescens ostendetur.* As the best MS. has *apparescens civitas*, and the Aethiopic gives "et abscondetur civitas quæ nunc apparet, et apparebit terra quæ nunc absconditur," it seems probable that the Latin Version has become perverted by a mistake of the first part of ἡ νῦν φαινομένη for νυνφα (νύμφη). Perhaps also, as Hilgenfeld suggests, the translator had in his mind the language of Rev. xxi. 1, 2.

28. *For my son Jesus.*] The reading as it stands is an ancient one, the text being quoted, with the name Jesus included in it, by Ambrose in his Commentary on Luke i. 60: "Dominus noster Iesus nominatus est antequam natus. *Revelabitur enim*, inquit [Scriptura] *filius meus Iesus*," &c. But the absence of the name "Iesus" in the Oriental versions makes it likely that it was inserted in the Latin by a Christian transcriber. The Arabic has "Denn offenbaren wird sich mein Messias."

within four hundred, &c.] The word "within" should be omitted. Duration of time is constantly expressed by the ablative in the Latin of this book; as, for example, *diebus septem* in *v.* 30 below. So the Arabic: "400 Jahre lang." This period of 400 years would be a compensation for the 400 years in which the chosen people had been afflicted in the land of Egypt. Psalm xc. 15 is aptly quoted in reference to this: "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil."

29. *Christ.*] Or, "anointed." The word in the Arabic and Aethiopic is again Messias. The Armenian (according to Hilgenfeld) omits this passage about the death of Messias. The intense gloom of the picture here drawn should be noticed, with its recall of the *old silence* of Chaos (comp. vi. 39), before the week of the new Creation should begin.

30. *former judgments.*] The marginal reading is correct, the best MSS. having *iniciis*, not *iudiciis.*

32. *secret places.*] Lat. *promptuaria*, the "store-chambers" mentioned before. See note on iv. 35. This passage is quoted by Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. x.

33. *misery.*] The best MS. reads *misericordie* [sic], not *miseriæ*, which suits the context better: "Mercy shall pass away," in the day of judgment, just as "long-suffering shall have an end." The word rendered "shall have an end," *congregabitur*, seems to point to some Greek word expressing "shall be furled," or "taken in," as a sail. Ewald renders the Arabic by "An jenem Tage wird . . . die Langmuth sich zurückziehen" ("shall withdraw").

35. *shall be of force.*] The verbs here are *vigilabunt* and *dominabuntur*, for which latter the best MS. has *dormibunt*. The sense would thus be: "The righteous acts of men shall awake, and their unrighteous acts shall not sleep;" *i.e.* shall not be hid. All will then be brought to light. Comp. 1 Tim. v. 25.

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(*Here follows the Missing Fragment, described in the Introduction*, vv. 36*–105*.)

36* And the lake of torment shall appear, and over against it shall be the place of rest; and the furnace of hell shall be shewn, and over against it the paradise of delight.

37* And then will the most High say to the nations that are raised up, Behold and understand whom ye denied, or whom ye served not, or whose observances ye despised.

38* Behold, on the other hand, what is opposite. Here is joy and rest, and there fire and torments. Thus will he speak and say unto them in the day of judgment.

39* This day is one that hath neither sun, nor moon, nor stars,

40* Nor cloud, nor thunder, nor lightning, nor wind, nor water, nor air, nor darkness, nor evening, nor morning,

41* Nor summer, nor spring, nor heat, nor storm, nor frost, nor cold, nor hail, nor rain, nor dew,

42* Nor noon, nor night, nor dawn, nor brightness, nor light, save only the splendour of the brightness of the most High, whereby all may begin to see the things that are set before them.

43* For it shall have a duration as it were of a week of years.

44* This is my judgment, and the ordinance thereof; and to thee only have I shewed these things.

45* And I answered, I both said it then, O Lord, and say it now: Blessed are they that now live and keep the things which thou hast ordained;

46* But what also of them for whom I prayed? For who is there of men now living that hath not sinned? or who is born that hath not transgressed thy covenant?

47* And now I see that the world to come will cause delight to few, but torments to many.

48* For there hath grown within us an evil heart, which hath estranged us from these things, and hath led us into corruption and the ways of death; hath shewn us the paths of destruction, and removed us far from life: and that, not a few, but well-nigh all that have been created.

36*. *paradise of delight.*] Lat. *jocunditatis paradisus.* The expression rendered "garden of Eden" in Gen. ii. 15, and elsewhere, is in the Vulgate *paradisus voluptatis*, and in the LXX. (Cod. Vat.) *ὁ τῆς τρυφῆς παράδεισος.* In only three passages (Gen. ii. 8, 10; iv. 16) is the name Ἐδὲμ found as a proper name in the LXX. Philo interprets it as = "delight." See Bensly *ad loc.* and the art. EDEN in 'Dict. of the Bible.'

37*. *observances.*] Lat. *diligentias.* See note above on iii. 7. Bensly points out that *diligentia*, which first meant scrupulous attention to duties, came to mean a duty or observance to be itself attended to. So *indiligentia* was used to express neglect of duty, or positive transgression, *πλημμέλεια.*

38*. *Behold, &c.*] Lat. *videte contra et in contra.* The sense of this is not very clear. I take it to represent *βλέπετε αὖ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐνάντια*, rendered as in the text. But the Arabic has simply "nun sehet vor euch hier," and to the same effect Hilgenfeld.

Thus will he.] The sense seems to require the third person, as here. But the Latin has *hæc autem loqueris.*

39*–42*. This passage is imitated in Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. xii. (quoted by Hilgenfeld): "Ibimus eo, ubi paradisus est jucunditatis, ubi nullæ nubes, nulla tonitrua," &c. Comp. also 'Orac. Sibyll.' iii. 89–92, and Tennyson's description of the

> "island-valley of Avilion,
> Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly."

Bensly's insertion of a verb, *habeat*, after *solem*, is confirmed by the reading of the Complutensian MS., *quæ solem non habet.*

42*. *save only, &c.*] Comp. Rev. xxi. 23; Isa. lx. 20.

46*. *for whom I prayed.*] See *supra*, v. 28.

47*. The Latin is: *ad paucos pertinebit futuram sæculi jocunditatem facere, multis autem tormenta.* Bensly shews reason to think that the sentence ran *μελλήσει ὁ αἰὼν . . . ποιεῖν*, giving the sense as above; but that, from *μελλήσει* getting read as *μελήσει*, the form of the rest of the sentence was changed to suit it.

49* And he answered me and said, Hear me, and I will instruct thee, and will admonish thee afresh.

50* For this cause the most High hath made not one world but two.

51* And do thou, forasmuch as thou saidst that there are not many righteous, but few, whereas the ungodly do multiply, listen to this:

52* If thou hast but very few precious stones, wilt thou gather together lead and clay, to add to their number?

53* And I said, Lord, how shall that be?

54* And he said unto me, Not only so; but ask of the earth, and it will tell thee; entreat it, and it will declare unto thee;

55* Thou shalt say to it, Thou bringest forth gold, and silver, and brass, and iron also, and lead and clay;

56* But silver is multiplied beyond gold, and brass beyond silver, and iron beyond brass, lead beyond iron, and clay beyond lead.

57* Reckon thou also which are the precious things and to be desired; that which is multiplied, or that which is by nature rare.

58* And I said, O Lord that bearest rule, that which is abundant is the more worthless, but that which is rarer is the more precious.

59* And he made answer to me and said, Ponder in thy mind what thou hast thought, seeing that he that hath what is hard to get rejoiceth over him that hath abundance.

60* So also is the creation promised again by me: for I will rejoice over the few, even them that shall be saved; forasmuch as it is they that have now made my glory more prevailing, and through whom my name is now named;

61* And I will not be sorry for the multitude of them that have perished; for they have been made like unto vapour and to flame; they have been made even as smoke and have consumed away; they have been on fire and are extinct.

62* And I answered and said, O thou earth, why hast thou brought forth, if understanding is made of the dust, like the rest of created things?

63* For it had been better for the dust itself not to be born, so that understanding might not be formed from it.

64* But, as it is, understanding groweth with us, and therefore do we suffer torment, because we perish and know it.

65* Let the race of men mourn, and the beasts of the field rejoice; let all that are born mourn, but let four-footed beasts and cattle be glad.

66* For it is much better for them than for us; for they expect not a

50*. *but two.*] That is, the present world and the one to come. Comp. viii. 1.

52*. The rendering here given is from Bensly's emendation of the Latin, the latter part of which, as it stands, is out of keeping with the rest: *ad numerum eorum compones eos tibi, plumbum autem et fictile abundat.* "The comparison implies that the number of the elect cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements." The Arabic, as rendered by Ewald, is "willst du zu ihnen Blei und Thon thun?"

54*. Comp. viii. 2.

55*. *Thou shalt say.*] Bensly's emendation of *dicens* to *dices* is confirmed by the reading in MS. Complut., *dices enim ei.*

59*. *Ponder, &c.*] The Latin *In te stant pondera* is corrupt. An ingenious conjecture of Professor Hort (quoted by Bensly) is that *stant* was originally *statera*, and that *statera pondera* was meant to answer to ζυγοστάτησον, a word found in Lucian. For *in te stant*, MS. Complut. has *justa ante.*

60*. *So also.*] The Latin is *sic et amare promissa*, corrected by Bensly to *sic et a me repromissa.* But the sense seems to require the *re-* to be joined with *creatura* rather than with *promissa:* "Even so also is the new creation promised by me." Comp. *creaturam renovare, v.* 75.

61*. *are extinct.*] Comp. Ps. cxviii. 12; Isa. xliii. 17.

65*. *all that are born.*] *I.e.* of men.

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judgment, and know not of torments, nor of salvation promised to them after death.

67* But what profit is it to us, that being saved we shall be saved, if we are to be tormented with torment?

68* For all that are born are mixed up with iniquities, and are full of sins, and laden with transgressions;

69* And if, after death, we had not been coming into judgment, it would perchance have gone better with us.

70* And he answered me and said, When the most High was creating the world, even Adam and all that came with him, he first prepared the judgment and the things that belong unto judgment.

71* And now learn concerning thy words, in that thou saidst that understanding groweth with us:

72* They therefore that are sojourning on earth will be tormented on this account, in that, while having understanding, they have wrought iniquity, and while receiving commandments, have not kept them, and having obtained a law, evaded the law which they received.

73* And what will they have to say in the judgment, or how will they answer in the last times?

74* For how long a time is it that the most High hath had patience with them that dwell in the world; and that, not on account of them, but on account of the seasons which he foresaw?

75* And I answered and said, O Lord that bearest rule, if I have found favour in thy sight, shew unto thy servant whether after death, even at the very moment when we give up each one his soul, we shall be kept safe in rest, till those times come wherein thou wilt begin to renew creation, or whether we are to be tormented at once.

76* And he answered me and said, I will shew unto thee this thing also. But do not thou mingle with them that have despised, nor number thyself with them that are tormented.

77* For there is a treasure of works laid up in store for thee with the most High, but it will not be shewn thee until the last times.

78* Howbeit our discourse is of death. When therefore there hath gone forth a fixed decree from the most High that a man should die, as the soul departeth from the body that it may be restored again to him that gave it, it first doth worship the glory of the most High.

79* And if the man were of them that despised and kept not the way of the most High, and of them that set at nought his law, and of them that hated such as fear him,

80* These souls will not enter

67*. *being saved, &c.*] Lat. *salvati salvabimur*. This may mean "that the saved among us shall be saved," or it may be only an instance of the common Hebrew idiom, like *pertransiens pertransivi*, iii. 11, or *faciens faciebat*, below, *v.* 70.

68*. *are mixed up.*] Lat. *commixti sunt*, answering, as Bensly thinks, to a συμπεφυρμένοι in the Greek. The same word in Ecclus. xii. 14 is rendered "defiled," which would be a suitable rendering here. But comp. the use of *commisceri* in *v.* 76.

71*. *concerning, &c.*] Or, perhaps, "from thine own words," *de sermonibus tuis*. So in the Arabic: "Verstehe nun aus deinen eignen Worten."

77*. *a treasure.*] In this idea of a treasure, or store to draw upon, of good works, we may see the germ of the doctrine of works of supererogation. *Erogare* is to propose a vote of public money, and hence *supererogare* to vote the payment of more than enough. See Browne, 'On the Articles,' Art. xiv. § 1. Comp. also 1 Tim. vi. 19.

80*. *These souls.*] *I.e.* the souls of such men as the one before mentioned. The word for "souls" is noticeable,—*inspirationes*. In *v.* 78, where the singular number of the same

into dwelling-places, but will straightway roam to and fro in torments, in pain and sorrow evermore.

81* The first way (of suffering) lieth in that they have despised the law of the most High.

82* The second, in that they cannot make a good return, so as to live.

83* The third, in that they see the reward laid up for them that have believed the covenants of the most High.

84* The fourth, in that they will consider the torment laid up in store for them at the last.

85* The fifth way lieth in their seeing the dwelling place of others to be guarded by angels in deep repose.

86* The sixth, in their seeing how some will pass over from among them into torment.

87* The seventh way is more dreadful than all the ways aforesaid, in that they will pine away in confusion, and be consumed in terrors, and waste away in fears, as they see the glory of the most High, in whose presence they have sinned when alive, and in whose presence they will begin to be judged in the last times.

88* But of those who have kept the ways of the most High, when they shall begin to be saved from the vessel of corruption, this is the order:

89* While they sojourned in that time, they served the most High with travail, and endured peril every hour, that they might keep the law of the lawgiver perfectly.

90* Wherefore this is the word concerning them:

91* First of all, they see with great exultation the glory of him who taketh them to himself; and they will rest in seven orders.

92* The first order (of rejoicing) is in that they strove with much toil to overcome the evil imagination formed with them, that it might not lead them astray from life unto death.

93* The second, in that they see the entanglement wherein the souls of the ungodly wander, and the punishment that awaiteth them.

94* The third order is in their seeing the testimony which he that formed them hath borne unto them, that in their lifetime they have kept the law which was given them in trust.

95* The fourth is in knowing the rest they will now enjoy, gathered together in their store-chambers, and guarded by the angels in deep repose; and knowing also the glory that awaiteth them at the last.

96* The fifth is in their exulting at the way in which they have now escaped the corruptible, and the way

word is used, it might have been understood as "breath." Comp. the use of *spiramentum* in xvi. 62.

81*. *The first way.*] This beginning is less abrupt in the versions, as the previous verse ends in them with the words "in seven ways." In MS. Complut. also *v.* 80 ends with *per septem vias.*

82*. *make a good return.*] This is a literal rendering of the Latin, *reversionem bonam facere.* The meaning seems to be, "cannot return happily to life." So in the Arabic: "dass sie nicht zurückkehren können um neu zu leben."

88*. *to be saved from.*] Lat. *servari*, for which MS. Complut. has *separari*, "to be separated from;" a reading which derives some support from *v.* 100*.

91*. *seven orders.*] Answering to the seven "ways" of punishment above. Comp. *v.* 99*.

93*. *entanglement.*] Lat. *complicationem*, suggestive of the maze or labyrinth in which the evil wander. The Latin for "awaiteth them" is peculiar, *quæ in eis manet.* But Bensly shews how the use of the dative after *manere* might get mistaken for an ablative with preposition. The Arabic agrees: "das ihrer wartende Gericht."

94*. *is in their seeing, &c.*] The anacoluthon in the Latin, *tertius ordo, videntes, etc.*, makes it difficult to render the sentence clearly, without a paraphrase. MS. Complut. has a simpler construction, *videbunt* for *videntes.*

95*. *store-chambers.*] See note above on iv. 35.

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in which they will gain the future inheritance; furthermore, in seeing the strait and toilsome (way) from which they have been freed, and the broad way which they will begin to receive in enjoyment and immortality.

97* The sixth order is, when it shall be shewed unto them how their countenance will begin to shine as the sun, and how they will begin to be made like unto the light of the stars, from henceforth incorruptible.

98* The seventh order, which surpasseth all the aforesaid, is in that they will exult with confidence, and put their trust without being confounded, and rejoice without being afraid; for they hasten to see the face of him whom they serve in life, and from whom they begin to receive their reward in glory.

99* This is the order of the souls of the righteous, as it is now declared; and the aforesaid are the ways of torment, which they that have transgressed will henceforth suffer.

100* And I answered and said, Shall time therefore be given to souls, after they are separated from their bodies, to see that whereof thou hast spoken unto me?

101* And he said, For seven days will their freedom be, that they may see the things before spoken unto thee, and afterwards they will be gathered together in their dwelling places.

102* And I answered and said, If I have found favour before thine eyes, shew yet further unto me thy servant, whether in the day of judgment the righteous will be able to make intercession for the wicked, or to propitiate the most High on their behalf;

103* Be it fathers for children, or children for parents, or brothers for brothers, or relations for those nearest akin to them, or friends for their dearest ones.

104* And he answered me and said, Seeing thou hast found favour before mine eyes, I will shew thee this also. The day of judgment is the day of decision, and will shew to all men the seal of truth. For as now a father sendeth not his son, nor a son his father, nor a master his slave, nor a friend his dearest one, that he may be sick, or may sleep, or eat, or be healed, in his stead;

96*. *in enjoyment.*] Lat. *fruiscentes*, a rare participial form. The verb occurs also in Tob. iii. 9 (Bensly).

98*. *without being afraid.*] The MS. has *non revertentes*, corrected by Bensly to *non reverentes*. The parallelism seems to require the change, which is supported also by the paraphrase in Ambrose, and by a comparison with Ps. xxxiv. 4 and other passages. Otherwise the reading *revertentes* might receive some support from *v.* 82 above. As one cause of the misery of the lost was that they could not return to this life, so here the joy of the saved is not qualified by any wish to return. They look forward, and not backward. But the reasons for the change to *reverentes* greatly preponderate; and it is now found to be confirmed by the reading of MS. Complut.

102*. It was this passage, respecting the unavailing nature of intercessory prayer for the wicked after death, which drew forth from St. Jerome his denunciation of the book. "Tu vigilans dormis," he writes to Vigilantius, "et dormiens scribis; et proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tuis legitur: ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi." See the extract quoted at full by Bensly, p. 76.

104*. *And he his slave.*] These clauses are wanting in the MS., and have been supplied in Latin by Bensly with the help of the versions. How closely he has approached the original may now be seen by a comparison with MS. Complut., where the passage stands: *et respondit ad me et dixit: quum invenisti gratiam coram oculis meis, et hoc tibi demonstrabo. Dies judicii audax* [sic] *est, et omnibus signaculum veritatis demonstrans. Quemadmodum nunc non mittit pater filium, aut filius patrem, aut dominus servum, etc.*

the seal of truth.] Comp. John iii. 33. Every one will own the decision to be true and right, recognising the impress, as it were, of the Author's seal.

105* So shall no one ever make supplication for another; for all shall bear in that day, each for himself, their own unrighteousnesses or righteousnesses.

36 Then said I, [b]Abraham prayed first for the Sodomites, and [c]Moses for the fathers that sinned in the wilderness:

37 [d]And Jesus after him for Israel in the time of ‖Achan:

38 And [e]Samuel and [f]David for the destruction: and [g]Solomon for them that should come to the sanctuary:

39 And [h]Helias for those that received rain; and for the dead, that he might live:

40 And [i]Ezechias for the people in the time of Sennacherib: and many for many.

41 Even so now, seeing corruption is grown up, and wickedness increased, and the righteous have prayed for the ungodly: wherefore shall it not be so now also?

42 He answered me, and said, This present life is not the end where much glory doth abide; therefore have they prayed for the weak.

43 But the day of doom shall be the end of this time, and the beginning of the immortality for to come, wherein corruption is past,

44 Intemperance is at an end, infidelity is cut off, righteousness is grown, and truth is sprung up.

45 Then shall no man be able to save him that is destroyed, nor to oppress him that hath gotten the victory.

46 I answered then and said, This is my first and last saying, that it had been better not to have given the earth unto Adam: or else, when it was given him, to have restrained him from sinning.

47 For what profit is it for men now in this present time to live in heaviness, and after death to look for punishment?

48 O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was [k]thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.

49 For what profit is it unto us, if

[b] Gen. 18. 23.
[c] Exod. 32. 11.
[d] Josh. 7. 6, 7.
‖ Or, *Achor.*
[e] 1 Sam. 7. 9.
[f] 2 Sam. 24. 17.
[g] 2 Chron. 6. 14, &c.
[h] 1 Kings 17. 21, & 18. 42, 45.
[i] 2 Kings 19. 15.
[k] Rom. 5. 18.

105*. *all shall bear.*] Comp. Gal. vi. 5. After this, in the missing fragment, follow the connecting words: "And I answered and said, And how then do we now find, that Abraham first prayed," &c.

37. *Jesus.*] *I.e.* Joshua, as in Acts vii. 45.

38. *for the destruction.*] *I.e.* of the Philistines at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 9). But the peculiar word used in the Latin, *pro confractione*, seems to point beyond question to θραῦσις, the word used in the LXX. of 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 of the plague. Hence Volkmar would supply *in diebus Saul* after "Samuel," to limit the *pro confractione* to "David." With this would agree the Arabic: "Samuel für Saul, David für die Seuche die das Volk getroffen."

should come, &c.] Rather, "that came to the dedication" of the Temple. See the marginal references. The Latin is *qui venerunt in sanctionem*, or, in the Vulg., *sanctificationem.*

41. *Even so, &c.*] Rather, "If therefore now the righteous have prayed . . . wherefore shall it not be so then also?" That is, if intercessory prayer has been heard and answered in this life, why may it not be so at the last judgment also?

42. The text of this verse is plainly defective. As Fritzsche restores it, the sense would be: "The present life is not the end; glory abideth not in it continually: on this account have the strong prayed for the weak." The Vatican Arabic, in Gildemeister's version, gives a similar sense: "And he said unto me, The world, for such is the nature of it, abideth not; therefore did the strong pray concerning the weak, seeing that after a few days they were departing from this world."

45. *to save, &c.*] The clause *salvare eum qui periit* is, according to Bensly (pp. 22, 30 *n.*) absent from both A. and S., and is an insertion of later transcribers. Something of the kind is required for the completion of the sentence. The metaphor is probably from the language of the law courts: "to save the one who has lost his case, or to crush the one who has gained it." The judge's decision must be left undisturbed.

48. *but we all.*] More literally, "the fall

there be promised us an immortal time, whereas we have done the works that bring death?

50 And that there is promised us an everlasting hope, whereas ourselves being most wicked are made vain?

51 And that there are laid up for us dwellings of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly?

52 And that the glory of the most High is kept to defend them which have led ‖a wary life, whereas we have walked in the most wicked ways of all?

‖ Or, *a chaste life.*

53 And that there should be shewed a paradise, whose fruit endureth for ever, wherein is ‖security and medicine, since we shall not enter into it?

‖ Or, *fulness.*

54 (For we have walked in unpleasant places.)

55 And that the faces of them which have used abstinence shall shine above the stars, whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness?

56 For while we lived and committed iniquity, we considered not that we should begin to suffer for it after death.

57 Then answered he me, and said, This is the ‖condition of the battle, which man that is born upon the earth shall fight;

‖ Or, *intent.*

58 That, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he get the victory, he shall receive the thing that I say.

59 For this is the life whereof Moses spake unto the people while he lived, saying, [l]Choose thee life, that thou mayest live.

[l] Deut. 30. 19.

60 Nevertheless they believed not him, nor yet the prophets after him, no nor me which have spoken unto them,

61 That there should not be such heaviness in their destruction, as shall be joy over them that are persuaded to salvation.

62 I answered then, and said, I know, Lord, that the most High is called merciful, in that he hath mercy upon them which are not yet come into the world,

63 And upon those also that turn to his law;

64 And that [m]he is patient, and long suffereth those that have sinned, as his creatures;

[m] Rom. 2. 4.

65 And that he is bountiful, for he is ready to give where it needeth;

66 And that he is of great mercy, for he multiplieth more and more mercies to them that are present, and that are past, and also to them which are to come.

67 For if he shall not multiply his mercies, the world would not continue with them that inherit therein.

was not thine alone, but of us all who are come from thee."

52. *is kept to defend.*] Vulg. *reposita est . . . protegere.* But a better reading is *incipiet*, the *reposita* being a repetition of the word in the previous verse. *Incipiet* = μέλλει, little more than "*will* protect us."

wary.] Vulg. *tarde.* A better-supported reading is *caste*, "chastely," as in the margin.

53. *security and medicine.*] The marginal reading "fulness" is due to a variant *saturitas*, for *securitas.* The expression "medicine," or "healing" (as it would have been better rendered), may point to Rev. xxii. 2: "The leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

54. *unpleasant.*] Lat. *ingratis*, the Greek being probably ἀχαρίστοις, which Van der Vlis would interpret "without the grace of God." Churton quotes Wisdom v. 7 in illustration.

57. *condition.*] The marginal reading is nearer the Latin *cogitamentum* = "the thought," or "conception;" Arabic, *der Sinn.*

59. *this is the life.*] Rather, "this is the way;" *via*, not *vita*, being the reading of the best MSS.

62. *in that he hath mercy.*] Churton explains this, "in not permitting them to be born," comparing Eccles. iv. 3: "Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not yet been." Volkmar thinks the Latin *misereatur* an error for *miserebatur*, implying the mercifulness of the Lord from eternity, before man came into the world.

67. *continue.*] The word is the same in the Latin as that rendered "remain living" in

n Ps. 130. 3.

68 And he pardoneth; n for if he did not do so of his goodness, that they which have committed iniquities might be eased of them, the ten thousandth part of men should not remain living.

69 And being judge, if he should not forgive them that are ‖cured with his word, and put out the multitude of ‖contentions,

‖ Or, *created.*

‖ Or, *contempts.*

70 There should be very few left peradventure in an innumerable multitude.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Many created, but few saved.* 6 *He asketh why God destroyeth his own work,* 26 *and prayeth God to look upon the people which only serve him.* 41 *God answereth, that all seed cometh not to good,* 52 *and that glory is prepared for him and such like.*

AND he answered me, saying, The most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few.

2 I will tell thee a similitude, Esdras; As when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto thee, that it giveth much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, but little dust that gold cometh of: even so is the course of this present world.

3 a There be many created, but few shall be saved.

a Matt. 20. 16.

4 So answered I and said, Swallow then down, O my soul, understanding, and devour wisdom.

5 For thou hast agreed to give ear, and art willing to prophesy: for thou hast no longer space than only to live.

6 O Lord, if thou suffer not thy servant, that we may pray before thee, and ‖thou give us seed unto our heart, and culture to our understanding, that there may come fruit of it; how shall each man live that is corrupt, who beareth the place of a man?

‖ Or, *to give us.*

7 For thou art alone, and we all one workmanship of thine hands, like as thou hast said.

8 For ‖when the body is fashioned now in the mother's womb, and thou givest it members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water, and nine months doth thy workmanship endure thy creature which is created in her.

‖ Or, *how is the body fashioned.*

9 But that which keepeth and is

v. 68, *vivificabitur.* Perhaps "be kept alive" would suffice in both places.

69. *cured.*] Rather, "created by his word;" Lat. *creati*, instead of *curati;* and for "put out the multitude of contentions," read "blot out the multitude of transgressions," or "disobediences." The reading *contemptionum*, found in the best MSS., would be easily altered to *contentionum*. Comp. 1 Kings viii. 50.

CHAPTER VIII.

2. *mould.*] A word seemingly chosen to avoid the repetition of "earth." In the Latin, after *terram*, an equally unsuitable word (*humum*) is used, for the same reason. Perhaps "clay" would have been most appropriate.

4. *Swallow down.*] Rather, "drink in."

5. *For thou hast agreed.*] The reading of this verse is much disputed. Fritzsche gives, from the Syriac, *venis enim sine voluntate tua, et abis cum non vis:* "for thou comest without any will of thine own, and departest when thou dost not wish." The Arabic partly agrees with this: "denn das Ohr kam um zu hören, und wird dahingehen wann es nicht will." Hilgenfeld conjectures that ἄκουσα of the Greek was taken by the Latin translator as ἀκούουσα.

for thou hast, &c.] Rather, "for neither hath any space been granted thee, save only a short one, to live." The best reading is *nisi solum modicum.* See Bensly, p. 33.

6. *O Lord, &c.*] The text is very uncertain. For the *si non* of the Vulg. the reading should probably be *super nos, si*, expressing a wish or prayer, thus: "O Lord above! would that thou wouldest give thy servant leave that we may pray before thee, and give us, &c. . . . that there may come fruit of it, whence every corruptible one may live, that beareth the form of man." This prelude is to introduce the question based on *vv.* 8–13, and coming (though disguised in the English Version) at the end of *v.* 14. Why is man brought into being with such long-continued pains and care, if his end is only to be destroyed after all?

8. *in fire and water.*] That is, through every danger. Comp. Ps. lxvi. 12.

thy workmanship.] Lat. *tua plasmatio*, i.e.

kept shall both be preserved: and when the time cometh, the womb preserved delivereth up the things that grew in it.

10 For thou hast commanded out of the parts of the body, that is to say, out of the breasts, milk to be given, which is the fruit of the breasts,

11 That the thing which is fashioned may be nourished for a time, till thou disposest it to thy mercy.

12 Thou broughtest it up with thy righteousness, and nurturedst it in thy law, and reformedst it with thy judgment.

13 And thou shalt mortify it as thy creature, and quicken it as thy work.

14 If therefore thou shalt destroy him which with so great [b]labour was fashioned, it is an easy thing to be ordained by thy commandment, that the thing which was made might be preserved.

[b] Job 10. 8. Ps. 139. 14, &c.

15 Now therefore, Lord, I will speak; touching man in general, thou knowest best; but touching thy people, for whose sake I am sorry;

16 And for thine inheritance, for whose cause I mourn; and for Israel, for whom I am heavy; and for Jacob, for whose sake I am troubled;

17 Therefore will I begin to pray before thee for myself and for them: for I see the falls of us that dwell in the land.

18 But I have heard the swiftness of the judge which is to come.

19 Therefore hear my voice, and understand my words, and I shall speak before thee. This is the beginning of the words of Esdras, before he was taken up: and I said,

20 O Lord, thou that dwellest in everlastingness, which beholdest from above things in the heaven and in the air;

21 Whose throne is inestimable; whose glory may not be compre-

the womb. An evident trace of a Greek original is found in the case of *tuæ creaturæ* after *patitur* = ἀνέχεται. See Bensly, p. 26.

10. *that is to say, &c.*] This clause is probably a gloss on the one before it, "out of the members." In the English Version the Latin *præbere* is rendered as if *præberi*, and Volkmar makes the same correction. But as the MSS. agree in *præbere*, I would suggest that the original word may have been παρεκρεῖν (found in Dioscorides), "to flow out at the sides," which would easily be confused with παρέχειν, *præbere*. The Arabic agrees with this view: "so lässest du . . . Milch der Brüste fliessen." So in Gildemeister's rendering of the Vatican Arabic: "ex eius mammis lac *stillat*."

11. *till thou disposest.*] The best MSS. read *dispones*. Volkmar conjectures *disponens* = "and, adapting it to thy mercy, didst rear it up," &c. "Disposest" should be "dispose."

13. The sense is obscure, but it is difficult to say what change in the text should be made. The argument requires something like: "Wilt thou put to death thy creature, whom thou broughtest to life as thine own work?" For "mortify" comp. Col. iii. 5.

14. *it is an easy thing.*] As was said above (*v.* 6), in the Oriental versions this ends in the form of a question: "wherefore then createdst thou him?" So the Arabic: "warum liessest du ihn werden?"

18. *But I have heard, &c.*] This should be more closely connected with the preceding words: "for I see . . . and have heard."

19. *This is the beginning, &c.*] This introduction to the Prayer of Esdras is thought to have been a marginal note, added in some early copy. It occurs, varied in terms, in most of the Oriental versions, and is itself a testimony to the celebrity of the Prayer.

THE PRAYER OF ESDRAS (*vv.* 20–36).

20. *everlastingness.*] Rather, "for ever;" Lat. *habitas in sæculum* (see Bensly, p. 34). This Prayer of Esdras is found in MSS. of the Bible older than any of the Book of Esdras itself now known to exist. In some copies it is introduced by the words: *Initium verborum Esdræ priusquam assumeretur.*

beholdest from above.] It is not easy to say what text the English Version here follows, as the Latin has *cujus oculi elati* (*al. elevati*) *in superna, etc.;* and so the Arabic. Tertullian, 'de præscr. Hæret.' c. iii., has a similar expression: "sed oculi, inquit, sunt alti."

21. *inestimable.*] Lat. *inæstimabilis*, perhaps representing ἀνείκαστος, "unimaginable." The phrase "may not be comprehended" is

hended; before whom the hosts of angels stand with trembling,

[c] Ps. 104. 4. Heb. 1. 7. 22 [c] Whose service is conversant in wind and fire; whose word is true, and sayings constant; whose commandment is strong, and ordinance fearful;

23 Whose look drieth up the depths, and indignation maketh the mountains to melt away; which the truth witnesseth:

24 O hear the prayer of thy servant, and give ear to the petition of thy creature.

25 For while I live I will speak, and so long as I have understanding I will answer.

26 O look not upon the sins of thy people; but on them which serve thee in truth.

27 Regard not the wicked inventions of the heathen, but the desire of those that keep thy testimonies in afflictions.

28 Think not upon those that have walked feignedly before thee: but remember them, which according to thy will have known thy fear.

29 Let it not be thy will to destroy them which have lived like beasts; but to look upon them that have clearly taught thy law.

30 Take thou no indignation at them which are deemed worse than beasts; but love them that alway put their trust in thy righteousness and glory.

31 For we and our fathers ‖ do languish of such diseases: but because of us sinners thou shalt be called merciful. ‖ Or, *are sick.*

32 For if thou ‖ hast a desire to have mercy upon us, thou shalt be called merciful, to us namely, that have no works of righteousness. ‖ Or, *be willing.*

33 For the just, which have many good works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive reward.

34 For what is man, that thou shouldest take displeasure at him? or what is a corruptible generation, that thou shouldest be so bitter toward it?

[d] 35 [d] For in truth there is no man among them that be born, but he hath dealt wickedly; and among the faithful there is none which hath not done amiss. [d] 1 Kin. 8. 46. 2 Chr. 6. 36.

36 For in this, O Lord, thy righteousness and thy goodness shall be declared, if thou be merciful unto them which have not the ‖ confidence of good works. ‖ Or, *substance.*

37 Then answered he me, and said, Some things hast thou spoken aright, and according unto thy words it shall be.

38 For indeed I will not think on

the "incomprehensible" of the Athanasian Creed.

22. *Whose service.*] The division into verses somewhat obscures the sense. The word "whose" here refers to the angels; the same word in *vv.* 21 and 23, to God. For the expression compare Ps. civ. 4.

23. This verse is preserved in the 'Apostolical Constitutions' (viii. 7) in the original Greek. The last clause as there given, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, does not quite agree with the Latin, *et veritas testificatur.*

27. *the wicked, &c.*] For *impia gentium studia* the true reading is probably *impie agentium, etc.*, as in iii. 30. For "keep" read "have kept."

28. *according to thy will.*] Rather, "that have willingly acknowledged."

29. *that have clearly taught.*] The word rendered "clearly," namely *splendide*, points to λαμπρῶς as its original, used as in Aesch. 'Prom.' 833, or as *splendida* is in Hor. 'Carm.' iv. 7. 21.

31. *do languish of such diseases.*] Vulg. *talibus morbis languemus.* The readings here vary greatly. Fritzsche and Volkmar agree in preferring *talibus moribus egimus*, "have acted in such wise."

33. Hilgenfeld quotes an apposite passage from the 'Apocal. Baruchi,' xiv. 12: "Justi enim bene sperant finem, et sine timore ab hoc domicilio proficiscuntur, quia habent apud te vim operum custoditam in thesauris."

34. *generation.*] Rather, "race," *i.e.* of men.

36. *the confidence.*] Lat. *substantiam*, probably representing ὑπόστασιν, and denoting the basis on which the hope of mercy was to be grounded. Comp. *v.* 33.

38. *For indeed, &c.*] The sense of this verse is lost in the English Version. Instead

the disposition of them which have sinned before death, before judgment, before destruction:

[e] Gen. 4. 4. 39 But [e] I will rejoice over the disposition of the righteous, and I will remember also their pilgrimage, and the salvation, and the reward, that they shall have.

40 Like as I have spoken now, so shall it come to pass.

41 For as the husbandman soweth much seed upon the ground, and planteth many trees, and yet the thing that is sown good in his season cometh not up, neither doth all that is planted take root: even so is it of them that are sown in the world; they shall not all be saved.

42 I answered then and said, If I have found grace, let me speak.

43 Like as the husbandman's seed perisheth, if it come not up, and receive not thy rain in due season; or if there come too much rain, and corrupt it:

44 Even so perisheth man also, which is formed with thy hands, and is called thine own image, because thou art like unto him, for whose sake thou hast made all things, and likened him unto the husbandman's seed.

45 Be not wroth with us, but spare thy people, and have mercy upon thine own inheritance: for thou art merciful unto thy creature.

46 Then answered he me, and said, Things present are for the present, and things to come for such as be to come.

47 For [f] thou comest far short that thou shouldest be able to love my creature more than I: but I have ofttimes drawn nigh unto thee, and unto it, but never to the unrighteous. [f] ch. 5. 33.

48 In this also thou art marvellous before the most High:

49 In that thou hast humbled thyself, as it becometh thee, and hast not judged thyself worthy to be much glorified among the righteous.

50 For many great miseries shall be done to them that in the latter time shall dwell in the world, because they have walked in great pride.

51 But understand thou for thyself, and seek out the glory for such as be like thee.

52 For unto you is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted, the time to come is prepared, plenteousness is made ready, a city is builded, and rest is allowed, yea, perfect goodness and wisdom.

of *non vere* the best MSS. have *vere non;* and instead of *ante, aut* in all three places. Render: "For in truth I will not heed either the creation, or the death, or the judgment, or the destruction, of them that have sinned; but," &c. The word rendered "disposition" in this and the next verse is *plasma* in the one case, and *figmentum* in the other; both expressing the forming or creation of man at the first.

41. Canon Eddrup compares Butler's 'Analogy,' i. § 5.

43. *and receive not.*] The best reading in the Latin is *non enim accepit;* this being inserted parenthetically as a reason for the grain not having come up.

44. This verse should perhaps be read interrogatively: "Doth man also perish in like manner?" &c. For "is called thine own image" the Latin is *et tu ei imago nominatus,* "and thou wast called the image (or pattern) for him." It would seem as if the English translator had read *tui* for *tu ei.*

47. *but I have.*] The best MSS. read *tu autem,* &c., "Thou hast ofttimes made thyself one with the unrighteous, though never unrighteous thyself." Ezra had identified himself with his sinful fellow-countrymen. Such appears to be the sense; but the text is very uncertain.

48. *marvellous.*] Rather, "admirable."

49. *worthy.*] The Latin is, "and hast not judged (reckoned) thyself among the righteous, so as to be much glorified;" or, "so as to boast the more." With this latter the Arabic agrees: "und dich nicht den Gerechten gleichschäzest, um dich destomehr zu rühmen."

51. *seek out the glory.*] That is, "enquire into the glorious destiny of," &c. Comp. ix. 13.

52. *rest is allowed.*] Lat. *probata.* But the Oriental versions point to *prostrata* as probably the true reading, a forcible conden-

53 The root of evil is sealed up from you, weakness and the moth is hid from you, and corruption is fled into ‖ hell to be forgotten:

‖ Or, *the grave.*

54 Sorrows are passed, and in the end is shewed the treasure of immortality.

55 And therefore ask thou no more questions concerning the multitude of them that perish.

56 For when they had taken liberty, they despised the most High, thought scorn of his law, and forsook his ways.

57 Moreover they have trodden down his righteous,

58 And [f] said in their heart, that there is no God; yea, and that knowing they must die.

[f] Ps. 14. 1. & 53. 1.

59 For as the things aforesaid shall receive you, so thirst and pain are prepared for them: for it was not his will that men should come to nought:

60 But they which be created have defiled the name of him that made them, and were unthankful unto him which prepared life for them.

61 And therefore is my judgment now at hand.

62 These things have I not shewed unto all men, but unto thee, and a few like thee. Then answered I and said,

63 Behold, O Lord, now hast thou shewed me the multitude of the wonders, which thou wilt begin to do in the last times: but at what time, thou hast not shewed me.

CHAPTER IX.

7 *Who shall be saved, and who not.* 19 *All the world is now corrupted: 22 yet God doth save a few.* 33 *He complaineth that those perish which keep God's law:* 38 *and seeth a woman lamenting in a field.*

HE answered me then, and said, Measure thou the time diligently in itself: and when thou seest part of the signs past, which I have told thee before,

2 Then shalt thou understand, that it is the very same time, wherein the Highest will begin to visit the world which he made.

3 Therefore when there shall be seen [a] earthquakes and uproars of the people in the world:

[a] Matt. 24. 7.

4 Then shalt thou well understand, that the most High spake of those things from the days that were before thee, even from the beginning.

5 For like as all that is made in the world hath a beginning and an end, and the end is manifest:

6 Even so the times also of the Highest have plain beginnings in wonders and powerful works, and endings in effects and signs.

sation of language for "a couch is spread whereon to rest." In the Arab., "die Ruhe (ist) gedeckt."

53. *is sealed up.*] *I.e.* securely closed up, to trouble you no more. But it is difficult to believe that this was the original reading. The Arab. has *ausgerottet*, "rooted out," which agrees with the Aethiopic, and is much simpler. The rest of the verse is in uncertainty, on account of the fluctuations in the Latin text. For *et tinea*, "and the moth," which comes in very abruptly, MS. A. has *extincta* (see Bensly, p. 29) = "weakness is done away with." The words *in oblivionem*, with which the verse ends, should be connected with what follows: "sorrows are passed into oblivion."

57. *his righteous.*] Rather, "his righteous ones."

CHAPTER IX.

1. *in itself.*] For *semetipso* the best MSS. read *temetipso*, "in thyself;" that is, in thine own mind.

3. *earthquakes.*] The natural reference to Matt. xxiv. 7 may have suggested this rendering of *motio locorum*. But σεισμὸς or σεισμοὶ τῆς γῆς would not have been rendered by *motio locorum*, and it should rather be rendered "unsettlement (or disturbance) of regions." In the best MSS. the verse is extended by: "desires of nations" (Lat. *cogitationes*, i.e. "ambitious schemes"), "defections of leaders," "disturbance of princes." Hilgenfeld compares 'Orac. Sibyll.' iii. 635 *sqq.*

6. *have.*] This word should probably be omitted, and the sentence arranged: "Even

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7 And every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape by his works, and by faith, whereby ye have believed,

8 Shall be preserved from the said perils, and shall see my salvation in my land, and within my borders: for I have sanctified them for me from the beginning.

‖ Or, *they shall marvel.*

9 Then ‖shall they be in pitiful case, which now have abused my ways: and they that have cast them away despitefully shall dwell in torments.

10 For such as in their life have received benefits, and have not known me;

11 And they that have lothed my law, while they had yet liberty, and, when as yet place of repentance was open unto them, understood not, but despised it;

12 The same must know it after death by pain.

13 And therefore be thou not curious how the ungodly shall be punished, and when: but enquire how the righteous shall be saved, whose the world is, and for whom the world is created.

14 Then answered I and said,

15 I have said before, and now do speak, and will speak it also hereafter, that there be many more of them which perish, than of them which shall be saved:

16 Like as a wave is greater than a drop.

17 And he answered me, saying, Like as the field is, so is also the seed; as the flowers be, such are the colours also; such as the workman is, such also is the work; and as the husbandman is himself, so is his husbandry also: for it was the time of the world.

‖ *And now because the time of the world was come, when I was preparing the world, &c.*

18 ‖And now when I prepared the world, which was not yet made, even for them to dwell in that now live, no man spake against me.

‖ *but when the world was made, both now and then the manners of every one created were corrupted by a never-failing harvest, and a law unsearchable.*

19 For then every one obeyed: ‖but now the manners of them which are created in this world that is made are corrupted by a perpetual seed, and by a law which is unsearchable rid themselves.

so the times of the Highest: their beginnings are plain," &c. But Van der Vlis thinks that "signs" should be attached to the beginning, and "wonders" to the end.

7. *by his works.*] Comp. viii. 33.

9. The marginal reading is the best; Lat. *mirabuntur*, not *miserebuntur*.

abused.] As the Latin has the accusative, *vias meas*, after *abusi*, it is possible that the Greek was really παρέβησαν, "transgressed," not παρέχρησαν. The Arabic is rendered *abirrten*, "strayed from."

11. *place.*] Used like "room," without the article. Comp. Heb. xii. 17.

13. *is created.*] The Latin is, *et quorum sæculum, et propter quos sæculum, et quando.* Volkmar would remove the first *et*, and connect the words thus: "but enquire how the righteous (whose the world is, and for whom the world is) will be saved, and when;" so as to make the antithesis between the "how" and the "when."

15. *said . . . speak.*] These words would be better transposed: "I have spoken before, and do say it now, and will say it also," &c.

16. *is greater.*] Lat. *multiplicatur super*, the verb being intransitive, like πλεονάζει. See Bensly, p. 27.

17. *husbandry.*] The English reads so well, that it seems a pity to alter it. But, for *cultura*, one good MS. has *atria*, whence Volkmar conjectured *area:* "as is the husbandman, so also is his threshing-floor."

for it was, &c.] These words should begin the next sentence. The text of the ensuing passage is in a very unsettled condition. It would be impossible here to discuss the many various readings; but the following is a rendering of Fritzsche's text, corrected and supplemented by Bensly (pp. 29, 30):—"For there was a time of the world, even then when I was preparing it for them that now are, before the world was made for them to dwell in; and none gainsaid me, for at that time there was no man; but now that they have been created in this universe made ready for them, with both an unfailing table and an unsearchable law, their manners have become corrupt. And I considered my world, and behold! it was ruined; and my earth, and behold! there was peril," &c.

20 So I considered the world, and, behold, there was peril because of the devices that were come into it.

21 And I saw, and spared it greatly, and have kept me a ‖grape of the cluster, and a plant of a great people.

22 Let the multitude perish then, which was born in vain; and let my ‖grape be kept, and my plant; for with great labour have I made it perfect.

23 Nevertheless, if thou wilt cease yet seven days more, (but thou shalt not fast in them,

24 But go into a field of flowers, where no house is builded, and eat only the flowers of the field; taste no flesh, drink no wine, but eat flowers only;)

25 And pray unto the Highest continually, then will I come and talk with thee.

26 So I went my way into the field which is called Ardath, like as he commanded me; and there I sat among the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field, and the meat of the same satisfied me.

27 After seven days I sat upon the grass, and my heart was vexed within me, like as before:

28 And I opened my mouth, and began to talk before the most High, and said,

29 O Lord, thou that shewest thyself unto us, thou wast [b]shewed unto our fathers in the wilderness, in a place where no man ‖treadeth, in a barren place, when they came out of Egypt.

30 And thou spakest, saying, Hear me, O Israel; and mark my words, thou seed of Jacob.

31 For, behold, I sow my law in you, and it shall bring fruit in you, and ye shall be honoured in it for ever.

32 But our fathers, which received the law, kept it not, and observed not thy ordinances: and though the fruit of thy law did not perish, neither could it, for it was thine;

33 Yet they that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was sown in them.

34 And, lo, it is a custom, when the ground hath received seed, or the sea a ship, or any vessel meat or drink, that, that being perished wherein it was sown or cast into,

35 That thing also which was sown, or cast therein, or received, doth perish, and remaineth not with

‖ Or, *grain.*

‖ Or, *grain.*

[b] Ex. 19. 9. & 24. 10. Deut. 4. 12.

‖ Or, *cometh.*

21. *greatly.*] Lat. *valde;* but Bensly restores *vix valde* from MS. A., which suits the sense better, and agrees with the versions. The original may have been πάνυ μόγις, "with great difficulty."

grape.] This is the right reading; not "grain," as in the margin. The word rendered "grape" (*acinum*) occurs in the Vulg. of Numb. vi. 4.

people.] Rather, "forest;" the Lat. *tribu,* rendered "people," being plainly due to a mistake of ὑλῆς for φυλῆς.

23. *not fast.*] Comp. vi. 35.

FOURTH VISION (ch. ix. 26—x. 60).

26. *Ardath.*] The spelling of this word varies greatly in the MSS. In the Syriac and Aethiopic versions it is Arphad, which comes near the Phœnician Arvad ("Place of Fugitives"), Ezek. xxvii. 8, but has probably no connection with it. The form Arphad is found in the A. V. of Isa. xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13, where the place meant is a district of Syria. In Jer. xlix. 23 it is given as Arpad.

29. *thou that shewest.*] The Lat. *ostendens ostensus es* is plainly an equivalent for the common Hebrew idiom, found in the LXX. and N. T. Render: "Thou wast manifested in our midst to our forefathers," &c.

where no man treadeth.] The marginal reading, "where no man cometh," sounds like the original of Tennyson's

> "a waste land, where no one comes
> Or hath come, since the making of the world;"

but the Latin is simply *in deserto quod non calcatur et infructuoso,* "in a barren and untrodden desert."

34. *that, that being perished, &c.*] The sense is lost in the English Version. If a ship founders, it is not the sea which perishes, but the ship. Render: "when it has come to pass that what was sown, or sent, or

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us: but with us it hath not happened so.

36 For we that have received the law perish by sin, and our heart also which received it.

37 Notwithstanding the law perisheth not, but remaineth in his force.

38 And when I spake these things in my heart, I looked back with mine eyes, and upon the right side I saw
c ch. 10. 44. c a woman, and, behold, she mourned and wept with a loud voice, and was much grieved in heart, and her clothes were rent, and she had ashes upon her head.

39 Then let I my thoughts go that I was in, and turned me unto her,

40 And said unto her, Wherefore weepest thou? why art thou so grieved in thy mind?

41 And she said unto me, Sir, let me alone, that I may bewail myself, and add unto my sorrow, for I am sore vexed in my mind, and brought very low.

42 And I said unto her, What aileth thee? tell me.

43 She said unto me, I thy servant have been barren, and had no child, though I had an husband thirty years.

44 And those thirty years I did nothing else day and night, and every hour, but make my prayer to the Highest.

45 After thirty years God heard me thine handmaid, looked upon my misery, considered my trouble, and gave me a son: and I was very glad of him, so was my husband also, and all my neighbours: and we gave great honour unto the Almighty.

46 And I nourished him with great travail.

47 So when he grew up, and came to the time that he should have a wife, I made a feast.

CHAPTER X.

1 *He comforteth the woman in the field.* 27 *She vanisheth away, and a city appeareth in her place.* 40 *The angel declareth these visions in the field.*

AND it so came to pass, that when my son was entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down, and died.

2 Then we all overthrew the lights, and all my ‖ neighbours rose up to comfort me: so I took my rest unto the second day at night. ‖ Or, *countrymen*, Lat. *citizens.*

3 And it came to pass, when they had all left off to comfort me, to the end I might be quiet; then rose I up by night, and fled, and came hither into this field, as thou seest.

4 And I do now purpose not to return into the city, but here to stay, and neither to eat nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast until I die.

5 Then left I the ‖ meditations ‖ Or, *speeches.*

received, is destroyed, yet the receptacles of them remain." That is to say, if the seed perishes which has been sown in the ground, or a ship founders which has been committed to the sea, or food is wasted which has been put into a vessel,—though the thing received is in each case lost, the receiver of it is not so. But in case of the law received into the minds of Ezra's countrymen, the receiving mind had become corrupted, while the law committed to it remained intact.

38. *a woman.*] Interpreted in x. 44 to be Sion.

43. *thirty years.*] For the application of this, see x. 45.

44. The translation of this verse is vigorous, but less close than usual. The Vulgate reads: *Ego enim per singulas horas et per singulos dies et* (l. *in*) *annos, etc.* = "And every single hour, and every single day, for those thirty years, did I make my prayer," &c.

CHAPTER X.

1. *he fell down.*] For the interpretation, see *infra* v. 48.

2. *overthrew.*] Or "put out;" *wir löschten*, Arab. For the custom of lights at weddings, comp. Jer. xxv. 10; Matt. xxv. 7; and the article MARRIAGE in 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 251.

5. *meditations.*] This is the word given by the Oriental versions. The Latin has *sermones*. Comp. above, ix. 39.

wherein I was, and spake to her in anger, saying,

6 Thou foolish woman above all other, seest thou not our mourning, and what happeneth unto us?

7 How that Sion our mother is full of all heaviness, and much humbled, mourning very sore?

8 And now, seeing we all mourn and are sad, for we are all in heaviness, art thou grieved for one son?

9 For ask the earth, and she shall tell thee, that it is she which ought to mourn for the fall of so many that grow upon her.

10 For out of her came all at the first, and out of her shall all others come, and, behold, they walk almost all into destruction, and a multitude of them is utterly ‖rooted out.

‖ Or, *abolished.*

11 Who then should make more mourning than she, that hath lost so great a multitude; and not thou, which art sorry but for one?

‖ *But the earth after the manner of the earth, whereinto the present multitude is gone again, as it came out.*

12 But if thou sayest unto me, My lamentation is not like the earth's, because I have lost the fruit of my womb, which I brought forth with pains, and bare with sorrows;

13 ‖But the earth *not so:* for the multitude present in it according to the course of the earth is gone, as it came:

14 Then say I unto thee, Like as thou hast brought forth with labour; even so the earth also hath given her fruit, namely, man, ever since the beginning unto him that made her.

15 Now therefore keep thy sorrow to thyself, and bear with a good courage that which hath befallen thee.

16 For if thou shalt acknowledge the determination of God to be just, thou shalt both receive thy son in time, and shalt be commended among women.

17 Go thy way then into the city to thine husband.

18 And she said unto me, That will I not do: I will not go into the city, but here will I die.

19 So I proceeded to speak further unto her, and said,

20 Do not so, but be counselled by me: for how many are the adversities of Sion? be comforted in regard of the sorrow of Jerusalem.

21 For thou seest that our sanctuary is laid waste, our altar broken down, our temple destroyed;

22 Our psaltery is laid on the ground, our song is put to silence,

7. *all heaviness.*] In the best texts, the word "all" is made to belong to what goes before: *mater nostra omnium* = "the mother of us all." Churton aptly compares Gal. v. 26, "Jerusalem which is above . . . which is the mother of us all."

8. *sad . . . in heaviness.*] The word is the same in both places in the Latin: *contristari.*

10. *is utterly rooted out.*] For the *exterminium fit* of the Vulgate the best MSS. have *in ext. fit* = "and the multitude of them come to be rooted out;" and so it stands in a quotation of this passage found in Ambrose, 'De excessu Satyri,' i. 2. *Exterminium* is a word occurring some eight or ten times in the Vulgate of the Apocrypha, but not in that of the canonical books.

13. It is not easy to see what text the English translator had before him in this verse. If we follow Fritzsche's reading, the sense will be: "But the earth (is) after the way of the earth; and the multitude present in it hath departed in the way that it came." For τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παρὸν the Greek may have been τὸ ἀεὶ, &c. = the multitude for the time being, each successive growth of inhabitants.

14. *Then say I.*] Rather, "And I say."

16. In this verse the A. V. follows the best reading, as it is in Ambrose, *ubi sup.*, and not the Vulgate, which is quite different. The words "acknowledge to be just" will serve to explain the "justify" of Luke vii. 35.

19. *proceeded.*] Lat. *apposui*, a very literal rendering of the Greek προσέθηκα (Hilgenf.), or, more probably, προσεθέμην, as in Luke xx. 12.

21. *sanctuary.*] The same Latin word, *sanctificatio*, would seem to have been used to render ἁγιασμὸς and ἁγίασμα. See above, vii. 38. Here we might have expected *sacrarium.* It will be noticed how inappropriate this language is to the historical Ezra. Comp. iii. 1.

22. *our children.*] The Latin *liberi nostri* is

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our rejoicing is at an end, the light of our candlestick is put out, the ark of our covenant is spoiled, our holy things are defiled, and the name that is called upon us is almost profaned: our children are put to shame, our priests are burnt, our Levites are gone into captivity, our virgins are defiled, and our wives ravished; our righteous men carried away, our little ones destroyed, our young men are brought in bondage, and our strong men are become weak;

23 And, which is the greatest of all, the seal of Sion hath now lost her honour; for she is delivered into the hands of them that hate us.

24 And therefore shake off thy great heaviness, and put away the multitude of sorrows, that the Mighty may be merciful unto thee again, and the Highest shall give thee rest and ease from thy labour.

25 And it came to pass, while I was talking with her, behold, her face upon a sudden shined exceedingly, and her countenance glistered, so that I was afraid of her, and mused what it might be.

26 And, behold, suddenly she made a great cry very fearful: so that the earth shook at the noise of the woman.

27 And I looked, and, behold, the woman appeared unto me no more, but there was a city builded, and a large place shewed itself from the foundations: then was I afraid, and cried with a loud voice, and said,

28 Where is [a]Uriel the angel, who came unto me at the first? for he hath caused me to fall [‖]into many trances, and mine end is turned into corruption, and my prayer to rebuke.

29 And as I was speaking these words, behold, he came unto me, and looked upon me.

30 And, lo, I lay as one that had been dead, and mine understanding was taken from me: and he took me by the right hand, and comforted me, and set me upon my feet, and said unto me,

31 What aileth thee? and why art thou so disquieted? and why is thine understanding troubled, and the thoughts of thine heart?

32 And I said, Because thou hast forsaken me, and yet I did according to thy [b]words, and I went into the field, and, lo, I have seen, and yet see, that I am not able to express.

33 And he said unto me, Stand up manfully, and I will advise thee.

34 Then said I, Speak on, my lord, in me; only forsake me not, lest I die frustrate of my hope.

[a] ch. 4. 1.

‖ Or, *into the multitude in a trance.*

[b] ch. 5. 20.

ambiguous, as it may mean either "our children" or "our free men." The Arabic supports the latter, *unsre freien Edeln;* but in the passage of Ambrose before-quoted it is *juvenes.* It is difficult to see what Greek word can have been taken so variously. Οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ἡμῶν (Hilgenfeld) could not. Perhaps a confusion of *οἱ εὐγενεῖς* with *οἱ ἔκγονοι* may account for it.

23. *hath now lost, &c.*] Rather, "and, what is more than all, the seal of Sion, now that she hath resigned her glory, is delivered up," &c. The Latin of this verse bears plain marks of Greek idiom. For the seal, or signet-ring, as the emblem of authority, comp. Esth. iii. 10, "And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman," &c., and the passages there quoted in the margin.

27. *from the foundations.*] Rather, "and a place was shewed me of large foundations."

28. *into many trances.*] The marginal reading is the more literal. Lat. *venire in multitudinem* (Vulg. *-ine*) *in excessu mentis hujus.* For *in excessu* the reading should probably be *in excessus* = *εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐκστάσεως κ. τ. λ.*, "into so many ecstasies of this my mind." The Arabic reads: "was liess er mich in diesen grossen Geistesschrecken kommen?"

29. *he came.*] The best MSS. have, more fully, "behold there came to me the angel who had come to me at the first."

30. *was taken from me.*] Lat. *alienatus est.* Comp. Dan. iv. 16: "Let his heart be changed from man's."

33. *manfully.*] Rather, "like a man." Lat. *sta ut vir.* Comp. vi. 13.

34. *in me.*] The English Version seems to combine two readings of the Latin: *loquere, domine meus, tu in me; noli, etc.* (Vulg.), and

35 For I have seen that I knew not, and hear that I do not know.

36 Or is my sense deceived, or my soul in a dream?

37 Now therefore I beseech thee that thou wilt shew thy servant of this ‖vision.

‖ Or, *trance.*

38 He answered me then, and said, Hear me, and I shall inform thee, and tell thee wherefore thou art afraid: for the Highest will reveal many secret things unto thee.

‖ Or, *purpose.*

39 He hath seen that thy ‖way is right: for that thou sorrowest continually for thy people, and makest great lamentation for Sion.

40 This therefore is the meaning of the vision which thou lately sawest:

41 Thou sawest a woman mourning, and thou begannest to comfort her:

42 But now seest thou the likeness of the woman no more, but there appeared unto thee a city builded.

43 And whereas she told thee of the death of her son, this is the ‖solution:

‖ Or, *interpretation.*

44 This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion: and whereas she said unto thee, even she whom thou seest as a city builded,

45 Whereas, *I say*, she said unto thee, that she hath been thirty years barren: those are the thirty years wherein there was no offering made in her.

46 But after thirty years Solomon builded the city, and offered offerings: and then bare the barren a son.

47 And whereas she told thee that she nourished him with labour: that was the dwelling in Jerusalem.

48 But whereas she said unto thee, That my son coming into his marriage chamber happened to have a fall, and died: this was the destruction that came to Jerusalem.

49 And, behold, thou sawest her likeness, and because she mourned for her son, thou begannest to comfort her: and of these things which have chanced, these are to be opened unto thee.

50 For now the most High seeth that thou art grieved unfeignedly, and sufferest from thy whole heart for her, so hath he shewed thee the brightness of her glory, and the comeliness of her beauty:

51 And therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house was builded:

52 For I knew that the Highest would shew this unto thee.

loquere, domine meus; tantum me noli, etc., which has the better authority.

37. *vision.*] Rather, "ecstasy," or "trance;" Lat. *excessus*, the same word as in *v.* 28.

39. *way.*] Lat. *viam.* The marginal variation seems uncalled for.

44. *and whereas she said unto thee.*] This clause should probably be left out, as in the Oriental versions. The sentence would then run: "This woman whom thou sawest is Sion, whom thou now beholdest as a builded city. And whereas she said unto thee that she hath been," &c. (*v.* 45).

45. *those are the thirty years.*] Rather, "it is because there are," &c. Instead of "thirty," the reading of the Vulgate, two of the best MSS. have "three," while the Oriental versions have "three thousand." The variation might easily arise, either by supposing ,γ mistaken for γ', or *sæcula triginta* for *anni triginta*. There would also be a natural tendency to make the number harmonize with the thirty years of the woman's life. Hilgenfeld enters into several computations to account for the exact 3000. From the Creation to the Flood were reckoned 1656 years; from the Flood to the Call of Abraham, 365; for the Captivity in Egypt, 430 or 400; thence to the Building of the Temple, 592; making in all 3043 or 3013 years; to which 3000 is sufficient approximation.

46. *the city.*] We might have expected "the temple;" but to the writer's mind the two would be almost identical. Or rather, the importance of the building of the Temple would make it overshadow and include the rest.

48. *That my son.*] Omit "That;" and for "happened to have a fall, and died," read "had died, and calamity had befallen him."

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53 Therefore I commanded thee to go into the field, where no foundation of any building was.

54 For in the place wherein the Highest beginneth to shew his city, there can no man's building be able to stand.

55 And therefore fear not, let not thine heart be affrighted, but go thy way in, and see the beauty and greatness of the building, as much as thine eyes be able to see:

56 And then shalt thou hear as much as thine ears may comprehend.

57 For thou art blessed above many other, and ‖art called with the Highest; and so are but few.

‖ Or, *art called to be with, &c.*

58 But to morrow at night thou shalt remain here;

59 And so shall the Highest shew thee visions of the ‖high things, which the most High will do unto them that dwell upon earth in the last days. So I slept that night and another, like as he commanded me.

‖ Or, *last things.*

CHAPTER XI.

1 *He seeth in his dream an eagle coming out of the sea, 37 and a lion out of a wood talking to the eagle.*

THEN saw I a dream, and, behold, there came up from the sea an eagle, which had twelve feathered wings, and three heads.

2 And I saw, and, behold, she spread her wings over all the earth, and all the winds of the air blew on her, and were gathered together.

3 And I beheld, and out of her feathers there grew other contrary feathers; and they became little feathers and small.

4 But her heads were at rest: the head in the midst was greater than the other, yet rested ‖it with the residue.

‖ Lat. *she.*

5 Moreover I beheld, and, lo, the eagle flew with her feathers, and reigned upon earth, and over them that dwelt therein.

6 And I saw that all things under heaven were subject unto her, and

54. *For in, &c.*] Rather, "For neither could any work of man's building endure, in the place where the city of the Most High was beginning to be shewed."

56. Comp. Tobit xiii. 16–18 and 1 Cor. ii. 9.

57. *called with.*] Lat. *vocatus es apud.* This may be interpreted as in the margin, or perhaps in the sense of "thy name is known in the presence of." The Arabic is simpler: "und beim Höchsten genannt wie eins der Kinder."

59. *high things.*] Lat. *supremorum.* One MS. has *summorum*, and another *somniorum*, whence Volkmar would read *per visiones somniorum.* But the Arabic, in Ewald's version, agrees with the English.

So I slept.] In the Latin this is counted as *v.* 60. In MS. A. it is given more fully than in the rest: "So I slept that night and another, as he commanded me. And it came to pass on the second night and another, as he had said unto me, that I saw a dream," &c. (xi. 1).

CHAPTER XI.

FIFTH VISION (ch. xi. 1—ch. xii. 39).

1. *from the sea.*] As in Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1. For the general interpretation of this vision, see the Appendix at the end.

feathered wings.] Lat. *alæ pennarum.* The addition of *pennarum*, as Volkmar thinks, is either to distinguish the wings from the wings of an army (surely unneeded, in case of an eagle), or is a mere poetical ornament.

2. *and were gathered together.*] The Oriental versions have "and the clouds were gathered together to her." So the Arabic: "und die Wolken sich um ihn sammelten."

3. *there grew.*] Rather, "were growing." In the expression "contrary feathers," *contrariæ pennæ*, it seems doubtful whether any stress is to be laid on the epithet *contrariæ.* Volkmar thinks that the original was *ἀντίπτερα*, formed like *ἀντίπετρα*, to express "wing-like" growths, which came to be *πτερύγια*, "little wings," or pinions. This view is supported by the fact that the numbers were different, being not one for each, but eight as against twelve (*v.* 11).

4. *yet rested it.*] The marginal reading, "she," is due to the feminine form, *ipsa*, being used in the Latin. The gender is to be accounted for by the influence of the Greek word (*κεφαλή*).

no man spake against her, no, not one creature upon earth.

7 And I beheld, and, lo, the eagle rose upon her talons, and spake to her feathers, saying,

8 Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his own place, and watch by course:

9 But let the heads be preserved for the last.

10 And I beheld, and, lo, the voice went not out of her heads, but from the midst of her body.

11 And I numbered her contrary feathers, and, behold, there were eight of them.

12 And I looked, and, behold, on the right side there arose one feather, and reigned over all the earth;

13 And so it was, that when it reigned, the end of it came, and the place thereof appeared no more: so the next following stood up, and reigned, and had a great time;

14 And it happened, that when it reigned, the end of it came also, like as the first, so that it appeared no more.

15 Then came there a voice unto it, and said,

16 Hear thou that hast borne rule over the earth so long: this I say unto thee, before thou beginnest to appear no more,

17 There shall none after thee attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof.

18 Then arose the third, and reigned as the other before, and appeared no more also.

19 So went it with all the residue one after another, as that every one reigned, and then appeared no more.

20 Then I beheld, and, lo, in process of time the feathers that followed stood up upon the right side, that they might rule also; and some of them ruled, but within a while they appeared no more:

21 For some of them were set up, but ruled not.

22 After this I looked, and, behold, the twelve feathers appeared no more, nor the two little feathers:

23 And there was no more upon

7. *spake.*] Rather, "cried," or "uttered a cry;" Lat. *misit vocem* = ἀφῆκε φωνήν.

9. *preserved for the last.*] Rather, "kept to the last," *i.e.* have their turn last. So the Arabic: "die Häupter aber sollen zulezt wachen."

10. *not out of her heads.*] Explained below, xii. 17.

13. *had a great time.*] Rather, "held sway for a long time."

14. *And it happened.*] The fondness of the English translator for changing his mode of expression has been noticed before. The "and so it was" of *v.* 13, and the present phrase, are both renderings of the common *et factum est* = καὶ ἐγένετο, "and it came to pass."

17. *attain unto thy time.*] Lat. *tenebit tempus tuum* = "hold sway for thy time;" *i.e.* for so long a time as thou. Comp. *v.* 13, and xii. 15.

19. *residue.*] Vulg. *aliis*, which may have been easily altered from *alis*, "wings" (the reading of T.).

20. *upon the right side.*] So in the Latin. But in the Arabic, according to Ewald, "upon the left side" (*zur linken Seite*), which would seem to suit the sense better; as the "feathers that followed" naturally means the "contrary feathers" of *v.* 11.

within a while.] Rather, "forthwith," as also in *v.* 26, where the same word *statim* is rendered "shortly."

21. *but ruled not.*] *I.e.* did not retain their sovereignty; Lat. *sed non tenebant principatum.*

22. *the two.*] The use of the article in this and the next verse is somewhat confusing. *The* twelve wings had disappeared, and *two* of the eight smaller. Nothing remained but *the* three heads, and six of the eight smaller wings.

That the twelve wings should here be called "feathers" is not the fault of the A. V.; the word being *pennæ* in the Latin, as also in *v.* 5, where we should have expected "wings." This use of the two synonymously contributes to prove that no difference, beyond that of size, is meant to be understood between the "wings" and "contrary feathers."

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the eagle's body, but three heads that rested, and six little wings.

24 Then saw I also that two little feathers divided themselves from the six, and remained under the head that was upon the right side: for the four continued in their place.

25 And I beheld, and, lo, the feathers that were under the wing thought to set up themselves, and to have the rule.

26 And I beheld, and, lo, there was one set up, but shortly it appeared no more.

27 And the second was sooner away than the first.

28 And I beheld, and, lo, the two that remained thought also in themselves to reign:

29 And when they so thought, behold, there awaked one of the heads that were at rest, namely, it that was in the midst; for that was greater than the two other heads.

30 And then I saw that the two other heads were joined with it.

31 And, behold, the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two feathers under the wing that would have reigned.

32 But this head put the whole earth in fear, and bare rule in it over all those that dwelt upon the earth with much oppression; and it had the governance of the world more than all the wings that had been.

33 And after this I beheld, and, lo, the head that was in the midst suddenly appeared no more, like as the wings.

34 But there remained the two heads, which also in like sort ruled upon the earth, and over those that dwelt therein.

35 And I beheld, and, lo, the head upon the right side devoured it that was upon the left side.

36 Then I heard a voice, which said unto me, Look before thee, and consider the thing that thou seest.

37 And I beheld, and lo as it were a roaring lion chased out of the wood: and I saw that he sent out a man's voice unto the eagle, and said,

38 Hear thou, I will talk with thee, and the Highest shall say unto thee,

39 Art not thou it that remainest of the four beasts, whom I made to reign in my world, that the end

23. *three heads.*] Rather, "the three heads." The Vulgate has *duo*, which may be explained by supposing, with Volkmar, that there should be a stop after it: "There was no more . . . but two (things); the heads that were resting, and six little wings."

25. *the feathers that were under the wing.*] In Lat. *subalares* only, understanding *pennæ* or *pennaculæ*:—a feminine form *pennaculæ* being used in *v.* 24, though the usual neuter form *pennacula* appears in *v.* 23. These are the four that remain, after taking away the two in *v.* 22 and the two in *v.* 24. The expression "under the wings" is illustrated by xii. 19.

27. *was sooner away.*] Rather, "disappeared more swiftly;" Lat. *velocius . . . non comparuit.*

29. *when they so thought.*] Lat. *in eo cum cogitarent*, "at the very time of their thinking."

30. *the two other heads, &c.*] The Vulg. has *quoniam completa sunt duo capita secum;* but the translator appears to have read *complexa*, which is found in the best MSS., taking it passively. Reading *est* (from S.) for *sunt*, we may render: "And then I saw how (*quomodo*) it joined the (other) two heads with it;" *i.e.* took them as associates. The gender of *complexa*, with subject *caput*, is accounted for by remembering that the word in Greek would be feminine.

31. *the two feathers under the wing.*] Lat. *duas subalares;* i.e. the two under-wings mentioned in *v.* 28.

32. *in it.*] These words are out of place, owing to the insertion of "the earth" (on which see Bensly, p. 21). Read: "bare rule over all those that dwell in it."

it had.] Rather, "it held," or "gained."

37. *chased.*] Lat. *concitatus*, "rushing." So the Arabic: "sich hervorstürzte."

and I saw.] Vulg. *et vidi.* The reading of A. is *et audivi*, "and I heard." See Bensly, p. 27.

39. *the four beasts.*] Comp. xii. 11.

of their times might come through them?

40 And the fourth came, and overcame all the beasts that were past, and had power over the world with great fearfulness, and over the whole compass of the earth with much wicked oppression; and so long time dwelt he upon the earth with deceit.

41 For the earth hast thou not judged with truth.

42 For thou hast afflicted the meek, thou hast hurt the peaceable, thou hast loved liars, and destroyed the dwellings of them that brought forth fruit, and hast cast down the walls of such as did thee no harm.

43 Therefore is thy wrongful dealing come up unto the Highest, and thy pride unto the Mighty.

44 The Highest also hath looked upon the proud times, and, behold, they are ended, and his abominations are fulfilled.

45 And therefore appear no more, thou eagle, nor thy horrible wings, nor thy wicked feathers, nor thy malicious heads, nor thy hurtful claws, nor all thy vain body:

46 That all the earth may be refreshed, and may return, being delivered from thy violence, and that she may hope for the judgment and mercy of him that made her.

CHAPTER XII.

3 *The eagle, which he saw, is destroyed.* 10 *The vision is interpreted.* 37 *He is bid to write his visions,* 39 *and to fast, that he may see more.* 46 *He doth comfort those that were grieved for his absence.*

AND it came to pass, whiles the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I saw,

2 And, behold, the head that remained and the four wings appeared no more, and the two went unto it, and set themselves up to reign, and their kingdom was small, and full of uproar.

3 And I saw, and, behold, they appeared no more, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt, so that the earth was in great fear: then awaked I out of the trouble and trance of my mind, and from great fear, and said unto my spirit,

4 Lo, this hast thou done unto me, in that thou searchest out the ways of the Highest.

their times.] Rather, "the times," omitting *eorum*, on the authority of the versions.

40. *had power over.*] Rather, "held the world in sway." Comp. Dan. vii. 7.

41. More literally, "and hast judged the earth not with truth." So in Gildemeister's version: *et terram sine justitia rexisti.* The second person is here resumed in the address to the eagle, after the retrospective parenthesis in *v.* 40.

42. *that brought forth fruit.*] Lat. *qui fructificabant.* The readings are so various throughout this verse, that it is difficult to arrive at any certainty as to the text. Fritzsche concludes, both from the principle of parallelism and from the evidence of the versions, that there is one clause wanting; and so, after "the peaceable," he inserts "and hast hated the righteous." With regard to the precise meaning of *qui fructificabant*, Volkmar's assumption that it = τῶν τελεσφόρων, "them that paid tribute," is plausible. But the versions rather point to "the just." The Arabic is rendered by *der Unschuldigen*, "the inoffensive."

44. *the proud times.*] It seems very probable that the *superba* of the Vulgate is a misreading of *sua.* Van der Vlis conjectured *superiora*; but *sua* agrees with the versions. The Arabic has "und der Höchste blickte auf seine Zeiten."

CHAPTER XII.

2. The Vulgate reading is here plainly corrupt. Fritzsche adopts the emendation of Van der Vlis, which is supported by MS. A. The sense will then be: "And behold, the head that had remained appeared no more; and the two wings that went unto it set themselves up to reign," &c. The head is that mentioned in xi. 35, and the two wings those mentioned in xi. 24.

4. *done unto me.*] Perhaps rather, "bestowed upon me."

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5 Lo, yet am I weary in my mind, and very weak in my spirit; and little strength is there in me, for the great fear wherewith I was affrighted this night.

6 Therefore will I now beseech the Highest, that he will comfort me unto the end.

7 And I said, Lord that bearest rule, if I have found grace before thy sight, and if I am justified with thee before many others, and if my prayer indeed be come up before thy face;

8 Comfort me then, and shew me thy servant the interpretation and plain difference of this fearful vision, that thou mayest perfectly comfort my soul.

9 For thou hast judged me worthy to shew me the last times.

10 And he said unto me, This is the interpretation of the vision:

11 The eagle, whom thou sawest come up from the sea, is the kingdom
[a] Dan. 7. 7. which was seen in the [a]vision of thy brother Daniel.

12 But it was not expounded unto him, therefore now I declare it unto thee.

13 Behold, the days will come, that there shall rise up a kingdom upon earth, and it shall be feared above all the kingdoms that were before it.

14 In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another:

15 Whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have more time than any of the twelve.

16 And this do the twelve wings signify, which thou sawest.

17 As for the voice which thou heardest speak, and that thou sawest not to go out from the heads, but from the midst of the body thereof, this is the interpretation:

18 That after the time of that kingdom there shall arise great strivings, and it shall stand in peril of falling: nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again to his beginning.

19 And whereas thou sawest the eight small under feathers sticking to her wings, this is the interpretation:

20 That in him there shall arise eight kings, whose times shall be but small, and their years swift.

21 And two of them shall perish, the middle time approaching: four

5. *little.*] Rather, "not even a little;" Lat. *nec modica*, plainly representing *οὐδὲ μικρά*.

7. *am justified.*] Or rather, perhaps, "deemed worthy," if we assume *ἠξιώθην*, and not *ἐδικαιώθην*, to have been the original word. The Latin is *justificatus sum*, while the Arab. and Aeth. both have "blessed."

8. *plain difference.*] Lat. *distinctionem*, the *distinguishing* or *discernment* of the vision. The word "comfort," twice used in this verse, represents two different Latin words, (1) = "strengthen," (2) = "console."

11. *the kingdom.*] The Oriental versions read "the fourth kingdom," and this is supported by MS. A. (Bensly, p. 30). The reference is to Dan. vii. 7.

12. *therefore.*] Rather, "as I now," &c.; the version in the text rendering neither the *quoniam* of the Vulgate, nor the better reading *quomodo*.

13. *it shall be feared.*] The Vulgate has *et erit timor acrior*. Volkmar's conjecture of *timoratior* = "more feared," in place of the last two words, is confirmed by the reading *timoratio* found in A. (Bensly, p. 61). The succeeding genitive would be explained by the influence of the Greek idiom. The rendering in the text seems almost to anticipate this emendation.

14. *In the same, &c.*] Rather, "And there shall reign in it."

15. *Whereof.*] The Lat. is *nam*, a rendering of *δέ* (according to Hilgenfeld), as in iv. 34. Read: "and the second," &c.

18. *after the time.*] The Arabic has, apparently more agreeably to the sense, "in the midst of the time,"—*aus der Mitte der Zeit jenes Reiches*. So at the end, instead of "to his beginning," the Arabic has, more suitably, "to his former dominion,"—*zu seiner frühern Herrschaft*. The difference probably arose, as Van der Vlis points out, from the double meaning of which *εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν* would be capable.

19. *sticking.*] Rather, "attached;" Lat. *cohærentes*. Comp. xi. 3, 11.

20. *in him.*] Rather, "in it," referring to the "kingdom" of *v.* 18.

shall be kept until their end begin to approach: but two shall be kept unto the end.

22 And whereas thou sawest three heads resting, this is the interpretation:

23 In his last days shall the most High raise up three kingdoms, and renew many things therein, and they shall have the dominion of the earth,

24 And of those that dwell therein, with much oppression, above all those that were before them: therefore are they called the heads of the eagle.

25 For these are they that shall accomplish his wickedness, and that shall finish his last end.

26 And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed, and yet with pain.

27 For the two that remain shall be slain with the sword.

28 For the sword of the one shall devour the other: but at the last shall he fall through the sword himself.

29 And whereas thou sawest two feathers under the wings passing over the head that is on the right side;

30 It signifieth that these are they, whom the Highest hath kept unto their end: this is the small kingdom and full of trouble, as thou sawest.

31 And the lion, whom thou sawest rising up out of the wood, and roaring, and speaking to the eagle, and rebuking her for her unrighteousness with all the words which thou hast heard;

32 This is the ‖anointed, which the Highest hath kept for them and for their wickedness unto the end: he shall reprove them, and shall upbraid them with their cruelty.

‖ Lat. *wind*, or, *spirit*.

33 For he shall set them before him alive in judgment, and shall rebuke them, and correct them.

34 For the rest of my people shall he deliver with mercy, those that have been preserved upon my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the coming of the day of judgment, whereof I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.

35 This is the dream that thou sawest, and these are the interpretations.

21. *until their end, &c.*] The Latin has: *cum incipiet appropinquare tempus ejus ut finiatur*, "when the time for it (*i.e.* the kingdom) to be ended shall begin to approach." The English translator has anticipated Van der Vlis's alteration of *ejus* to *eorum*.

23. *In his last days.*] The use of the pronouns here, as in *vv.* 21 and 25, is confusing. In the Latin it is: *in novissimis ejus suscitabit Altissimus tria regna, et revocabit* (*al. renovabit*) *in ea multa*. The *ea* refers to "kingdom" (the word being feminine in the Greek), and the preceding *ejus* therefore to the same. Following the versions in reading *tres reges* for *tria regna*, the passage would run: "in the last days of it (the kingdom) shall the Most High raise up three kings, and they shall renew," &c.

25. *accomplish.*] Lat. *recapitulabunt*, plainly meant to render *ἀνακεφαλαιώσουσι*, "shall put the coping-stone upon," "shall consummate."

his wickedness.] In modern English "his" would be "its," referring to the eagle. But as in xi. 2 *sqq.* the eagle was spoken of as feminine, the change is misleading.

26. *great.*] Rather, "greater;" Lat. *majus*.

29. *feathers under the wings.*] See notes on xi. 25, 31.

31. *the lion.*] Comp. xi. 37.

32. *the anointed.*] The reading of the Vulgate, *ventus* for *unctus*, on which the marginal rendering is based, has less authority than the other. In the versions a clause is added, "who shall arise from the seed of David." Compare the notes on vii. 28, 29.

upbraid them, &c.] The text is here uncertain. The best MS. has *infulcit* for *incutiet*, and *spretiones* for *discerptiones*, with the idea of "heaping up before their eyes their contempt (of his commandments)." With this the Arabic partly agrees: "der ihre Raubgelüste vor die Augen häufen wird."

34. *upon my borders.*] *I.e.* the borders of the promised land. But the Arabic has "upon my holy mountain," as if *ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων* had been read for *ὁρίων*.

35. *these are.*] In MS. A. the reading is *et hæc interpretatio ejus*, "and this is the interpretation of it" (Bensly, p. 33).

36 Thou only hast been meet to know this secret of the Highest.

37 Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and hide them:

38 And teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest may comprehend and keep these secrets.

39 But wait thou here thyself yet seven days more, that it may be shewed thee, whatsoever it pleaseth the Highest to declare unto thee. And with that he went his way.

40 And it came to pass, when all the people saw that the seven days were past, and I not come again into the city, they gathered them all together, from the least unto the greatest, and came unto me, and said,

41 What have we offended thee? and what evil have we done against thee, that thou forsakest us, and sittest here in this place?

42 For of all the ‖prophets thou only art left us, as a cluster of the vintage, and as a candle in a dark place, and as a haven or ship preserved from the tempest.

‖Or, *people.*

43 Are not the evils which are come to us sufficient?

44 If thou shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us, if we also had been burned in the midst of Sion?

45 For we are not better than they that died there. And they wept with a loud voice. Then answered I them, and said,

46 Be of good comfort, O Israel; and be not heavy, thou house of Jacob:

47 For the Highest hath you in remembrance, and the Mighty hath not forgotten you in temptation.

48 As for me, I have not forsaken you, neither am I departed from you: but am come into this place, to pray for the desolation of Sion, and that I might seek mercy for the low estate of your sanctuary.

49 And now go your way home every man, and after these days will I come unto you.

50 So the people went their way into the city, like as I commanded them:

51 But I remained still in the field seven days, as the angel commanded me; and did eat only in those days of the flowers of the field, and had my meat of the herbs.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *He seeth in his dream a man coming out of the sea.* 25 *The declaration of his dream.* 54 *He is praised, and promised to see more.*

AND it came to pass after seven days, I dreamed a dream by night:

2 And, lo, there arose ‖a wind from the sea, that it moved all the waves thereof.

‖*a certain man as the wind,* Junius.

37. Comp. xiv. 26. The rendering "hide them" is inadequate to the Latin, *et pone ea in loco abscondito*, expressing the idea of apocryphal writings.

40. Comp. v. 16. For "saw" should be read "had heard," the Lat. being *audisset*. The translator would seem to have had *vidisset* before him. The "seven days" are those enjoined in ix. 23.

42. *prophets.*] This is the reading of the best MS. The Vulgate has *populis*, as in the margin.

a candle.] Lat. *lucerna*, "lamp." The literal rendering would make the resemblance to 2 Pet. i. 19 ("a lamp that shineth in a dark place") more apparent.

a haven or ship.] Lat. "portus *et* navis salvata," whence Van der Vlis conjectures *est navi salvatæ*: "as a haven is to a ship preserved," &c.

48. *sanctuary.*] See note above on x. 21.

CHAPTER XIII.

SIXTH VISION (ch. xiii. 1—ch. xiii. 58).

2. *And, lo.*] The want of connection between this verse and the next, as they stand in the A.V., is apparent. There is nothing in the Latin to supply the link, but the Arabic has "and I saw that wind drive upwards from the depth of the sea one who seemed as a man." The other Oriental versions present

3 And I beheld, and, lo, that man waxed strong with the ‖thousands of heaven: and when he turned his countenance to look, all the things trembled that were seen under him.

‖ *clouds.*

4 And whensoever the voice went out of his mouth, all they burned that heard his voice, like as the earth faileth when it feeleth the fire.

5 And after this I beheld, and, lo, there was gathered together a multitude of men, out of number, from the four winds of the heaven, to subdue the man that came out of the sea.

6 But I beheld, and, lo, he had graved himself a great mountain, and flew up upon it.

7 But I would have seen the region or place whereout the hill was graven, and I could not.

8 And after this I beheld, and, lo, all they which were gathered together to subdue him were sore afraid, and yet durst fight.

9 And, lo, as he saw the violence of the multitude that came, he neither lifted up his hand, nor held sword, nor any instrument of war:

10 But only I saw that he sent out of his mouth as it had been a blast of fire, and out of his lips a flaming breath, and out of his tongue he cast out sparks and tempests.

11 And they were all mixed together; the blast of fire, the flaming breath, and the great tempest; and fell with violence upon the multitude which was prepared to fight, and burned them up every one, so that upon a sudden of an innumerable multitude nothing was to be perceived, but only dust and smell of smoke: when I saw this I was afraid.

12 Afterward saw I the same man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another peaceable multitude.

13 And there came much people unto him, whereof some were glad, some were sorry, some of them were bound, and other some brought ‖of them that were offered: then was I sick through great fear, and I awaked, and said,

‖ Junius, *of the things that were offered.*

14 Thou hast shewed thy servant these wonders from the beginning, and hast counted me worthy that thou shouldest receive my prayer:

15 Shew me now yet the interpretation of this dream.

16 For as I conceive in mine under-

something similar. The reading in the margin, given from Junius, inverts the proper order of the words: "a wind in the likeness of a man," *ventus . . . in similitudinem hominis*, as it is in the Syriac. For the vision, comp. Dan. vii. 2.

3. *waxed strong.*] Lat. *convalescebat;* but as the best MSS. read, just after, *nubibus*, "clouds," instead of *millibus*, "thousands," it is probable that *convolabat*, "was flying," is the right reading. Comp. Dan. vii. 13.

4. *as the earth faileth.*] Lat. *sicut quiescit terra.* But though the best MSS. agree in this, the reading of the Oriental versions points to *liquescit cera* as the right text. So the Arabic, in Ewald's rendering: "und es schmolzen die seine Stimme hörten, wie Wachs wenn es Feuer fühlt." Hence, too, Hilgenfeld's conjecture is a probable one, that for ἐτάκησαν the Latin translator took ἐκάησαν as the original, and so rendered it *ardescebant*, "burned," instead of "melted."

6. *graved.*] Or "hewn:" Dan. ii. 45.

9. *instrument of war.*] Lat. *vas bellicosum.* So *vasa mortis* in Ps. vii. 14.

11. *I was afraid.*] Vulg. *extimui.* But the best MSS. have *exstiti* = ἐξέστην, "I was astonied." After *pulvis* S. adds *cineris.*

13. *much people.*] This is not an adequate rendering of *vultus hominum multorum*, "faces of many people," recalling the upturned countenances of the throng.

of them that were offered.] The marginal reading looks plausible; but Churton rightly compares Isa. lxvi. 20, "they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord."

then was I sick.] In place of *ægrotavi*, the best MSS. have *ego*, so that the rendering should probably be: "and through great fear I awaked." Comp. xii. 3.

16-20. The sense of this passage is much obscured in the A.V. Reading *erunt* (with A.) for *erant*, in *v.* 17, and leaving out the word "behind" in *v.* 16, which spoils the antithesis, we may render what follows: "For they that are not left will be in heaviness, understand-

standing, woe unto them that shall be left in those days! and much more woe unto them that are not left behind!

17 For they that were not left were in heaviness.

18 Now understand I the things that are laid up in the latter days, which shall happen unto them, and to those that are left behind.

19 Therefore are they come into great perils and many necessities, like as these dreams declare.

20 Yet is it easier for him that is in danger to come into ‖these things, than to pass away as a cloud out of the world, and not to see the things that happen in the last days. And he answered unto me, and said,

‖ Or, *this day.*

21 The interpretation of the vision shall I shew thee, and I will open unto thee the thing that thou hast required.

22 Whereas thou hast spoken of them that are left behind, this is the interpretation:

23 He that shall endure the peril in that time hath kept himself: they that be fallen into danger are such as have works, and faith toward the Almighty.

24 Know this therefore, that they which be left behind are more blessed than they that be dead.

25 This is the meaning of the vision: Whereas thou sawest a man coming up from the midst of the sea:

26 The same is he whom God the Highest hath kept a great season, which by his own self shall deliver his creature: and he shall order them that are left behind.

27 And whereas thou sawest, that out of his mouth there came as a blast of wind, and fire, and storm;

28 And that he held neither sword, nor any instrument of war, but that the rushing in of him destroyed the whole multitude that came to subdue him; this is the interpretation:

29 Behold, the days come, when the most High will begin to deliver them that are upon the earth.

30 And he shall come to the astonishment of them that dwell on the earth.

31 And one shall undertake to fight against another, one city against another, one place against another, [a]one people against another, and one realm against another.

[a] Matt. 24. 7.

32 And the time shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I shewed thee before, and then shall my Son be declared, whom thou sawest as a man ascending.

33 And when all the people hear his voice, every man shall in their

ing what things are laid up in the last days, and (that) they will not meet with them; but woe also to them that are left, on this account, that (lit. for) they will see great perils and many straits, as these dreams do shew. Yet is it a happier thing to run the risk of coming to these things than to pass away as a cloud," &c. For *facilius*, "an easier thing," in *v.* 20, Hilgenfeld conjectured *felicius*, "a happier thing," as above, which suits the sense better, and is supported by the versions.

23. The sense of this verse also is lost in the A. V., partly from a wrong punctuation of the Latin. Render: "He that bringeth the peril upon them in that time, will himself guard such as have fallen into peril: these are they that have works and faith towards the most Mighty." For the *aufert* of the Vulgate, S. has *adferet*.

25. *the midst of the sea.*] The Lat. *de corde maris*, "from the heart of the sea," points to ἐκ τῆς καρδίας in the Greek; an expression found in Matt. xii. 40, "the heart of the earth." So in iv. 7 above.

28. *rushing in.*] Or "onset."

30. *And he shall come.*] Rather, "And astonishment shall come;" the versions pointing to *excessus mentis*, not *in excessu*, as the true reading. The phrase *in excessu mentis* has occurred before, in v. 33, where it is rendered "sore troubled in mind."

32. *And the time, &c.*] Rather, "And it shall be, when these things shall come to pass . . . then shall my Son," &c. The apodosis begins with "then shall," the *et* of the Latin merely representing a καὶ temporal, as often in this book.

own land leave the battle they have one against another.

34 And an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as thou sawest them, willing to come, and to overcome him by fighting.

35 But he shall stand upon the top of the mount Sion.

36 And Sion shall come, and shall be shewed to all men, being prepared and builded, like as thou sawest the hill graven without hands.

37 And this my Son shall rebuke the wicked inventions of those nations, which for their wicked life are fallen into the tempest;

38 And shall lay before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like unto a flame: and he shall destroy them without labour by the law which is like unto fire.

39 And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him;

40 Those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom [b] Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. [b] 2 Kings 17. 3.

41 But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt,

42 That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land.

43 And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river.

44 For the most High then shewed [c] signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. [c] Exod. 14. 21. Jos. 3. 15, 16.

45 For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called ‖ Arsareth. ‖ Or, *Ararath.*

34. *willing.*] *I.e.* "wishing," or "purposing." Compare *v.* 5 above.

35. *Sion.*] Comp. Rev. xiv. 1. Hilgenfeld quotes the 'Oracula Sibyll.' iii. 663 *sqq.*, describing the confederation of the kings of the earth against the Temple of God: Ἀλλὰ πάλιν βασιλῆες κ.τ.λ.

36. *being prepared.*] Omit "being."

37. *inventions.*] This word is due to the Vulgate reading *adinvenerunt*, for which the best MSS. have *advenerunt*. Understanding, with Van der Vlis, *eorum* to refer to *gentes* (the gender being due to the influence of the Greek, as above, xi. 4), we may render: "But my Son shall himself convict the nations that have drawn nigh of their wickednesses, even those that have approached the tempest, and shall upbraid them face to face with their evil devices and the torments wherewith," &c.

38. *by the law.*] In *v.* 10 the destroying agent was the "blast of fire," and there was no mention of any "law." Hence it is possible that instead of διὰ τὸν νόμον = *per legem*, the original may have been διὰ τὸ ἄνομον = "through, or owing to, their lawlessness." The Arabic somewhat favours this: "durch ihre Sünden."

40. *the ten tribes.*] See 2 Kings xvii. 3. There is a curious variation among the authorities as to the number here given. In the Aeth. it is "nine;" in the Arabic, "nine and a half." In MS. A. it is "viiii," with *decem* written over it (Bensly, p. 33). The omission of one from the ten may be due to the absence of Dan in the list given in Rev. vii. 5–8 (on which see Grotius's note). Possibly also the peculiar total of nine and a half may be connected with the omission of the half-tribe of Ephraim from the same list; the number twelve being there made up by the inclusion of Joseph and Levi.

over the waters.] Lat. *trans flumen;* i.e. the Euphrates.

43. *narrow passages.*] *I.e.* where the river was narrow, or more easily fordable.

44. *held still the flood.*] Lat. *statuit venas fluminis*, "stayed the springs of the river," as in *v.* 47. Comp. Isa. xi. 15, 16. The writer's aim is to shew that God still interposed on behalf of His people, as in the days of Moses and Joshua.

45. *Arsareth.*] Volkmar gives various supposed identifications of this region; but there can be little doubt that Dr. Schiller-Szinessy is right in taking it to be simply the Hebrew for "other land," answering to the *terram aliam* of *v.* 40, and so occurring in Deut. xxix. 27. See Bensly, p. 23 *n.* Josephus

46 Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now when they shall begin to come,

47 The Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace.

48 But those that be left behind of thy people are they that are found within my borders.

49 Now when he destroyeth the multitude of the nations that are gathered together, he shall defend his people that remain.

50 And then shall he shew them great wonders.

51 Then said I, O Lord that bearest rule, shew me this: Wherefore have I seen the man coming up from the midst of the sea?

52 And he said unto me, Like as thou canst neither seek out nor know the things that are in the deep of the sea: even so can no man upon earth see my Son, or those that be with him, but in the day time.

53 This is the interpretation of the dream which thou sawest, and whereby thou only art here lightened.

54 For thou hast forsaken thine own way, and applied thy diligence unto my law, and sought it.

55 Thy life hast thou ordered in wisdom, and hast called understanding thy mother.

56 And therefore have I shewed thee the treasures of the Highest: after other three days I will speak other things unto thee, and declare unto thee mighty and wondrous things.

57 Then went I forth into the field, giving praise and thanks greatly unto the most High because of his wonders, which he did in time;

58 And because he governeth the same, and such things as fall in their seasons: and there I sat three days.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *A voice out of a bush calleth Esdras,* 10 *and telleth him that the world waxeth old.* 22 *He desireth, because the law was burnt, to write all again,* 24 *and is bid to get swift writers.* 39 *He and they are filled with understanding:* 45 *but he is charged not to publish all that is written.*

AND it came to pass upon the third day, I sat under an oak, and, behold, there came a voice out of a bush over against me, and said, Esdras, Esdras.

2 And I said, Here am I, Lord. And I stood up upon my feet.

('Ant.' xi. 5, § 2) believed in the existence of a land called Arsareth, where numbers of his countrymen still dwelt beyond the Euphrates. See the art. CAPTIVITIES OF THE JEWS in the 'Dict. of the Bible,' p. 277 *b*.

47. *the multitude.*] After this, in the Latin, the best MSS. have *collectam*, "gathered together." Comp. *v.* 39.

48. The construction here is somewhat doubtful. Hilgenfeld, on the authority of the Syriac, inserts "shall be saved," so that the verse would run: "yea, they also that be left, &c., shall be saved, even they that are found within my holy border." In place of the Vulgate *factum*, it will be observed, Hilgenfeld conjectures *sanctum* to be the reading.

52. *as thou canst.*] The best MSS. have *potest*, not *potes*: "as one cannot seek out or know," &c. Churton aptly compares Ps. lxxvii. 19, "Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known."

but in the day time.] Rather, "in the time of his day," with the versions. "One of the days of the Son of man" is an expression found in Luke xvii. 22.

53. *whereby.*] Rather, "wherefore," or "on account of which." Volkmar would read the clause interrogatively, thus: "And wherefore hast thou alone been enlightened in this?" The best MSS. have *hæc* for *hic*. The answer would then be given in the following verse.

55. Churton compares Prov. vii. 4, "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister; and call understanding thy kinswoman."

56. *the treasures.*] The Vulgate has *ostendi tibi merces*, but probably the true reading is *quæ merces*, "have I shewed thee what reward there is with the Highest."

mighty.] Rather, "weighty;" Lat. *gravia.*

57. *in time.*] Lat. *per tempus;* perhaps meant to represent κατὰ καιρόν, "in season." Instead of *ipsum*, rendered "the same," the best MSS. have *tempora*, "the seasons."

[a] Exod. 3. 2, &c.

3 Then said he unto me, [a] In the bush I did manifestly reveal myself unto Moses, and talked with him, when my people served in Egypt:

4 And I sent him, and led my people out of Egypt, and brought him up to the mount of Sinai, where I held him by me a long season,

5 And told him many wondrous things, and shewed him the secrets of the times, and the end; and commanded him, saying,

6 These words shalt thou declare, and these shalt thou hide.

7 And now I say unto thee,

8 That thou lay up in thy heart the signs that I have shewed, and the dreams that thou hast seen, and the interpretations which thou hast heard:

9 For thou shalt be taken away from all, and from henceforth thou shalt remain with my ‖Son, and with such as be like thee, until the times be ended. ‖ Or, *counsel.*

10 For the world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old.

11 For the world is divided into twelve parts, and the ten parts of it are gone already, and half of a tenth part:

12 And there remaineth that which is after the half of the tenth part.

13 Now therefore set thine house in order, and reprove thy people, comfort such of them as be in trouble, and now renounce corruption,

14 Let go from thee mortal thoughts, cast away the burdens of man, put off now the weak nature,

15 And set aside the thoughts that are most heavy unto thee, and haste thee to flee from these times.

16 For [b] yet greater evils than [b] Matt. 24. 8.

CHAPTER XIV.

Epilogue, or Seventh Vision (ch. xiv. 1–47).

3. *manifestly reveal.*] This strengthened form of expression is used to represent the *revelans revelatus sum* of the Latin, a Hebrew idiom often found in this book.

9. *thou shalt be taken away from all.*] Vulg. *recipieris ab omnibus.* In the quotation of the passage made by Ambrose, 'De bono Mortis,' c. xi., the reading is *ab hominibus*, and so in the versions. For "received up" in this sense, comp. Mark xvi. 19. The Arabic has "aus den Menschen aufgenommen werden."

with my Son.] The Vulgate has *cum consilio*, whence the rendering in the margin; but the best MSS. *cum filio*, "with my Son." It is evident that *cum filio* might easily be mistaken for *consilio*. Hilgenfeld draws from this and other passages a proof of the Jewish belief in the pre-existence of Messiah, who, before his manifestation to the world, had as companions those who had not tasted death, —Enoch, Elias, and (as now foretold) Ezra.

11. *twelve parts.*] According to Hilgenfeld, these *parts*, or periods, of the world's great æon are weeks of jubilees, or $7 \times 49 = 343$ years. Taking the year of the world 3000 as that in which the author of this book would place the building of the Temple (x. 46), and adding 470 years for the time it stood (according to Josephus's computation), and 30 years from the beginning of the Captivity, we get 3500 as the year of these Visions of Ezra. Ten and a part of the cycles of 343 years would then have been completed, but not ten and a *half* exactly, which would bring us to the year of the world 3601. This want of agreement is not very satisfactory. On the other hand, if we start with the year B.C. 588 given by Usher as the date of the destruction of the Temple, the 30th year of the Captivity would be 558. One and a half *parts* from this, or $514\frac{1}{2}$ years, would place the expected end of the world about B.C. 23, or near the date at which Hilgenfeld is inclined to place the pseudo-Ezra.

The reading *decimam*, for the Vulgate *decima*, is explained by the *decima jam* found in A. (see Bensly, p. 29).

13. *such of them as be in trouble.*] The Latin is simply *humiles eorum*, "their lowly ones." Comp. Matt. v. 3.

14. *the burdens of man.*] *I.e.* all belonging to his bodily or corruptible nature. Comp. 2 Cor. v. 4: "For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened." From this point to *v.* 20 the numbering of the verses in the A. V. does not agree with that in the Vulgate.

15. *to flee from.*] Rather, "to remove from," as an emigrant; Lat. *transmigrare.*

16. *greater.*] Rather, "worse;" Lat. *deteriora.*

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those which thou hast seen happen shall be done hereafter.

17 For look how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein.

18 For the truth is fled far away, and leasing is hard at hand: for now hasteth the vision to come, which thou hast seen.

19 Then answered I before thee, and said,

20 Behold, Lord, I will go, as thou hast commanded me, and reprove the people which are present: but they that shall be born afterward, who shall admonish them? thus the world is set in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light.

21 For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin.

22 But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which were written in thy law, that men may find thy path, and that they which will live in the latter days may live.

23 And he answered me, saying, Go thy way, gather the people together, and say unto them, that they seek thee not for forty days.

24 But look thou prepare thee many ‖box trees, and take with thee Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, ‖Ecanus, and Asiel, these five which are ready to write swiftly;

‖ Or, *box tables to write on*: See ver. 44.

‖ Or, *Danus*.

25 And come hither, and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out, till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write.

26 And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou shew secretly to the wise: to morrow this hour shalt thou begin to write.

27 Then went I forth, as he commanded, and gathered all the people together, and said,

28 Hear these words, O Israel.

29 [c]Our fathers at the beginning were strangers in Egypt, from whence they were delivered:

[c] Gen. 47. 4.

30 [d]And received the law of life, which they kept not, which ye also have transgressed after them.

[d] Acts 7. 53.

31 Then was the land, even the land of Sion, parted among you by

18. *is fled far away.*] Vulg. *prolongavit se*, "is deferred," or "put off." Comp. Seneca, 'De Benef.' v. 17, "Ut prolongetur tibi dies mortis, nihil proficit ad felicitatem."

19. The awkwardness of "before thee" in this verse is removed by inserting *loquar* (on the authority of the versions) before *coram te* in the Vulgate. The sense would then be: "And I answered and said, I will speak before thee, Lord. For behold," &c.

21. *is burnt.*] Perhaps with an allusion to Jehudi's cutting to pieces and burning the roll of the Law (Jer. xxxvi. 26). But comp. iv. 23, above.

the things . . . the works.] Rather, "the works that have been done, or that are about to be done, by thee." The *incipient* of the Latin points to some form of μέλλειν in the Greek.

23. *forty days.*] Here, as in the mention of "the bush" in *v.* 1, there is an evident assimilation to the events recorded of Moses. Comp. Exod. xxiv. 18

24. *box trees.*] Lat. *buxos multos.* The versions have "tablets," as in the margin. The existence of the word πυξίον for a writing-tablet (Aristoph. 'Fr.' 671) is a proof of box-wood having been used for that purpose. The error in gender in the Latin should be noticed.

Sarea, &c.] Each of these names is variously spelt in the Latin and in the versions. Sarea is probably the same name as Seraiah, mentioned in Ezra ii. 2. A Dibri (LXX. Δαβρεί) occurs in Levit. xxiv. 11. For Selemia, Hilgenfeld compares the Shalmai (LXX. Σελαμί) of Ezra ii. 46; but the name is rather identical with the Selemias of 1 Esdras ix. 34, the Shelemiah of Ezra x. 39. Ἀσιήλ is the Greek form of Asael in Tobit i. 1; while several Levites of the name of Elkanah are recorded in the Old Testament, as in 1 Chron. ix. 16.

25. *candle.*] Rather, "lamp;" Lat. *lucernam.* The words as they stand may have prompted Hugh Latimer's famous saying.

31. *land of Sion.*] Hilgenfeld, rather

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not: but your fathers, and ye yourselves, have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which the Highest commanded you.

32 And forasmuch as he is a righteous judge, he took from you in time the thing that he had given you.

33 And now are ye here, and your brethren among you.

34 Therefore if so be that ye will subdue your own understanding, and reform your hearts, ye shall be kept alive, and after death ye shall obtain mercy.

35 For after death shall the judgment come, when we shall live again: and then shall the names of the righteous be manifest, and the works of the ungodly shall be declared.

36 Let no man therefore come unto me now, nor seek after me these forty days.

37 So I took the five men, as he commanded me, and we went into the field, and remained there.

38 And the next day, behold, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, [e] open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink. [e] Ezek. 3. 1.

39 Then opened I my mouth, and, behold, he reached me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.

40 And I took it, and drank: and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit strengthened my memory:

41 And my mouth was opened, and shut no more.

42 The Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told, which they knew not: and they sat forty days, and they wrote in the day, and at night they ate bread.

43 As for me, I spake in the day, and I held not my tongue by night.

44 In forty days they wrote [‖] two hundred and four books. [‖] Or, *nine hundred and four.*

strangely, supposes this to be the land of Sihon (Σηών), king of the Amorites, comparing Deut. iv. 46. No doubt the Jewish mind was deeply impressed by their conquest of this chieftain, but the inheritance of Mount Sion seems the natural one to think of here. The Arabic has: "He gave us the land for an inheritance, and Sion for an ornament."

33. *among you.*] The peculiar expression in the Latin, *introrsum vestrum*, may point to ἐντὸς ὑμῶν. Volkmar thinks this a deviation from an original ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν, "separated from you." Hilgenfeld, with some probability, renders it back by ἐνδότερον ὑμῶν, "are more inland than you," referring to the migration of the ten tribes in xiii. 41.

39. *water . . . fire.*] Comp. the "sea of glass mingled with fire" in Rev. xv. 2.

40. *my spirit, &c.*] Vulg. *spiritus meus conservabatur memoria.* But the best MSS. have *conservabat.* If we read *memoriam*, with D., the sense would be much simpler: "for my spirit retained a memory." So the Arabic: "und mein Geist behielt das Gedächtniss frisch."

42. *which they knew not.*] The Vulg. has *et scripserunt quæ dicebantur excessiones noctis, quas non sciebant.* In the versions there is an interesting variation of reading, "in characters which they knew not" (Aethiopic, *in characteribus litterarum quas non sciebant*). Comp. the Arabic: "auch die Zeichen die sie nicht kannten." Hence it might be conjectured that *noctis* in the text was a misreading of *notis.* Jerome has preserved the tradition of Ezra being the inventor of a fresh character for writing. See the passage ('Op.' ix. 454) quoted by Hilgenfeld.

44. *two hundred and four books.*] The correction of this to "ninety-four" in the versions is easy to understand, the seventy "mystic" books and the twenty-four of the Hebrew Canon making up that number. As Van der Vlis also points out, the change of ϘΔ′ to ϹΔ′ (*Koppa Delta* = 94, to *Sigma Delta* = 204) would be easy. The marginal reading of 904 (found in the best MSS. of the Latin) is not so readily accounted for, as ϡ (*Sampi* = 900) is not easily mistaken.

On the subject of the re-writing of the lost books of the Law, see the articles APOCRYPHA (p. 79 *b*), CANON (p. 251 *b*), and EZRA in the 'Dict. of the Bible.' In 2 Macc. ii. 13, a similar collection is ascribed to Nehemiah. The books of the O. T. were generally reckoned as twenty-two, to agree in number with the letters of the Hebrew

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45 And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake, saying, The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and unworthy may read it:

46 But keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people:

47 For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and ‖ the stream of knowledge.

‖ Or, *the light of knowledge.*

48 And I did so.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *This prophecy is certain.* 5 *God will take vengeance upon the wicked,* 12 *upon Egypt.* 28 *An horrible vision.* 43 *Babylon and Asia are threatened.*

BEHOLD, speak thou in the ears of my people the words of prophecy, which I will put in thy mouth, saith the Lord:

2 And cause them to be written in paper: for they are faithful and true.

3 Fear not the imaginations against thee, let not the incredulity of them trouble thee, that speak against thee.

4 For [a]all the unfaithful shall die in their unfaithfulness. [a] John 3. 36.

5 Behold, saith the Lord, I will bring plagues upon the world; the sword, famine, death, and destruction.

6 For wickedness hath exceedingly polluted the whole earth, and their hurtful works are fulfilled.

7 Therefore saith the Lord,

alphabet; but Ruth and Lamentations were sometimes counted separately, thus making a total of twenty-four.

46. *only to such, &c.*] These words disclose to us the real estimation in which writings called Apocryphal were at first held. They were supposed to contain the esoteric teaching, the inner and mystical knowledge, of the body in which they originated.

47. *spring of understanding.*] With this compare the title Πήγη γνώσεως given by John of Damascus to his great work, or collection of works. The marginal rendering assumes *lumen* for *flumen*.

48. *And I did so.*] The Latin text ends here. But in the versions a passage follows, as below, which is supposed to have been displaced from the end of the Latin by the Christian compiler who added chapters xv. and xvi.; his object being to make the connection of those two chapters seem more natural. According to Ewald's rendering of the Arabic, the chapter thus ends in that version: "And I did so in the fourth year after the Sabbatical year, 5025 since the Creation, on the twelfth day of the third month of the ninety-second year. Then was Ezra taken up, and borne to the land of the immortal ones like him. He wrote all these things, and was called the writer of the law and understanding and knowledge of God; to whom be honour and dominion for all eternity." The reckoning of two months and twelve days ("the twelfth day of the third month") may be accounted for by supposing the visions to have begun with the beginning of the thirtieth year of the Captivity. Adding together the times recorded in v. 20, vi. 31, ix. 23, x. 58, xii. 39, xiii. 56, xiv. 23, we have a total of 72 or 73 days = 2 months 12 days. The "ninety-second year" is understood by Ewald to be that of the prophet's life. The year A.M. 5025 is difficult to account for, and Hilgenfeld reads conjecturally "in the fourth year of the second week (of years) of the seventy-fourth jubilee from the creation of the world." This gives 73 × 49 + 11 = 3588 as the year *anno mundi*, or B.C. 558.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The beginning of this chapter should be compared with the end of ch. ii.; these four chapters (i., ii., xv., xvi.) making together a later supplement to the book, as was said in the Introduction. Hence they are sometimes called collectively the Fifth Book of Esdras. But the connection of xv. 1, either with ii. 48 or xiv. 48, is not very skilful; xv. 1 speaking of prophecies to be revealed, but ii. 48 of wonders which the seer had beheld.

2. *in paper.*] Lat. *in charta.* This passage should be added to the two (2 John 12, 3 Macc. iv. 20) mentioned in the article on WRITING in the 'Dict. of the Bible' as the only two passages in the Bible where the use of papyrus is alluded to.

3. *that speak against thee.*] As the Lat. *dicentium* would hardly bear this sense, and is incomplete as it stands, Hilgenfeld proposes *discentium*, "them that learn," or "thy disciples."

6. *hath . . . polluted.*] Rather, "hath prevailed over;" Lat. *superpolluit . . . super.*

8 I will hold my tongue no more as touching their wickedness, which they profanely commit, neither will I suffer them in those things, in which they wickedly exercise themselves: behold, the [b]innocent and righteous blood crieth unto me, and the souls of the just complain continually.

[b] Rev. 6. 10. & 19. 2.

9 And therefore, saith the Lord, I will surely avenge them, and receive unto me all the innocent blood from among them.

10 Behold, my people is led as a flock to the slaughter: I will not suffer them now to dwell in the land of Egypt:

11 But I will bring them with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm, and smite Egypt with plagues, as before, and will destroy all the land thereof.

12 Egypt shall mourn, and the foundation of it shall be smitten with the plague and punishment that God shall bring upon it.

13 They that till the ground shall mourn: for their seeds shall fail through the blasting and hail, and with a fearful constellation.

14 Woe to the world and them that dwell therein!

15 For the sword and their destruction draweth nigh, and one people shall stand up to fight against another, and swords in their hands.

16 For there shall be sedition among men, and invading one another; they shall not regard their kings nor princes, and the course of their actions shall stand in their power.

17 A man shall desire to go into a city, and shall not be able.

18 For because of their pride the cities shall be troubled, the houses shall be destroyed, and men shall be afraid.

19 A man shall have no pity upon his neighbour, but shall destroy their houses with the sword, and spoil their goods, because of the lack of bread, and for great tribulation.

20 Behold, saith God, I will call together all the kings of the earth to reverence me, which are from the rising of the sun, from the south, from the east, and Libanus; to turn themselves one against another, and

10. Comp. Isa. liii. 7; Ps. xliv. 22.

11. *smite Egypt with plagues.*] Egypt might, of course, be used as a mystical name for any land in which God's people were oppressed. But the addition of "as before" combines with other circumstances to make us think the literal Egypt to be here intended. Those who would place the composition of these chapters at about the same date as that of the later Sibylline Oracles (the time of the death of Odenathus), see a fulfilment of these predictions in the troubles of Alexandria under Gallienus (A.D. 260–268). The ravages of barbarian tribes and the scourge of pestilence seemed ready to bring the empire to utter dismemberment. The plague alone is said to have carried off nearly two-thirds of the entire population of Alexandria at this time. See the 'Dict. of Biography,' art. GALLIENUS.

15. *swords.*] The word used in the second part of the verse is *rhomphæa*, the word rendered "sword" in Rev. ii. 12; being properly a Thracian spear with long, sharp blade.

16. *the course of their actions.*] Vulg. *viæ gestorum.* The differences of reading, *me gestorum* (T.) and *me gestanorum* (S.), lead with certainty to Rönsch's emendation of *megistanorum.* Render: "For there shall be sedition among men. Waxing strong against one another, they will not heed their king and the chief of their great ones in their power." Such claims to independent power are what we read of before the genius of an Aurelian and a Probus consolidated the empire again. See the 'Dict. of Biography' under AUREOLUS.

19. *shall destroy.*] The Lat. is peculiar: *ad irritum faciendum domos eorum in gladium;* perhaps suggestive of ἀκαταστάτους ποιῆσαι, "to unsettle" or "break up" their homes.

20. *to reverence me.*] Vulg. *ad me verendum.* But a more appropriate reading is *ad movendum*, "to the commotion," found in the best MSS.

Libanus.] As other quarters are denoted by winds, it is probable that *a Libano* here is due to a misunderstanding of ἀπὸ Λιβός. It would then be: "from the sunrising and from the south, from the south-east and from the south-west."

repay the things that they have done to them.

21 Like as they do yet this day unto my chosen, so will I do also, and recompense in their bosom. Thus saith the Lord God;

22 My right hand shall not spare the sinners, and my sword shall not cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth.

23 The fire is gone forth from his wrath, and hath consumed the foundations of the earth, and the sinners, like the straw that is kindled.

24 Woe to them that sin, and keep not my commandments! saith the Lord.

25 I will not spare them: go your way, ye children, from the power, defile not my sanctuary.

26 For the Lord knoweth all them that sin against him, and therefore delivereth he them unto death and destruction.

27 For now are the plagues come upon the whole earth, and ye shall remain in them: for God shall not deliver you, because ye have sinned against him.

28 Behold an horrible vision, and the appearance thereof from the east:

29 Where the nations of the dragons of Arabia shall come out with many chariots, and the multitude of them shall be carried as the wind upon earth, that all they which hear them may fear and tremble.

30 Also the Carmanians raging in wrath shall go forth as the wild boars of the wood, and with great power shall they come, and join battle with them, and shall waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians.

31 And then shall the dragons have the upper hand, remembering their nature; and if they shall turn themselves, conspiring together in great power to persecute them,

32 Then these shall be troubled, and keep silence through their power, and shall flee.

33 And from the land of the Assyrians shall the enemy besiege them, and consume some of them, and in

23. *hath consumed.*] Better, perhaps, "shall consume;" Lat. *devorabit* (in MS. D.) for *devoravit*. But A. has *devoravit*.

25. *from the power.*] Vulg. *a potestate*. The reading *apostate* in T. suggests at once the true reading *apostatæ*, "ye apostate children." This is confirmed by MS. A., and by the text of a passage of Gildas, where these verses are quoted. See Bensly, p. 37.

26. *delivereth.*] Vulg. *tradidit*, "hath delivered." MS. A. reads *tradet*, "will deliver."

29. *and the multitude.*] Vulg. *et sicut flatus eorum numerus feretur, etc.* Instead of *sicut* the best MSS. have *sic*, while for *sic flatus* A. has *sibilatus*. In like manner for *numerus* the best authorities have *in die itineris*. Hence the sense would be: "and their hissing is borne over the earth from the day of their setting forth."

30. *Carmanians.*] Some MSS. have *Armenii*, on the principle (as Bensly says, p. 23) of putting the known for the unknown. Carmania was a region above the Persian Gulf, to the west of Gedrosia. Its name survives in Kirman. The Vulg. has Carmonii.

The events here obscurely shadowed forth may have been the conquests of the Sassanidæ, especially Sapores I. (A.D. 240–273), and their conflicts with the Roman generals. Sapores had pushed his arms to the north-west, so far as to destroy Antioch and overrun Syria,—"a portion of the land of the Assyrians," *v.* 30. Odenathus and his brave queen Zenobia attacked him, and, having driven him back beyond the Euphrates, founded a new empire, with Palmyra for its capital. They might thus represent the "dragons" or "fiery flying serpents" (comp. Isa. xxx. 6) of Arabia. The forces of Zenobia, after the death of Odenathus, were in turn attacked by Aurelian, driven from their position on the Orontes, and Zenobia herself finally cooped up within Palmyra, which was invested and taken. This would answer in some measure to the language of *v.* 33.

31. *nature.*] Rather, "birth," or "origin;" Lat. *nativitatis*. The words "if they" are not in the Latin.

32. *their power.*] *I.e.* through the power of their adversaries.

33. *the enemy.*] Rather, "the lyer-in-wait;" Lat. *subsessor*,—thought by Hilgenfeld to denote Mæonius, the cousin or nephew of Odenathus, who slew him by treachery at Emesa, in A.D. 266 or 267.

some of them.] Rather, "one of them;" Lat. *unum ex illis*. In the clause which

their host shall be fear and dread, and strife ‖among their kings.

‖ Or, *against.*

34 Behold clouds from the east and from the north unto the south, and they are very horrible to look upon, full of wrath and storm.

35 They shall smite one upon another, and [c]they shall smite down a great multitude of stars upon the earth, even their own star; and [d]blood shall be from the sword unto the belly,

[c] Matt. 24. 29.

[d] Rev. 14. 20.

36 And dung of men unto the camel's ‖hough.

‖ Or, *pastern*, or, *litter.*

37 And there shall be great fearfulness and trembling upon earth: and they that see the wrath shall be afraid, and trembling shall come upon them.

38 And then shall there come great storms from the south, and from the north, and another part from the west.

39 And strong winds shall arise from the east, and shall open it; and the cloud which he raised up in wrath, and the star stirred to cause fear toward the east and west wind, shall be destroyed.

40 The great and mighty clouds shall be lifted up full of wrath, and the star, that they may make all the earth afraid, and them that dwell therein; and they shall pour out over every high and eminent place an horrible star,

41 Fire, and hail, and flying swords, and many waters, that all fields may be full, and all rivers, with the abundance of great waters.

42 And they shall break down the cities and walls, mountains and hills, trees of the wood, and grass of the meadows, and their corn.

43 And they shall go stedfastly unto Babylon, and ‖make her afraid.

‖ Or, *destroy.*

follows, for *contentio in reges ipsorum*, MS. A. has *inconstabilitio regno illorum*, "unsettlement in their kingdom." The word *inconstabilitio*, not elsewhere found (?), looks like a close rendering of *ἀκαταστασία*.

34. This is thought to refer to the invasion of the provinces of Asia Minor by Goths and Scythians from the north of the Euxine. Gallienus marched against them, but was recalled by the rebellion of Aureolus in Italy, and Marcian was left to carry on the campaign. See the passage from Syncellus, quoted by Hilgenfeld, p. 210.

35. This verse is obscure. By "stars" in biblical language are sometimes meant luminaries of the Church, as in Dan. viii. 10; Rev. viii. 10. But here temporal powers would rather seem to be denoted; a use of language for which the *Julium sidus* of Horace affords some precedent. In the concluding words the text is very uncertain. The marginal reading "litter" is due to the Vulgate *substramen*, in place of which S. has *suffraginem*, "hough" or "pastern." If in place of *fimus*, "dung," we read *femoribus* (see Bensly, p. 21), the sense would be: "and there shall be blood from the sword even to the horse's belly, and from men's thighs even to the camel's hough." Comp. Rev. xiv. 20, and the Book of Enoch, c. 100, "A horse will walk up to his breast in the blood of sinners."

38. *from the west.*] Perhaps referring to the insurrection of Aureolus in Italy; as, in like manner, the counterblast from the East, that was to drive back this storm-cloud, would prefigure the return march of Gallienus, when he shut up and besieged the insurgents in Milan. See above, on *v.* 34.

39. *shall open.*] Lat. *recludent*. This word may bear the sense given in the English, that of "opening" or dispelling the cloud. But though this is its classical meaning, the later sense of "shutting up," as in Ammianus and Tertullian, seems preferable here. By "it" is meant the "other part" of *v.* 38; while "he," as I understand it, denotes the mover of the rebellion, the raiser of the cloud, himself.

40. *an horrible star.*] I do not see how to give "star" here the same interpretation as in *v.* 35. It seems to denote here the baleful influence of these wars and insurrections. Compare the "pestifero sidere icti" of Livy (viii. 9), and the *ἀστροβολεῖσθαι* of the Greeks. In *v.* 13 the same words are rendered "fearful constellation."

41. *flying swords.*] It is suggested by Churton that this may be used to denote lightnings, called the "arrows" of God in Ps. xviii. 14 and elsewhere. But the sword would not, like the arrow, be a fitting symbol of something shot forth. It is more natural to refer it to such omens foreboding war as were the flaming swords seen in the sky by the terrified Romans after the battle of the Trasimene Lake.

43. *Babylon.*] *I.e.* Rome, as in 'Orac. Sibyll.' v. 158:

Καὶ φλέξει πόντον βαθύν, αὐτήν τε Βαβυλῶνα,
Ἰταλίης γαῖάν τε.

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44 They shall come to her, and besiege her, the star and all wrath shall they pour out upon her: then shall the dust and smoke go up unto the heaven, and all they that be about her shall bewail her.

45 And they that remain under her shall do service unto them that have put her in fear.

‖ Or, *like unto Babylon.*

46 And thou, Asia, that art ‖partaker of the hope of Babylon, and art the glory of her person:

47 Woe be unto thee, thou wretch, because thou hast made thyself like unto her; and hast decked thy daughters in whoredom, that they might please and glory in thy lovers, which have alway desired to commit whoredom with thee!

48 Thou hast followed her that is hated in all her works and inventions: therefore saith God,

[e] Rev. 18. 7, 8.

49 [e] I will send plagues upon thee; widowhood, poverty, famine, sword, and pestilence, to waste thy houses with destruction and death.

50 And the glory of thy power shall be dried up as a flower, when the heat shall arise that is sent over thee.

51 Thou shalt be weakened as a poor woman with stripes, and as one chastised with wounds, so that the mighty and lovers shall not be able to receive thee.

52 Would I with jealousy have so proceeded against thee, saith the Lord,

53 If thou hadst not always slain my chosen, exalting the stroke of thine hands, and saying over their ‖dead, when thou wast drunken,

‖ Lat. *death.*

54 Set forth the beauty of thy countenance?

55 The reward of thy whoredom shall be in thy bosom, therefore shalt thou receive recompence.

56 Like as thou hast done unto my chosen, saith the Lord, even so shall God do unto thee, and shall deliver thee into mischief.

57 Thy children shall die of hunger, and thou shalt fall through the sword: thy cities shall be broken down, and all thine shall perish with the sword in the field.

58 They that be in the mountains shall die of hunger, and eat their own flesh, and drink their own blood,

make her afraid.] Rather, "destroy;" Lat. *exterent.* So in *v.* 45 Rönsch would read *exteruerunt* (late perfect from *extero*) instead of *exterruerunt*, and in *v.* 39 *extritionem*, "destruction," for *exterritationem*, "terror." The reading *exteritionem* in S. makes the alteration plausible.

46. The marginal reading "like unto" is due to a reading *concors in specie* instead of *concors in spem.* Hilgenfeld takes this and the next verses as pointing to the association of Odenathus in the empire, A.D. 264, when Asia was made the "consort" of Rome.

50. Compare James i. 11.

51. *with wounds.*] Fritzsche adopts the reading *a mulieribus*, though two of the best MSS. have *vulneribus.* The reading of the latter part is shewn by Bensly (p. 34) to be almost certainly *ut non possis tuos*, &c. Hence we may render: "Thou shalt be weakened as a poor woman beaten and chastised by women, so that thou canst not receive thy powerful ones and thy lovers." Baruch vi. 43 portrays such a picture of jealous cruelty.

53. *exalting the stroke.*] *I.e.* uplifting the hands higher, to make the stroke fall heavier. But the reading of this verse is not certain. For *dicens*, "saying," which requires *v.* 54 to be taken as a taunt addressed by the persecutor to the victim, Fritzsche reads on conjecture *ridens*, making the sentence to end with *v.* 53. The next verse would then be an indignant apostrophe addressed to the offending one, Asia.

The sufferings in the persecution just after the death of Decius, when there was a massacre of Christians at Alexandria, may be alluded to here.

54. *Set forth.*] Rather, "set off," or "adorn;" Lat. *exorna.*

55. *thy whoredom.*] Rather, "of a harlot;" *fornicariæ* being the reading of the best MSS.

56. *as thou hast done.*] Lat. *facies*, "as thou wilt do."

58. *their own blood.*] More exactly, "shall drink blood;" Lat. *sanguinem bibent*, which would of itself be an abomination. Comp. Acts xv. 20, 29.

for very hunger of bread, and thirst of water.

59 Thou as unhappy shalt come through the sea, and receive plagues again.

60 And in the passage they shall rush on the idle city, and shall destroy some portion of thy land, and consume part of thy glory, and shall return to Babylon that was destroyed.

61 And thou shalt be cast down by them as stubble, and they shall be unto thee as fire;

62 And shall consume thee, and thy cities, thy land, and thy mountains; all thy woods and thy fruitful trees shall they burn up with fire.

63 Thy children shall they carry away captive, and, look, what thou hast, they shall spoil it, and ‖mar the beauty of thy face.

‖ Or, *blemish.*

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *Babylon and other places are threatened with plagues that cannot be avoided,* 23 *and with desolation.* 40 *The servants of the Lord must look for troubles:* 51 *and not hide their sins,* 74 *but leave them, and they shall be delivered.*

WOE be unto thee, Babylon, and Asia! woe be unto thee, Egypt, and Syria!

2 Gird up yourselves with cloths of sack and hair, bewail your children, and be sorry; for your destruction is at hand.

3 A sword is sent upon you, and who may turn it back?

4 A fire is sent among you, and who may quench it?

5 Plagues are sent unto you, and what is he that may drive them away?

6 May any man drive away an hungry lion in the wood? or may any one quench the fire in stubble, when it hath begun to burn?

7 May one turn again the arrow that is shot of a strong archer?

8 The mighty Lord sendeth the plagues, and who is he that can drive them away?

9 A fire shall go forth from his wrath, and who is he that may quench it?

10 He shall cast lightnings, and who shall not fear? he shall thunder, and who shall not be afraid?

11 The Lord shall threaten, and who shall not be utterly beaten to powder at his presence?

12 The earth quaketh, and the foundations thereof; the sea ariseth up with waves from the deep, and the waves of it are troubled, and the fishes thereof also, before the Lord, and before the glory of his power:

13 For strong is his right hand that bendeth the bow, his arrows that he shooteth are sharp, and shall not miss, when they begin to be shot into the ends of the world.

59. *Thou as unhappy.*] This is a somewhat stiff rendering of *infelix per maria venies.* But the best MSS. have *primaria* for *per maria* = "unhappy before all others."

60. *rush on.*] Rather, "crush;" Lat. *allident.* In place of *ociosam*, rendered "idle," which is the best reading, the Vulgate has *occisam*, the "slain city." To what this partial devastation of Asia, and utter subversion of Rome, may point, I am unable to say.

63. *and, look, what thou hast.*] The Lat. is *et censum tuum in prædam habebunt*, "shall take thy possessions for a prey."

CHAPTER XVI.

6. *or may any one.*] The quotation in Gildas, and MS. A., agree in a better text here: *aut nunquid extinguet* (*-it*) *ignem cum stramen incensum fuerit?* = "Or will anything quench the fire when straw hath been set on fire?" See Bensly, p. 39.

10. *be afraid.*] Lat. *pavebit.* But Gildas and A., as above, agree in reading *horrebit*, a stronger word.

11. *beaten to powder.*] Or "crushed;" Lat. *conteretur.* The words "at his presence," or "from before his face" (Lat. *a facie ipsius*), are best connected, as in A. and Gildas, with what follows. Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 16; cxiv. 7.

12. Comp. Ps. xviii. 15.

13. *shall not miss.*] Churton compares the "right aiming thunderbolts" of Wisdom v. 21.

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14 Behold, the plagues are sent, and shall not return again, until they come upon the earth.

15 The fire is kindled, and shall not be put out, till it consume the foundation of the earth.

16 Like as an arrow which is shot of a mighty archer returneth not backward: even so the plagues that shall be sent upon earth shall not return again.

17 Woe is me! woe is me! who will deliver me in those days?

18 The beginning of sorrows and great mournings; the beginning of famine and great death; the beginning of wars, and the powers shall stand in fear; the beginning of evils! what shall I do when these evils shall come?

19 Behold, famine and plague, tribulation and anguish, are sent as scourges for amendment.

20 But for all these things they shall not turn from their wickedness, nor be alway mindful of the scourges.

21 Behold, victuals shall be so good cheap upon earth, that they shall think themselves to be in good case, and even then shall ‖evils grow upon earth, sword, famine, and great confusion.

‖ Or, *plagues.*

22 For many of them that dwell upon earth shall perish of famine; and the other, that escape the hunger, shall the sword destroy.

23 And the dead shall be cast out as dung, and there shall be no man to comfort them: for the earth shall be wasted, and the cities shall be cast down.

24 There shall be no man left to till the earth, and to sow it.

25 The trees shall give fruit, and who shall gather them?

26 The grapes shall ripen, and who shall tread them? for all places shall be desolate of men:

27 So that one man shall desire to see another, and to hear his voice.

28 For of a city there shall be ten left, and two of the field, which shall hide themselves in the thick groves, and in the clefts of the rocks.

29 [a]As in an orchard of olives upon every tree there are left three or four olives; [a] Isa. 17. 6.

30 Or as when a vineyard is gathered, there are left some clusters of them that diligently seek through the vineyard:

31 Even so in those days there shall be three or four left by them that search their houses with the sword.

32 And the earth shall be laid waste, and the fields thereof shall wax old, and her ways and all her paths shall grow full of thorns, be-

18. *and great death.*] Vulg. *et multi interitus*, which, like *multi gemitus* before, should probably be taken as a kind of apodosis in the nom., not genit. But the best reading is *et multi interient* (= *interibunt*). The sense, slightly paraphrased, appears to be: "Though it is but the beginning of sorrows, many shall wail; though but the beginning of famine, many shall perish; though but the beginning of wars, powers shall be in terror; though but the beginning of evils, all men shall tremble." The Geneva Version supplies the clause missing in the A. V., "and all shall tremble" (Lat. *et trepidabunt omnes*), which is needed to complete the parallelism of the sentence.

20. *shall not.*] Rather, "will not."

21. *so good cheap.*] An expression often found in old writers, answering to the French *à bon marché*.

to be in good case.] A rather loose rendering of *sibi esse directam pacem*, "that peace is assured for them." This meaning of *directam* appears to follow from the notion of being "straightforward," and so "unimpeded."

22. *famine . . . hunger.*] Another instance of the translator's fondness for varying words. It is *fames* in both cases in the Latin.

23. *shall be wasted.*] Rather, "shall be left desolate;" Lat. *derelinquetur . . . deserta*; and for "the cities" read "its cities."

26. *all places.*] Rather, "for there shall be great desolation in places;" Lat. *erit enim locis magna desertio.*

28. Comp. Rev. vi. 15, 16.

32. *shall grow full of thorns.*] Rather, "shall grow thorns;" Lat. *germinabunt spinas.* In what follows *transeat ouis* is said by Bensly to be the true reading of both A. and

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cause no man shall travel therethrough.

33 The virgins shall mourn, having no bridegrooms; the women shall mourn, having no husbands; their daughters shall mourn, having no helpers.

34 In the wars shall their bridegrooms be destroyed, and their husbands shall perish of famine.

35 Hear now these things, and understand them, ye servants of the Lord.

36 Behold the word of the Lord, receive it: believe not the gods of whom the Lord spake.

37 Behold, the plagues draw nigh, and are not slack.

38 As when a woman with child in the ninth month bringeth forth her son, within two or three hours of her birth great pains compass her womb, which pains, when the child cometh forth, they slack not a moment:

39 Even so shall not the plagues be slack to come upon the earth, and the world shall mourn, and sorrows shall come upon it on every side.

40 O my people, hear my word: make you ready to the battle, and in those evils be even as pilgrims upon the earth.

[b] See 1 Cor. 7. 29. 30, 31.

41 [b] He that selleth, let him be as he that fleeth away: and he that buyeth, as one that will lose:

42 He that occupieth merchandise, as he that hath no profit by it: and he that buildeth, as he that shall not dwell therein:

43 He that soweth, as if he should not reap: so also he that planteth the vineyard, as he that shall not gather the grapes:

44 They that marry, as they that shall get no children; and they that marry not, as the widowers.

45 And therefore they that labour labour in vain:

46 For strangers shall reap their fruits, and spoil their goods, overthrow their houses, and take their children captives, for ‖ in captivity and famine shall they get children.

‖ Or, *for.*

47 And they that occupy their merchandise with robbery, the more they deck their cities, their houses, their possessions, and their own persons:

48 The more will I be angry with them for their sin, saith the Lord.

49 Like as a whore envieth a right honest and virtuous woman:

50 So shall righteousness hate iniquity, when she decketh herself, and shall accuse her to her face, when he cometh that shall defend him that diligently searcheth out every sin upon earth.

51 And therefore be ye not like thereunto, nor to the works thereof.

52 For yet a little, and iniquity shall be taken away out of the earth, and righteousness shall reign among you.

S., instead of *transient homines*. Hence it should be: "because no sheep passeth through it." For "wax old" comp. Ps. cii. 26.

36. *the gods.*] Lat. *diis*. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 37. But Fritzsche reads *iis* on conjecture.

40. *as pilgrims.*] Comp. Heb. xi. 13. The reminiscences of the N. T. in this and the following verses (see marg. ref.) cannot but strike the reader.

43. *planteth.*] Rather, "pruneth;" Lat. *putat.*

46. *their goods.*] Lat. *substantiam illorum.*

47. *the more.*] Rather, "as long as;" Lat. *quantum diu*, or *quamdiu.*

49. The comparison, as will be seen, is inverted. "Righteousness" is what should answer to the "virtuous woman." The twofold rendering "envy" and "hate" is also uncalled for, the word being the same in both cases in the Latin—*zelari*. Fritzsche amends the text so as to read: "Like as a becoming and good woman is very jealous of, &c., so will righteousness be jealous of iniquity." This is taking *valde* to qualify *zelatur*. If not so, it will be *bona valde*, "a right good woman," as in the text.

51. *thereunto.*] *I.e.* to Iniquity, personified.

53 Let not the sinner say that he hath not sinned: for God shall burn coals of fire upon his head, which saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned.

54 Behold, the Lord knoweth all
[c] Luke 16. 15. the works of men, [c]their imaginations, their thoughts, and their hearts:

55 Which spake but the word,
[d] Gen. 1. 1. Let the earth be made; [d]and it was made: Let the heaven be made; and it was created.

56 In his word were the stars
[e] Ps. 147. 4. made, and he knoweth the [e]number of them.

57 He searcheth the deep, and the treasures thereof; he hath measured the sea, and what it containeth.

58 He hath shut the sea in the midst of the waters, and with his word hath he hanged the earth upon the waters.

59 He spreadeth out the heavens
[f] Ps. 24. 2. like a vault; [f]upon the waters hath he founded it.

60 In the desert hath he made springs of water, and pools upon the tops of the mountains, that the floods might pour down from the high rocks to water the earth.

Gen. 2. 61 [g]He made man, and put his heart in the midst of the body, and gave him breath, life, and understanding.

62 Yea, and the Spirit of Almighty God, which made all things, and searcheth out all hidden things in the secrets of the earth,

63 Surely he knoweth your inventions, and what ye think in your hearts, even them that sin, and would hide their sin.

64 Therefore hath the Lord exactly searched out all your works, and he will put you all to shame.

65 And when your sins are brought forth, ye shall be ashamed before men, and your own sins shall be your accusers in that day.

66 What will ye do? or how will ye hide your sins before God and his angels?

67 Behold, God himself is the judge, fear him: leave off from your sins, and forget your iniquities, to meddle no more with them for ever: so shall God lead you forth, and deliver you from all trouble.

68 For, behold, the burning wrath of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed you, ‖being idle, with things offered unto idols.

‖ Or, *being unable to resist.*

69 And they that consent unto them shall be had in derision and in reproach, and trodden under foot.

70 For there shall be in every place, and in the next cities, a great

53. *coals of fire.*] Fritzsche compares Prov. xxv. 22; Rom. xii. 20. But the heaping coals of fire on an enemy's head, there spoken of, is to soften and melt, that better feelings may be drawn out, as the metal from the ore in the furnace. The act here spoken of is one of vengeance. Hence Ps. cxx. 3 (in the Prayer Book version) is a truer parallel.

54. *knoweth.*] Rather, "will know," or "will take knowledge of;" Lat. *cognoscet.*

56. *made.*] Rather, "founded," or "established;" Lat. *fundatæ.* So in *v.* 59 the same word is used, and there correctly rendered. The idea is that of the στερέωμα, or *firmamentum.*

57. *the deep, &c.*] Lat. *abyssum et thesauros illarum.* The plural *illarum* shews that *abyssos* should be read, as it is by Hilgenfeld.

58. Comp. Job xxxviii. 8.

59. This is quoted by Ambrose ('Epist.' xxix.). See Bensly, p. 36 *n.* The original is Isa. xl. 22, which Ambrose cites differently.

62. *Spirit.*] The best MSS. waver between *spiramentum* and *spiramen*, meant, I suppose, to be a close rendering of πνεῦμα. The word "Spirit" is in the same construction as "breath," &c. in *v.* 61. The full stop should be placed at the end of this verse.

68. *and feed you, being idle, &c.*] The Lat. is *et cibabunt idolis occisos*, which would naturally mean, "and shall feed the slain with idols;" or possibly, "and shall give the slain as food (= as an offering) for idols." The translator appears to have found *ociosos* in his copy for *occisos*, whence the rendering in the text. A like variation appears in xv. 60.

70. *in every place.*] The Latin here is almost certainly corrupt: *erit enim locis locus.* Fritzsche conjectures: *erit enim locis multis*

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insurrection upon those that fear the Lord.

71 They shall be like mad men, sparing none, but still spoiling and destroying those that fear the Lord.

72 For they shall waste and take away their goods, and cast them out of their houses.

73 Then shall they be known, who are my chosen; and they shall be tried as the gold in the fire.

74 Hear, O ye my beloved, saith the Lord: behold, the days of trouble are at hand, but I will deliver you from the same.

75 Be ye not afraid, neither doubt; for God is your guide,

76 And the guide of them who keep my commandments and precepts, saith the Lord God: let not your sins weigh you down, and let not your iniquities lift up themselves.

77 Woe be unto them that are bound with their sins, and covered with their iniquities, like as a field is covered over with bushes, and the path thereof covered with thorns, that no man may travel through!

78 It is ‖left undressed, and is cast into the fire to be consumed therewith.

‖ Or, *shut out.*

motus, et, &c., "for there shall be disturbance in many places." Instead of "next" read "neighbouring;" Lat. *vicinas.*

73. More literally, "Then shall the trial of my elect appear, as gold that is tried in the fire." Comp. 1 Pet. i. 7.

77. *covered.*] Two Latin words are here rendered by the same word in English. "Covered with bushes" should rather be "choked" or "overrun with underwood;" Lat. *constringitur a silva.*

78. *is cast.*] As the subject is still "a field" (*ager*), this would be more fitly rendered "is left to," or "is given up to;" Lat. *mittitur.*

A subscription is found in some MSS., "Explicit liber Ezræ quintus," or "Expliciunt libri Esdre."

APPENDIX.

Vision of the Eagle (ch. xi. 1—ch. xii. 39).

As the question of the date of this Book turns in part on the interpretation given to the Vision of the Eagle, it may be worth while to endeavour to state clearly what the Vision was. From the fluctuating use of words in the English Version, it is difficult, without some study, to form any distinct conception of it.

An Eagle is seen by the prophet to rise from the sea, having twelve "feathered wings" (*alæ pennarum*). These wings are spread so as to overshadow the earth. Out of her wings (*pennæ*, but plainly the same as the *alæ pennarum*) were growing eight "contrary feathers" (*contrariæ pennæ*), or wing-like growths (see note on *v.* 3), which came to be "little wings" (*pennacula modica*), or, as we may call them for distinction, pinions. It is not said that the twelve large wings were on one side, and the eight small ones on the other, nor that they were arranged in any special manner. The Eagle has three heads, which remain at rest during its flight, the middle one being greater than the other two. As the Eagle rises upon its talons, a cry is heard proceeding from the midst of its body, bidding the wings to "watch not all at once," but by course, and the heads to be reserved till the last. On the "right side" there now arises one wing, which reigns till it comes to an end. The second follows, and has a "great time;" so that the declaration is made that no succeeding one will reign as much as half its length of time. In this way all the twelve wings reign and pass away in succession, save only that some of them "were set up but ruled not." Two also of the eight pinions rise and fall in like manner. There are thus left (*v.* 23) only the three heads which are at rest, and the remaining six out of the eight pinions. Of the six pinions left, two separate themselves, and "remain under" the head on the right side; the other four continuing as before. These four (now called, *v.* 25, "the feathers that were under the wing;" and in xii. 19, "under-feathers") attempt to raise themselves to power. One is "set up," but shortly disappears. The second of the four does the same, but has a still briefer course. Two pinions alone are left of these four. They aspire to reign, but are devoured by the central head, with the co-operation of the two on either side. This central head now reigns with more power than any of the wings had done, and puts the earth in fear. But on a sudden it is gone,

even as the wings. There survive now only the two outside heads, and the two pinions that had taken shelter under the right-hand one (*v.* 24). These two heads bear sway over the earth, as the middle one had done, till in process of time the one on the right hand devours that on the left.

A roaring Lion is now seen to rush from a forest, and, with human voice, to upbraid the Eagle for its oppression, commanding it to appear no more. On this the head still left disappears, and the two pinions (see note on xii. 2) which had sheltered under it have a semblance of dominion, but their kingdom is "small and full of uproar;" till at length "the whole body of the eagle is burnt," and nothing remains of it upon the earth.

In ch. xii. a partial explanation of this mysterious vision is given. It is declared (*v.* 11, cf. xi. 39) to be the kingdom symbolized by the fourth living creature in Daniel's vision (Dan. vii. 7). The twelve wings are so many kings, who reign in succession; the term of the second exceeding that of any of the rest. The voice from the midst of the body is the cry of internal discord and commotion. The eight pinions are eight kings, "whose times shall be but small, and their years swift." Two of these are the last survivors. The three heads are three kingdoms, more powerful and oppressive than those of the wings before them. The middlemost and greatest of the three is to "die upon his bed, and yet with pain" (*v.* 26). The other two are to be slain with the sword. The Lion is the Anointed of the Lord, who will rebuke the Eagle for its oppression, and make it come to an end.

Now, admitting that an eagle may be a natural emblem of any kingdom, the express reference in xii. 11 to "the kingdom" ("the fourth kingdom," in all the versions) of Daniel's vision seems to limit the application in this case to Rome. As the wings and heads are constituent parts of one body, it would be unnatural to assume that the wings can represent a series of monarchs in one of the great empires of antiquity, and the heads a series in another. If this be allowed, it shuts out such theories as those of Hilgenfeld, that by the wings may be meant the Ptolemies or the Seleucidæ, and by the heads the members of a Roman triumvirate. Hence it would seem that the fulfilment of the Vision must be sought in the history of Rome herself. Moreover, one point of resemblance seems to arrest attention at once. The second of the twelve wings, interpreted (xii. 14) to mean kings, has a reign more than twice as long as any succeeding one. If we begin the series with Julius Cæsar, as is done in the 'Sibylline Oracles' (v. 10–15), this might be held to be fulfilled in the case of Augustus, whose "reign" may be taken as lasting from B.C. 43, when he was made Consul, to his death in A.D. 14. But then, if this be taken as a starting-point, with whom is the line of twelve to end? Why should it cease at Domitian? And who are the three heads? An ingenious solution is proposed by Gfrörer (quoted by Dr. Westcott, art. SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS in the 'Dict. of the Bible'); namely, that, as some of the twelve were only "set up, but ruled not," the series may consist of the nine Cæsars proper (Julius Cæsar to Vitellius) and three pretenders, Piso, Vindex, and Nymphidius. The three heads would then be the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. This seems more probable than the theory of Volkmar, that, as the eagle would require pairs of wings balancing on each side, in order to fly, we should assume a pair of wings to represent one sovereign, and in like manner a pair of the lesser wings or pinions. But the language of xii. 14, 20 seems irreconcilable with this.

On the whole, then, the hypothesis of Gfrörer, given above, seems the most satisfactory. It leaves many things unexplained, especially the sequence of the eight pinions,—or rather the first six of the eight, as the last two are obscurely described as lingering on after the destruction of the third head. But it presents some striking coincidences with history. The first of the three heads expired by a natural death, yet with pain. This was true of Vespasian in A.D. 79. The second was destroyed by the sword of the third, who in turn fell a victim to the sword. While it may not be considered proved that Titus was murdered by Domitian, there was a strong conviction in the popular mind that such was the case, as is evident from the statements of Suetonius and Dion Cassius; and this is enough to justify the writer of this book. A Jew who had seen the destruction of his City and Temple under the first two of these Flavian emperors, and who was smarting under the exactions of the third, might well look and pray for the speedy coming of the "Lion of the tribe of Judah," and break out into a prophecy of that which his soul longed for.

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TOBIT.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Contents.

The book, after a few words of preface (i. 1, 2), declaring the work to be the record of the deeds (or words) of Tobit, "an honest and good man" (vii. 7), of the tribe of Naphtali, begins with an autobiography (i. 3—iii. 6). Tobit describes himself as having "walked all the days of his life in the way of truth and justice," and illustrates the statement by some notes of his life before and after his removal to Nineveh. In the day of national apostasy others might have sacrificed to Baal, he had never done so; others might have neglected the festival visits to Jerusalem and the payment of tithes, he had scrupulously observed both the letter and the spirit of the Law (i. 4–8); in the days of national captivity others might have eaten "the bread of the Gentiles," he, like another Daniel (i. 8), had kept himself from the defiling meats. He was married to Anna, one of his own tribe, and an only son Tobias had been born to them. The brief description of his life in Nineveh gives the picture of what must often have happened—the life of the exile happy or sad according to the nature of the reigning king. Under "Enemessar" (see note) he acquired position and secured employment; and he used his hour of prosperity in benefiting his more needy brethren, and in placing in safe hands money for his own future use: under another king, Sennacherib, he had to endure the loss of all his goods, and his acts of mercy to the unburied dead imperilled his life. Rest and security came to him again when "Sarchedonus" reigned in Nineveh (i. 13–22).

Chap. ii. gives the history of Tobit's blindness—his efforts to procure relief—the poverty which fell upon his household—and his domestic unhappiness. Some years passed (see ii. 10, note), and matters had not improved. Tobit took refuge in prayer, and that a prayer for deliverance "out of his distress" and for rest in "the everlasting place" (iii. 1–6). The same day the prayer of a sorrowing woman—Sara, the daughter of Raguel—rose from the "upper chamber" of a house in Ecbatane, a city of Media. She had been married seven times, and her seven husbands had died before the consummation of marriage. The taunts of others maddened her to contemplate suicide; a better mind impelled her to prayer: "If it please not Thee that I should die, command some regard to be had of me and pity taken of me, that I hear no more reproach" (iii. 7–15). "The prayers of them both," says the chronicler, "were heard before the majesty of the great God. And Raphael was sent to heal them both" (iii. 16, 17).

Ch. iv. leads up to the events which brought about the introduction of Raphael to Tobit's household. Tobit,

anxious to set his money matters in order before his death, summons to him his son Tobias, informs him of the money left with Gabael, and bids him seek out a guide for the journey to Media (v. 3). The old man gives his son admirable advice, illustrated by his own practice. Duty to the mother who may survive the speaker, and duty to the God Who alone can make life worth living, will preserve to his son an upright, honest course. Free but discriminating almsgiving (urged more than once; cp. iv. 7–11, 16, 17), a happy and lawful marriage (iv. 12, 13), a perception of the responsibilities of his position (iv. 14, 15), and a readiness to accept sound counsel are to be features of a character which will count the "fear of God" the "departure from all sin," and "the doing that which is pleasing in God's sight" "much wealth," in spite of and in the midst of earthly poverty (iv. 21). The guide is found in Raphael, who assumes the name of Azarias, and claims kindred with Tobit's own family (v. 12). The old man satisfies himself of the trustworthiness of his son's companion, and they pass away followed by a father's blessing and a mother's tears (v. 16–22).

Ch. vi. recounts the capture of the fish in the river Tigris (*v.* 2). Tobias, at Raphael's bidding, reserves the heart, the liver, and the gall; the use of the two first being explained to him thus: "if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed" (*v.* 7); and of the last-named, "it is good to anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed" (*v.* 8). Tobias would hail with joy the prospect of seeing his father restored to sight by so simple a remedy; but what interest could he take in the utility of the other medicines? This interest Raphael presently arouses in him. As they pass on, Tobias learns the intention of his guide to stay at the house of Raguel, his cousin; and that he, Sara's husband-to-be by right of inheritance, should also become her preserver through the help of a "merciful God," and by the use of the smoking heart and liver. The Angel's words arouse the young man's deepest sympathies; — "when he had heard these things, he loved Sara, and his heart was effectually joined unto her." The travellers reach Ecbatane in due course, and are received by Raguel, Edna his wife, and Sara with a true Oriental courtesy, changed into affectionate demonstrativeness and hospitality when the half-suspected relationship is made known (vii. 1–8). Tobias, however, like another of old (Gen. xxiv. 33), will eat nothing till a marriage contract has been agreed and sworn to between him and Sara. With the ardour of love at first sight he sets aside Raguel's frank confession of their great trouble (*vv.* 9–15); and the chapter closes with a mother's prayer for her weeping child as she leads her to the marriage-chamber (*vv.* 16–18).

Chapter viii. gives the consequences of using the means suggested by the Angel for the expulsion of "the evil spirit," who had so long plagued Sara: "he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him" (viii. 1–3). This is followed by the simple but touching prayer of the delivered couple (*vv.* 4–8); Raguel's outburst of genuine thanksgiving to Him Who had "had mercy of two that were the only begotten children of their fathers;" and the prolongation of the marriage festivities for fourteen days (*vv.* 19–21). During this time Raphael, at the request of Tobias, goes to Rages and fetches away the money left with Gabael (ch. ix.). On his return Tobias, resisting the pressure to detain him, departs with his wife and Raphael, his goods, money, and servants, homewards to Nineveh, followed by the blessings of Raguel and Edna; the mother giving her son-in-law one parting word of affectionate caution, "Behold, I commit my daughter unto thee of special trust, wherefore do not entreat her evil" (x. 8–12).

In the meantime Tobit and Anna had been counting the days for the journey out and home which they had calculated would be required by Tobias and Raphael. When these days had expired, and neither son nor guide appeared, there fell a distressing anxiety upon the hearts of the blind father and the mother. "Are they detained?" was

Tobit's question. "Is Gabael dead, and no man to give the money?" The mother's thoughts were more sad and more positive: "My son is dead," she cried; "now I care for nothing, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes." "Every day," says the narrative, "she went out into the way which they went, and did eat no meat in the day-time, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son" (x. 1–7). It was as she sat thus one day, "looking about toward the way for her son," that "she espied him coming, and the man that went with him" (xi. 5, 6). At Raphael's suggestion Tobias and he had pushed on ahead of the caravan, the love of a bridegroom yielding for awhile to the affection of a son. In a few moments the mother's arms were round his neck. Tobias carried in his hand the gall of the fish; he saw his blind father "stumbling" towards him: with one hand he saved him from falling, with the other he "strake of the gall on his father's eyes, saying, Be of good hope, my father. And when his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them; and the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes; and when he saw his son, he fell upon his neck," weeping for joy and blessing God (xi. 2–15). The chapter concludes with the arrival of Sara, and an account of the festivities which followed.

There remained one thing more to be done, to reward the faithful Azarias. Father and son agreed that his services merited more than the covenanted wages; and gratitude prompted Tobias to suggest, "Give him half of those things which I have brought." With this princely gift Tobit would have dismissed Azarias. But the time of self-revelation had come, and Azarias took them both apart. "Give God thanks," he said, "not me. Bless Him, praise Him for the things which He hath done unto you. It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God" (xii. 5, 6). He declared to them his true nature (xii. 19): "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy Angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One" (xii. 15). Did they marvel why he had come to them? Let them recall certain facts, certain prayers, certain deeds. Tobit's prayers and Sara's prayers had been brought by him in remembrance before the Holy One: Tobit's deeds of mercy to the dead had been witnessed by him. Therefore had God sent him to heal those who prayed, and those who practised what they prayed "with fasting and alms and righteousness" (xii. 8–14). And then he cheered those "troubled" and worshipping men: "Fear not. It shall go well with you. Give God thanks, for I go up to Him that sent me" (xii. 16–22).

One especial injunction was left with Tobit and his son by the Angel: "Write all things which are done in a book" (xii. 20). Tobit remembered the charge, and chapter xiii. gives as an instalment the "prayer of rejoicing" which he "wrote." It is a prayer dictated by the experience of his own life, and a continuous commentary on the truth with which it opens, "God doth scourge, and hath mercy; He leadeth down to hell and bringeth up again" (xiii. 2). The history of his own life was from darkness to light, from sorrow to joy: might it not, must it not, be the same with his fellow-countrymen and with Jerusalem, the holy city? A few extracts will shew this: "In the land of my captivity do I praise God," he exclaims, "and declare His might and majesty to a sinful nation. O ye sinners, turn and do justice before Him! Who can tell if He will accept you and have mercy on you?" (xiii. 6 *b*). "Confess Him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel; for He is the God our Father for ever. He will scourge us for our iniquities, and will have mercy again. If ye turn to Him with your whole heart, and deal uprightly before Him, then will He turn unto you and will not hide His face from you" (xiii. 3–6 *a*). From God's people to God's city the transition was easy; in spirited and pathetic language the "seer" foretells the future: "O Jerusalem, the holy city, He will scourge thee for thy children's works, and will have mercy again on the sons of the righteous. Praise" (note the thought) "the everlasting King that His tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and make joyful there in thee

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those that are captives, and love in thee for ever those that are miserable" (xiii. 9, 10). In his vision of the future Tobit sees "the children of the just gathered together" in Jerusalem, and blessing "the Lord of the just, and many nations coming from far with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of Heaven, and all generations praising the holy city with great joy" (xiii. 11–13). The vision creates in him an ecstasy of happiness: "O blessed are they which love thee (Jerusalem), for they shall rejoice in thy peace: blessed are all they which have been sorrowful for all thy scourges; for they shall rejoice for thee, when they have seen all thy glory, and shall be glad for ever" (xiii. 14). In terms which reflect the inspiration of Isaiah and Jeremiah and foreshadow the vision of the Apocalypse, he beholds "Jerusalem built up with precious stones, and her towers with pure gold;" he hears the very "streets singing Alleluia," and men's voices proclaiming, "Blessed be God, Which hath extolled it for ever" (xiii. 16–18).

Tobit was 66 years old when his sight was restored to him, and he lived to be 158 (xiv. 1, 11). The occupation of that span of 92 years was the same as that of his previous life: it may be summed up in those words of the dying man which are also the motto of the Book: "Consider, my son, what alms doeth, and how righteousness doth deliver" (xiv. 11). The words form part of the last counsel the "very aged" father gave to Tobias and his six sons. In that counsel he advised Tobias to take his family from Nineveh, the destruction of which he believed inevitable, and find peace "for a time" in Media, far away from the "good land" of Palestine, from "desolate Jerusalem" and the "burned house of God" (xiv. 4, 8). "For a time" only; because though he and Tobias might never live to see it, yet would their children find it true, "that again God will have mercy on them, and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a Temple, but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from all places of their captivity and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken" (xiv. 5). Tobias remained in Nineveh till his mother was also dead; to both he gave "honourable" burial, and then with Sara went to Media to Ecbatane, to the home of Raguel (xiv. 12). There in due course he buried Raguel and Edna, and there too he himself died at the age of 127; but not before he had "heard of the destruction of Nineveh" by Nebuchadnezzar, and had "rejoiced over" its fall (xiv. 13–15).

§ II. Texts and original Language.

The popularity and charm of the Book of Tobit are attested both by its early circulation in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Greek, and Latin texts; and by the frequent comments, numerous illustrations, and additional details which, in these Versions, give variety to the form of the story while preserving intact the main facts. But of these texts which is the original? Or, are they in their present form reproductions of a lost original? A few words upon the texts themselves must precede any attempt at answering this still disputed problem.

(*a.*) The *Hebrew* text exists in two forms: (a_1) *Hebræus Münsteri*, first printed at Constantinople (1516) and reproduced by Sebastian Münster—to whom it was a "libellus vere aureus"—at Basle (1542). It has been published often since: *e.g.* by Walton (who printed the edition of 1516 in vol. iv. of his Polyglott), and—in modern times—by Neubauer.[1] (a_2) *Hebræus Fagii*, a text published by Fagius from a Constantinopolitan copy of 1517 (or 1519), and assigned to the 11th and 12th century, also printed in Walton's Polyglott. Of

[1] Neubauer (A.), 'The Book of Tobit,' p. xii. &c., Oxford, 1878. The Constantinopolitan text has been collated by him (1) with a Heb. MS. (No. 1251) in the National Library at Paris; (2) with the Persian translation of the Hebrew MS. (No. 130) in the National Library at Paris; (3) through the librarian of the Parma Royal Library with MS. 194 of De Rossi's Catalogue. Neubauer dates the Hebrew text published by him from the 5th to the 7th century.

Cp. Bissell, 'The Book of Tobit' (Lange's Commentary on the Apocrypha), Introduction, p. 111 &c.

these texts a_2 is for the most part a free translation or paraphrase of the Roman edition of the LXX.; a_1 is considered by Neubauer a translation of an earlier recension of the Bodleian Chaldee text.

(*b.*) The *Chaldee* text. St. Jerome, in his preface to the Book of Tobit, says that he translated it into Latin from the lips of an expert who rendered into Hebrew the words of a *Chaldee* text before him. The translation occupied Jerome but a single day, and was written down by an amanuensis from his dictation.[1] No critic ever doubted Jerome's veracity, but nothing—till modern times—was known of a Chaldee text. The discovery of such a text is a chapter in the history of the romance of ancient Bibliography.[2] A MS. was bought at Constantinople for the Bodleian Library (Oxford). When examined, it was found to be a collection of Midrashim (expositions or commentaries) copied in the 15th century in Greek-Rabbinical characters. Of this collection 'The Book of Tobit' forms the fifth piece, being given as a commentary on Gen. xxviii. 2; and it purports to be an extract from the Midrash Rabba de Rabbah, a work identified with the Midrash major on Genesis of Martini. This Chaldee Tobit was therefore known amongst the Jews at the beginning of the 11th century; but, if anterior to the Hebrew text of the 5th to 7th century, it is of course older. Neubauer in fact concludes that "Jerome had our present Chaldee text in a fuller form before him when he made his translation of the book." The Bodleian text agrees substantially with the Greek Sinaitic text (see *c*), and is by some derived from it (see p. 169).

(*c.*) Of the *Greek* Version there are three texts: (c_1) that of the Codex Alexandrinus and of the Codex Vaticanus, and known as A; (c_2) the more expanded text of the Codex Sinaiticus, known as B[1]; (c_3) the incomplete text (containing only vi. 9—xiii. 8) of the codices 44, 106, 107 (according to Holmes and Parsons' notation), known as C and akin to B[2]. Of the texts A and B—between which the question lies—A is considered to be the original by Fritzsche, Bickell, Nöldeke, Hilgenfeld, Grimm, and Preiss; B by Ewald, Reusch, and Schürer.[3] This divergence of opinion is due to the old difficulty, Does a shorter recension of a subject mark originality or abbreviation? In this case, Is the diffuseness of B due to enlargement on the score of paraphrase, or has its greater circumstantiality been pared down to the dimensions of A? The point is of importance, but it seems at present impossible to obtain unanimity of opinion. If Fritzsche does not convince Schürer, Schürer fails to convince Grimm.

(*d.*) The *Latin* texts are represented by the Itala and Vulgate. (d_1) The Itala, as printed by Sabatier[4]—and not very accurately—has for its ground-text a Paris MS. (Codex Regius) of the 8th century, compared with two other MSS. of about the same date marked by many variations. A second[5] recension of the Itala is perhaps to be found in a Vatican codex, formerly belonging to

[1] The Preface is to be found in most modern copies of the Vulgate. Jerome's actual words are: "Exigitis ut librum Chaldæo sermone conscriptum, ad Latinum stylum traham; librum utique Tobiæ, quem Hebræi de catalogo divinarum Scripturarum secantes, his quæ hagiographa memorant, manciparunt. . . . Et quia vicina est Chaldæorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguæ peritissimum loquacem reperiens, unius diei laborem arripui, et quicquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui." Cp. Gutberlet, 'Das Buch Tobias,' p. 19.

[2] See Neubauer, *op. cit.*, Pref. p. vii. &c.

[1] Published separately by Reusch, 'Libellus Tobit e Codice Sinaitico editus et recensitus,' 1870.

[2] Fritzsche gives this in the 'Kurzgefasstes Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testamentes; das Buch Tobi,' p. 89 &c.

[3] Cp. the following papers &c. on Tobit: Bickell, 'Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie' (1878), Heft i. p. 216 &c.; Nöldeke, 'Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie' (Jan. 1879); Hilgenfeld, 'Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie' (1862), p. 161 &c. (1886), p. 147 &c.; Grimm, Ibid. (1881), p. 48; Preiss, Ibid. (1885), p. 39; Ewald, 'Jahrbuch der biblische Wissenschaft,' ix. p. 191; Schürer, 'Theologische Literaturzeitung' (1878), No. 14; cp. also his 'Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,'[2] ii. 607.

[4] 'Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ Versiones antiquæ,' i. Neubauer's text (p. lxviii. &c.) is a reproduction of that MS. of Sabatier's which contained the whole Book.

[5] Bianchini gives this text in the 'Vindiciæ canonicarum Scripturarum,' p. cccl. &c. Reusch ('Libellus' &c., p. iv.) considers it more accurate than that of Sabatier: see Bickell, p. 218.

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Queen Christina of Sweden, of unknown date, and containing only i.—vi. 12. There are fragments of a third[1] recension contained in a Roman MS. of the 6th or 7th century which differ considerably from the other recensions, especially in the matter of expansion.

The Greek text B (Codex Sinaiticus) is the basis of the text of the Itala; but the Latin translator used also the Greek text A, or—as Reusch thinks more probable—the Itala has been altered here and there to make it more in accordance with the Greek A. Certain peculiarities of the accepted Itala text, such as unique readings, interpolations, or omissions, may be assigned to the translator; and the text itself is to be dated at the latest about A.D. 200, since it is quoted by Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage *c.* 248 A.D.).

(d_2.) The Vulgate, undertaken by Jerome at the desire of Chromatius bishop of Aquileia and of Heliodorus bishop of Altinum and made direct from the Chaldee (see (*b*) above), is among the earliest of his translations, and is older than that of the Book of Daniel.[2] The rapidity with which it was made[3] did not militate against its general faithfulness; and more than that is hardly to be expected, if he proceeded upon the plan he described in the Preface to the Book of Judith, "magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens." Further, he must have had the Itala before him; for he employs it more frequently than in other Books, if he also permitted himself considerable independence of treatment. There are many places where Jerome is an epitomiser first and a translator next.[4] One notable feature in this Version is its very large additions to the ordinary text;[5] but that explanation is considered adequate which refers them to Jerome's method, or to the work of a later hand, or to the Chaldee MS. from which his teacher was reading.

(*e.*) A *Syriac* Version is given in Walton's Polyglott.[1] It is based upon two MSS., and follows exactly the LXX. or Greek A as far as vii. 10, and the Greek B from vii. 11. Nöldeke believes the former of these MSS. to belong to the Hexapla of Paulus of Tela (*c.* beginning of the 7th cent.); its literalness gives it a certain value for the criticism of the LXX. The text of this Syriac Version is confirmed by the Syriac translation preserved in the Medicean library at Rome. The second Syriac MS. agrees principally with the Greek text C.

It will be seen, by the dependence of these Versions upon either a Greek or Semitic text, that the question of originality resolves itself into the choice of a text composed in one or other of these two languages. The chief supporters of a Greek original are Fritzsche, Hitzig, and Nöldeke; on the other hand, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Grätz, Bickell, and Rosenthal strongly advocate a Semitic original. Patient examination of the arguments advanced on either side—dependent as these arguments frequently are upon negative considerations, philological niceties, textual variations, and opinions ingenious rather than ingenuous as to tendency, date, place, and time of composition—has not yet led to a decision which commands unanimous acceptance. Many critics leave the matter where they find it. They are unable to satisfy themselves, and are unwilling, with only the existing evidence before them, to recommend any judgment as final. In the whole question one positive fact alone is forthcoming, viz. St. Jerome's unquestioned statement that his translation was a translation from the Chaldee. That would imply a Semitic original, whether or not this "Chaldee" was, as Grätz and Bickell unite in considering it, the neo-Hebraic dialect; and whether or not his copy was but an incomplete copy or recension of an earlier text. Is there then anything which, on philo-

[1] See Mai, 'Spicilegium,' ix.; Reusch, 'Das Buch Tobias,' p. xxvi.

[2] Reusch, p. xxxii.

[3] He states that he also translated the three books of Solomon in three days (see Præf. in libr. Salom.).

[4] Cp. on these points Reusch, pp. xxxiv.–xxxviii.

[5] Many of these will be found in their proper places in the Commentary. Cp. Reusch, pp. xl.–xlii.; Bickell, p. 221.

[1] Cp. Reusch, pp. xxx.–xxxi., who also furnishes notices of the Armenian (*c.* 5th cent., based upon the Greek A) and Arabic (based upon the Vulgate) Versions (pp. xliv., xlviii.).

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logical grounds, supports or detracts from this single *positive* factor? To my own mind the Semitic character of the proper names (male and female), the textual difficulties best explained as faults of translation, as well as the whole cast and style of the narrative are strongly in support of it; but it is only just to add that others, competent and experienced in such matters, challenge and reject such a conclusion. St. Jerome's "Chaldee" is to them but a translation or adaptation of a Greek original.[1]

Other considerations therefore require examination. For example, what light does the narrative itself, its tendency, its doctrinal teaching, its historical statements &c. throw upon the period and place in which the writer of the Book lived? After these have been fairly estimated, the light they furnish may perhaps reflect light upon the original language in which the Book was written.

§ III. Date of Composition.

The difference of opinion with respect to this is at first sight startling and bewildering. One school,[2] maintaining the historical integrity and authenticity of the Book, places its composition in the 7th century B.C. Another class of critics, following the lead of Hitzig, Kohut, and Grätz, would make it eight or nine centuries later. Others, lastly, seek a judicious mean between such extremes.

(*a*) The first opinion demands of the reader a literal acceptance of statements respecting two Jewish families living in Nineveh and in Ecbatane in the time of the Assyrian captivity. A certain Assyrian and Median colouring does without doubt present itself naturally and unobtrusively in the sections where it might be expected;[3] and the injunction (xii. 20) to hand down in permanent form events fraught with something more than a passing significance may rightly be referred to a holy purpose inspired in a devout mind; but historical in the usual sense of the term the Book can hardly be, without considerable elasticity be admitted as regards names, places, distances, and numbers.[1] There may well have been a family history in which figured such Jewish persons as Tobit and Raguel, Tobias and Sarah, Anna and Edna, residents in the cities and countries named. Healing may well have been vouchsafed to Tobit and Sarah in answer to prayer. Prosperity after poverty, a happy end after a sad beginning, is true to real life. Nevertheless most critics outside this school unite in considering the Book a work of imagination, founded possibly upon genuine occurrences in the lives of those described, but without further pretension to historical accuracy.

(*b*) The second school, declining to consider the authenticity of any details matters of moment or interest, goes to the opposite extreme of accepting nothing. The Book is to them a pure romance from beginning to end; and, in their opinion, the only serious question is to discover the place and time indicated by the local allusions and the "tendency" they find in it. The doctrine and ethics as well as the ceremonial and other practices have therefore been analysed with a view to extracting their historical position independently of the romance or poetry with which they are invested, and a late date has been propounded on internal even more than upon external evidence.

To Hitzig[2] the crucial passage indicative of date is xiv. 4, 5. He considers that the writer is living at a time when the destruction of the second Temple had taken place (cp. *v.* 5; xiii. 9, 10), and therefore that the earliest date possible to the Book would be A.D. 70. Proceeding to a more definite conclusion, he finds in the destruction of "Nineveh" (xiv. 4) a masked allusion to that destruction of Antioch, the Rome of Asia Minor, which was due to an earthquake

[1] See Excursus i. at the end of the Introduction.

[2] Cp., as representatives, the Roman Catholic writers Gutberlet, § 3; Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 256 &c.

[3] Cp. notes on i. 15, 22; ii. 11; v. 3, 14; vi. 1. Windischmann, 'Zoroastr. Studien,' p. 145, thought this colouring so marked, that he also dated the Book in the 7th cent. B.C.

[1] Cp. notes on i. 2, 4, 15, 21; xiv. 11, 14. The so-called "improbabilities" discovered in the mode in which Tobit became blind (ii. 9, 10), in the experience of Tobias with the fish (vi. 3), and in the introduction of the dog (v. 16, xi. 4), need not be considered serious.

[2] 'Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie' (1860), p. 250 &c.

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(A.D. 113) in the reign of Trajan. The country was soon after agitated by revolt while Media or Parthia was at peace; and this is the explanation of the writer's advice to his countrymen to depart to a quieter land till their then distress was overpast (xiv. 4, 12). The requirements of this theory point to a date *c.* A.D. 116. Rosenthal[1] concurs with Hitzig in recognizing a reference to Nineveh, and in dating the composition of the Book after the revolt under Trajan; but in addition he finds this emperor's portrait and deeds, or those of his cruel lieutenant Lucius Quietus,[2] in Sennacherib's character and actions (i. 15 &c.); and those of the Emperor Hadrian in Esarhaddon (i. 21, 22). It is true that in the first years of Hadrian's reign an expectation of better days and of a restoration of the Temple was rife among the Jews;[3] and accordingly in those first years does Rosenthal find the happy time in which the Book of Tobit, marked by "a tender, peaceful, and hopeful tone," might have been written. Rosenthal, however, is in these identifications with emperors in direct antagonism with Grätz (see below); and Hilgenfeld's[4] objections to one and all such parallelisms—viz. the incongruousness of the type and antitype, the absence from the Book of any circumstances approaching those required by the theory, as well as the improbabilities inherent in it—are stronger than the arguments adduced to support it. It is urged, moreover, with much probability, that the inference from the passages upon which these and similar hypotheses lay stress—viz., allusion to the destruction of the *second* Temple—is unwarranted.[5] The expressions used and the Messianic anticipations generally are far more appropriately and naturally referred to a writer who looks back upon the past to the destruction of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. The language of xiii. 11 is that of well-known prophetic expectation; xiii. 13 expresses the familiar hope of the return of the Diaspora to Jerusalem; xiii. 16, 17, but reflects the previous portraiture of an Isaiah (see reff. in notes). Long before the second destruction of Jerusalem, the "troublous times" (Dan. ix. 25) inspired men with the yearning for happier days and for the promised glory of the Jerusalem of the future. Even while the second Temple was standing, and men could not but admit its beauty, the circumstances under which they, as subject to heathen powers, were permitted to embellish and frequent it, but deepened the craving for the Temple of the future when they should tread the sacred courts as freemen, and where their sacrifices should be offered with a liberty and a lavishness recalling the palmy days of a Solomon.

The opinion of Kohut is in favour of a still later date. He finds traces of Persian thought, belief, and practice, everywhere in the Book; and notably (1) in the recorded conceptions of the powers good and evil of the spiritual world, and (2) in the acts of Tobit towards the dead.

(1) The angelology and demonology of the Book is no doubt marked by a particularity which would at any time attract attention. The teaching on this subject, descriptive and ethical, is, broadly stated, in advance of the teaching of the canonical Books of Scripture; but it is only by strained applications and frequently mistaken interpretations that the conceptions of Parseeism or the puerilities of Rabbinism can be evolved from or paralleled with the representations of the Book of Tobit. An investigation conducted elsewhere[1] has led me to the conclusion that this Book, while certainly affected by foreign and external belief on these points, presents its ideas in a form far more advanced than the Book of Daniel, but also far short of that of the Book of Enoch.

(2) Tobit's care for and burial of the dead—acts seemingly quite natural among devout Jews at any period of

[1] 'Vier apokryph. Bücher,' p. 135.

[2] See the events in Grätz, 'Geschichte d. Juden,'[2] iv. 123 *sq.*; Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' ii. 419 &c.

[3] Grätz, iv.[2] 137 &c. Kindly, or not unfriendly, feeling on the part of Hadrian could not have lasted long: see Milman, 'History of the Jews,' ii. 423.

[4] 'Zeitschr. f. w. Th.' (1881), p. 42.

[5] See Hilgenfeld, 'Zeitschr. f. w. Th.' (1862), p. 193; Grimm, ibid. (1881), p. 4.

[1] See Excursus ii. at the end of the Introduction.

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their history—has yet been interpreted both by Kohut and Grätz as indicative of a special and late date. The former[1] finds in Tobit's actions a protest against the conduct of Ardeshir (A.D. 226), the first Persian monarch of the Sassanian dynasty. In his time, burial of the dead was forbidden to the Jews. To his co-religionists, burial of the dead was objectionable on religious grounds; and they carried their objections to such a point that they ordered the disinterment of the bodies. But this law they applied to all, whether Jews or not; and the alleged parallelism with the history of Tobit is imperfect. That history does not present burial as universally interdicted, but only to the Jews when they sought it for their slaughtered compatriots (i. 18, 19). Grätz,[2] objecting to Kohut's view, advances another which, if not inapposite as regards parallelism, has yet not met with acceptance. In Sennacherib the furious (i. 15–20) he finds the portrait of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–38); in Esarhaddon the gentle, the portrait of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61). The reign of Hadrian is indeed marked, in the annals of the Jews, by the sanguinary rebellion under the false Messiah Bar-cochba and Akiba, greatest of the Rabbins.[3] Of its many terrible episodes, the siege of Bether, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents, is amongst the most terrible. The story runs that Hadrian commanded the dead to be set as a surrounding enclosure to a vine-clad hill, and forbad their burial till a new king should arise and permit it. This story, or one containing events akin to it, Grätz finds reflected in the Book of Tobit. The Talmudical passages which are quoted by him as authority for his view are, however, too full of exaggerations and marvels to merit much confidence; and his interpretation and use of them are seriously impugned by Rosenthal and Grimm.[4]

Further, though it seems certain that Antoninus Pius was far less stern towards the Jews than his predecessor;[1] yet if his treatment of the Christians be at all a guide to his treatment of any who opposed that Roman religion which was essentially political, and that deification of the living emperor which would be as blasphemous to Christian as to Jew,[2] then the Jews would not expect or receive such toleration and favour as is supposed to be implied in the actions of the Roman Esarhaddon. Grätz's hypothesis is, in fact, far-fetched, and reflects too evidently the desire to find in this particular conduct on the part of Tobit the leading thought of the book. The cruelty of a Bacchides (1 Macc. vii. 17), the criminal record of a Jason (2 Macc. v. 10), the madness of an Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix. 15), exhibited—in their sacrilegious treatment of the dead—quite sufficient parallels, were parallels required; while acts such as those of Tobit must frequently have been repeated wherever the heathen slaughtered and massacred Israelites who asked for no quarter and gave none.

Passing from historical to other considerations adduced by the advocates of a late date, much stress has been laid upon the prominence and efficacy alleged to be attached to fasting and almsgiving;[3] but, certainly as regards the former, far more has been read into the Book than it actually contains. There is only one passage (xii. 8) in which fasting is advocated; and even there not for any merit it might possess in itself, but only as linked in triple union with prayer and almsgiving. Too great a wish to discover distinctions between the teaching of apocryphal and canonical Books of Scripture has been here father to the thought that fasting is advocated as "a regularly recurring, and in itself meritorious, observance." There is nothing which on this point

[1] 'Etwas über d. Moral u. d. Abfassungzeit d. B. Tobias,' pp. 19–21.

[2] 'Monatschrift,' p. 513 &c. Cp. also his 'Gesch. d. Juden,' iv. note 17 (p. 462 &c.). He is followed by Preiss, pp. 50–1.

[3] For the events see Grätz, 'Gesch.' iv. chs. vii.–ix.; Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' ii. bk. xviii.

[4] Grimm, 'Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie' (1881), p. 41; Rosenthal, pp. 109, 110.

[1] See Grätz, 'Gesch.' iv. pp. 184–6; Milman, ii. p. 440.

[2] See Lightfoot's 'S. Ignatius,' i. p. 444.

[3] On fasting, see xii. 8 (note). Observe that the Vulgate alone mentions Sarah's fasting (iii. 10, note) and the continence of the newly-married couple (viii. 4, note). On almsgiving, see i. 3, 16; iv. 7–11, 16; xii. 8, 12; xiv. 2, 10, and notes.

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exceeds the teaching of the Old Testament, or approximates it to the Pharisaism of the time of Christ.

Almsgiving is commended, and strongly; but it is a decided mistake to find in the inculcations of this duty the leading object of the Book, or to press the language which describes it as "making void the Law of God through tradition." The description given of Tobit's almsdeeds (i. 3, 16; xiv. 2, 10) is quite simple and without exaggeration, and his own admonitions respecting it (iv. 7–11, 16) are found amongst other counsels; holding, it is true, a very prominent place among them, but by no means the first in point of order (cp. iv. 3–6), or to the undue exclusion of other matters of moment, such as (*e. g.*) that which a Jewish father in exile would have so much at heart, the marriage of his son (iv. 12, 13; cp. vi. 15). It is with the writer but an illustration, though a grand one, of the principle enunciated in iv. 5, 6. Note also that not one word is spoken about almsgiving in the thanksgiving (xiii. 6), where it might reasonably have been expected, had so much merit been attached to it; and it is somewhat significant that Anna is represented as not only contemning Tobit's almsdeeds as profitless (ii. 14), but also as blaming her husband for that greediness after gold which she, in the bitterness of a mother's sense of wrong, unjustly considered to have cost their son his life (v. 18; cp. xii. 8). Raphael's eulogy of almsgiving (xii. 8) partakes of the same character and repeats the same words as Tobit's, but without investing it with undue honours or claiming for it other merit than that of a practical illustration of a similar principle, "Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you" (xii. 7).

An examination of the language employed both by Tobit and Raphael will, perhaps, remove some misapprehensions. Much stress, for example, has been laid upon the phrases, "alms do deliver from death" (iv. 10; xii. 9), "(alms) shall purge away all sin" (xii. 9); and they are—in themselves and apart from their context—strong phrases; but to be estimated aright they must be taken in connexion with the immediate narrative. Thus an investigation of the first of these passages would seem to shew that the "death" from which almsdeeds rescued such men as Tobit and Manasses was death at the hands of a Sennacherib and some unknown persecutor respectively. It had nothing to do with death as a punishment for sin. This latter sense has been perhaps legitimately deduced from it by commentators, but it was not the primary sense. Similarly with regard to the second phrase, a meaning has been attributed to it, fair enough when put forward as a legitimate deduction, but which is not the original meaning. It is not perhaps possible to assign to this phrase so definite an application as to the former; but taken in connexion with the whole history, and with the contrast between Tobit's whole mode of life and that of his neighbours (cp. i. 6, 12; ii. 8; and the whole tenor of the teaching in ch. iv.), there is a present deliverance or purgation implied in the words which falls far short of the eschatological interpretation some have attached to it (see below, p. 161).

Historically, the view presented on both these points is that of the period to which so much else converges, viz. the pre-Maccabean era. Grätz and Rosenthal do indeed affirm that the teaching is Haggadic rather than Biblical, and find in the merit of atonement attributed in the second phrase to almsgiving indications of a date requiring the final destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem; but their arguments would apply as forcibly to the events which followed the first destruction of the Temple as to the last. Atonement for sin by sacrifice in the Temple was as impossible to the exile in Assyria and Babylonia, in the time of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, as it was to the Jew who wept over the desecration consummated by Titus. In both cases a substitute for animal sacrifice was required, and the propitiatory character of righteous deeds was recognised in the time of Daniel (iv. 27; see note. Cp. Prov. x. 2, xi. 4[1]). The recogni-

[1] In the original of these passages צדקה תציל ממות, Grätz (pp. 451 &c.) finds the source of Tob. iv. 10. The word צדקה (righteousness) is there rendered by the LXX. δικαιοσύνη: here the word employed is ἐλεημοσύνη, as in Deut.

tion of a spiritual religion as equivalent and even superior to the purely ceremonial worship dates, not from the first century after Christ, but from the time of the Captivity.[1]

The conditions and circumstances connected with the marriage of Tobias and Sarah (vii. 13) are also advanced as indicative of a specific date. The "instrument of covenants" there mentioned is taken [2] to represent the document signed by a husband which assured to the wife a claim upon his property. This practice, an emendation upon previous arrangements which had been proved faulty in working, is said to date from the time of Simon ben Shetach, brother of the Queen Salome-Alexandra (B.C. 79–70), and to have become general about B.C. 50. But Simon's action was rather the improvement of an existing practice than the introduction of a new one; and the language of vii. 13 may well refer to the old practice of depositing a sum or document with the father of the bride. Admitting, however, Grätz's interpretation, the date B.C. 50 is a century earlier than that to which his other deductions would point.

To the above views as to late date, two more only need be added. The suggestion of Linschmann [1] that the book reflects the fables or myths of Armenia, is, as a whole, surrendered by Preiss;[2] but this latter critic feels himself enabled to argue—from what he can accept of Linschmann's view, and from deductions similar to those of Kohut and Grätz—that the Book exhibits Persian influence working upon a Jew of Babylonia about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. This conclusion is in striking contrast with that of Ewald,[3] who, also arguing from the evidence of Persian influence upon a Jew resident in the far East, dates the Book in the 4th century B.C.

(*c*) Between these extremes and those already noted is there no medium?

(1.) *External evidence.*—A large number of critics decide in favour of the 2nd or 1st century B.C.[4] The *terminus ad quem* is found in the references to the Temple (xiv. 4, &c.), to which allusion has already been made. That Temple was the Temple of Zerubbabel; "not like to the first" (*v.* 5; see reff. in note) which Israel owed to Solomon, but also not yet the "glorious building" (ibid.) with its glittering masses of white marble and pinnacles of gold which the lavish hand

vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Dan. iv. 24. The change is ethically (see Cremer, 'Wörterbuch d. N. T. Gräcität,'[4] *s. nn.* δικαιοσύνη and ἐλεημοσύνη) and historically interesting, but hardly to be deferred, in point of time, to the Talmudic period. The non-selection of the Septuagintal word is only a proof that the LXX. text was not always adhered to. In the Talmud (Baba Batra, 10 a) the question is asked, Why the Book of Proverbs repeats this maxim twice? and the answer is given, Because almsgiving delivers from two kinds of death—(1) an unnatural death, and (2) from the punishment of hell. This purports to be the Haggadic interpretation of Rabbi Jochanan; itself, probably, the interpretation of an earlier teacher, Rabbi Simon ben Jochai. Similarly the language of Tobit, xii. 9, is to be explained, according to Grätz, by the following story:—Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakkai was walking after the destruction of the Temple (*i.e.* by Titus) with his disciple Joshua. "Woe to us," cried the latter; "the Temple in which atonement was made for the sins of Israel is destroyed." "Sorrow not," answered the master; "we have an atonement equally effectual, and that is—mercy. Is it not written, 'I desire mercy (marg. kindness) and not sacrifice'" (Hos. vi. 6; see R. V.). Interesting as these extracts are, it is hypothetical to a degree to conclude with Weiss ('Zur Gesch. d. Tradition,' ii. 40), Grätz (p. 454), and Rosenthal (p. 134), that Jochanan ben Sakkai was the first to make this deduction from the passage in Hosea, or that the writer of the Book of Tobit was influenced by it.

[1] Cp. *int. al.* Weber, 'System d. Altsynagogalen Paläst. Theologie,' §§ 1, 10; Schürer, 'Geschichte d. Jüd. Volk. im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,'[2] § 24 (see p. 204); Rosenzweig, 'Das Jahrhundert nach dem Babylonischen Exile,' pp. 5, 6.

[2] Grätz, p. 447; cp. his 'Geschichte d. Juden,'[2] iii. pp. 120, 475–6. Preiss and Rosenthal agree with him. On the other hand, see Rabbinowicz, 'Législation civile du Thalmud;' 'Les Femmes' &c. pp. xxv.–xxvii.

[1] 'Zeitschrift f. w. Th.' (1882), pp. 359–62.

[2] Ibid. (1885), pp. 24 &c.

[3] Ewald, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,'[2] iv. pp. 233–8. Westcott, 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. n.* 'Book of Tobit,' agrees with Ewald.

[4] *E.g.* Vaihinger (Herzog, 'R. E.'[1] *s. n.* Tobias), *circ.* 1st cent. B.C.; Herzfeld ('Gesch. d. V. Israel,' i. p. 316), a few years after the Maccabean wars; Fritzsche (*op. cit.* § 10), a little before or a little after these wars, but not while they lasted; Jahn ('Einl.' *s. n.*), B.C. 200–150; Keil ('Einl.' *s. n.*), 1st or 2nd cent. B.C.; Grimm ('Z. d. w. Th.' 1881, p. 38), before the Maccabean struggle; Hilgenfeld (Ibid. 1862, p. 181; 1886, p. 152), during the Maccabean era; Schürer ('Gesch. d. V. Israel,'[2] ii. p. 605), in the course of the last two centuries B.C.

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of a Herod was to rear on Mount Moriah (B.C. 17). And if a date before the time of Herod may be thus asserted, an *argumentum e silentio* helps to carry that date many years further back. In the prediction of ch. xiv. there is no allusion to the frightful persecutions of an Antiochus Epiphanes, or to his desecration of the Temple (B.C. 167). The act was one which had stung to the quick every patriot's heart; and had it been perpetrated at or before the time that this Book was written, it is difficult to understand the absence of all reference to it. It seems then permissible to go farther back than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. How far? Definite deductions from references to canonical Scripture, such as that to the Book of Jonah[1] (xiv. 4), would be more justifiable were the Greek Version supported by the other texts; but all that can be fairly deduced from that passage is acquaintance on the part of the writer with what God had spoken, either by Jonah or by other prophets (see note *in loco*), with regard to Nineveh. The alleged reflexion of the history of Job and his wife (see ii. 10, 15, and the additions of the Vulgate in the notes), or of practices enjoined by the example of Daniel (i. 12, 13, notes), or of episodes in the history of Esther (xiv. 10; see note), are either such as would be familiar to every Jew of the pre-Maccabean age, or are of too superficial and even uncertain a character to support any argument as to date.[2]

The *terminus a quo* is rather to be gathered from the general tone of the narrative, and slight and unobtrusive indications. A picture is presented of Jewish life and feeling during some thirty to forty years (xiv. 1). The nation had passed through great distress and oppression, and the individual and devout Jew had been first punished (i. 19) and then mocked (ii. 8) for devotion to religious and national habits. Marriages between God's people and aliens still required discouragement (iv. 12, vi. 15), while intercourse between families in exile had become comparatively easy and safe (chs. iv.–x. contrasted with i. 15). Ardent hopes of a full restoration of the people scattered among the nations (xiii. 5, xiv. 4), of a greater freedom for the dwellers in Jerusalem (xiii. 10), of a rebuilding of the Holy City and of the upraising of the Sanctuary, animated the language of the writer when he closed his reminiscences in the midst of a time of calm after much political and domestic sorrow. The names Tobit and Tobias selected for two of the principal personages in the tale are, under varying forms, equivalent to or the actual reproduction of a name once hateful to every patriotic Jew. They would hardly have been selected had not the evil recollections been obscured or superseded by later memories of good. The odium attaching to Tobias the Ammonite, "the slave," the adversary of Nehemiah (B.C. 445, ii. 10, 19; iv. 3–5; vi. 17, 19), required to be, and perhaps was, obliterated by the reputation of another Tobias, whose career, and that of his more famous son Joseph, was contemporaneous with that of "the great" Antiochus III. (B.C. 223–187). The thirty-six years' reign of this prince presents, in its vicissitudes of distress and peace among the Jews, many points of general parallelism with the alternations of sorrow and happiness, national and individual, depicted in the Book of Tobit. And the family history of this Tobias supplies a fact illustrative of the determination of such as Tobit to maintain Jewish purity in matrimonial alliances. Joseph the son of Tobias was married to his own niece. The maiden was deliberately substituted by her father in the place of a dancer, in order that his brother

[1] Written, according to many critics, between the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities. See Bleek-Wellhausen, 'Einl. in d. A. T.'[5] § 240. For other dates, see 'Speaker's Commentary on the O. T.' vi. p. 580.

[2] References occur in Tobit to the following O. T. Books:—

Genesis ii. 18, 20.
,, xxiv. 7.
,, xxiv. 33.
1 Sam. ii. 6.
2 Kings xix. 19.
Psalm xvii. 15.
,, lxxxvi. 15.
,, xcvi. 6.
,, cxxix. 5.
Prov. iii. 1, 3, 4.
,, xi. 4.
Isai. xxxi. 17.
Amos viii. 10.

Tobit viii. 6.
,, v. 16, 21.
,, vii. 11.
,, vii. 16, viii. 2.
,, viii. 17.
,, iv. 11.
,, xiii. 6.
,, xiii. 7.
,, xiii. 11.
,, iv. 19.
,, iv. 10, xii. 9.
,, xiii. 9.
,, ii. 6.

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should not contaminate himself by connexion with a heathen.[1]

(2.) *Internal evidence.* — The indications of date specified in the above paragraphs are but scanty, and in character negative rather than positive; but they are in accordance with conclusions derived from internal evidence, if the Book be compared with another work whose moral precepts are akin to its own.

The Book Ecclesiasticus, a work composed in Palestine and originally written in Hebrew, supplies that kind of parallelism which, by its community of thought and language, suggests for the Book of Tobit a community of origin and date.

(*a.*) Tobit's inculcation of almsgiving (p. 158) has been adduced as an indication of late date; but sentiments parallel to it are frequent in Ecclesiasticus. For example, Ecclesiasticus (iii. 30) declares, "Alms maketh an atonement for sins;" xvii. 22, "The alms of a man is a signet with God;" xxix. 11–13, "Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the Most High, and it shall bring thee more profit than gold. Shut up alms in thy storehouses [in the heart of the poor, *Vulg.*], and it shall deliver thee from all affliction. It shall fight for thee against thine enemies better than a mighty shield and a strong spear;" xxxv. 2, "He that giveth alms sacrificeth praise;" xl. 24, "Brethren and help are against time of trouble; but alms shall deliver more than them both." The first and last of these are as strong as Tobit iv. 10, xii. 9: and the language of the Son of Sirach decidedly helps us to understand aright the language of our Book. Evidently "atonement" cannot be taken in our modern sense. Another passage (Eccl. iii. 3), "Whoso honoureth his father maketh an atonement for his sins," invests filial honour with the same efficacy as almsgiving. If it would be an anachronism to discover in this passage of Ecclesiasticus sacrificial or sacerdotal significance or "anti-Biblical efficacy," is it not a mistake to intrude such meanings into Tobit iv. 10? Again, the "deliverance" of which Ecclesiasticus (xl. 24) speaks throws light upon the "deliverance" affirmed in Tobit (iv. 10, xii. 9). The primary sense is a deliverance from "time of trouble" more potent than that which brotherly assistance and extraneous help can afford. There is no thought of a time of death and judgment.

(*b.*) The obscure passage (Tobit iv. 17, see note) "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just," and Tobit's general conduct towards the dead (i. 17, ii. 2–8), have also been adduced as pointing to a late date. In truth, they find both illustration and parallelism in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. "From the dead withhold not favour" (Ecclus. vii. 33;[1] cp. also xxxviii. 16), is a maxim inculcating that general duty which Tobit so fearlessly discharged; and the passage, "Delicacies poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave" (Ecclus. xxx. 18), is a testimony to the practice (however understood) to which Tobit refers.

(*c.*) Other "precepts" (Tob. vi. 15) upon which Tobit lays so much stress in his advice to his son, and his maxims generally, find frequent place in the chapters of Ecclesiasticus. Devotion to God,[2] purity of marriage,[3] honest dealing towards servants,[4] the right estimate of wealth,[5] the general duty of helping the poor and needy[6] &c., are forcibly urged by both writers. The comparison between a limited number of verses in the Book of Tobit and the whole contents of Ecclesiasticus must not, of course, be pushed too far; but, fairly estimated, it seems to suggest that the sentiments of the writers of these Books which they have in common were the sentiments of

[1] Cp. Josephus, 'Antiq.' xii. ch. iv.; Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' i. p. 451 &c.; Grätz, ii. 2 Hälfte, p. 243; Herzfeld, i. p. 186 &c. For Antiochus the Great, see the useful summary in 'Dictionary of the Bible,' *s. n.*

[1] I have adopted here the translation of Bissell.

[2] Tob. iv. 5, 6, 19: cp. Ecclus. vi. 37, viii. 8–14, xxxv. 10, xxxvii. 12.

[3] Tob. iv. 12, 13; viii. 6: cp. Ecclus. vii. 26, xvii. 1, xxxvi. 24.

[4] Tob. iv. 14: cp. Ecclus. vii. 20, 21.

[5] Tob. v. 18, 19: cp. Ecclus. v. 1.

[6] Tob. iv. 7, 14, 17: cp. Ecclus. iv. 1, 5; xii. 4; xiv. 13; xxxiv. 21; xxxv. 10. In examining these parallels, which might be greatly increased, the general impression will probably be that Tobit is more precise and definite than Ecclesiasticus; and this would indicate that of the two Ecclesiasticus is the older Book.

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a common era, and express convictions inculcated by the teachers of their period and accepted by the taught. The date of Ecclesiasticus should therefore throw light upon the date of Tobit. Unfortunately, the date of Ecclesiasticus is greatly disputed:[1] and a difference of a whole century exists between modern computations on the subject. But on either supposition—whether Ecclesiasticus be dated about B.C. 280 or about B.C. 190—the tone of thought and the manner of handling these moral subjects had not materially altered in the interval of that century. Neither in the end of the 3rd century B.C. nor in the end of the 2nd century would the treatment of them have stiffened into the mould of the latter part of the 1st century B.C. or of the 1st Christian century. For this reason therefore the internal evidence of the Book seems to point to a date not more recent than the 2nd century B.C.; or to the same date as that suggested by the external evidence.

§ IV. Aim of the Book.

Most critics are agreed that the Book is didactic in character, but the difference of opinion is great as to whether that character be general or special. Specialists like Kohut, Grätz, and Neubauer[2] urge that the aim of the writer is to inculcate the duty of burying the dead. The Midrash which prefaces the Chaldee Version[3] finds in the Book the reward of one who gives alms and tithes. To Rosenthal[4] the Book is an illustration of a saying attributed to Rabbi Akiba (*c.* A.D. 110–35), "All that God does, He does for good." Others again read in it, with Ewald,[5] the inculcation of the duty of worshipping the true God in the midst of the heathen; or deduce from it with De Wette and Hilgenfeld[6] the special laudation of prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and righteousness. On the other hand, a more general scope is asserted by Bertholdt, who recognises in the Book a picture of human life in its passage from unhappiness to happiness; or by Eichhorn, to whom it is the record of the answer to prayer.[1] Others expand their range yet more widely still. The Book contains a picture of family life in which parents give counsel to their children, children love and obey their parents, and God's Angel advises, guides, and heals those in whose lives the religious element is strongly expressed, and faithfulness to God is maintained even in times of national disaster and personal poverty. On the whole, if there is something to be said for the specialist, there is more to be said for the generalist. To assert that some one leading idea was specially prominent in the writer's mind, only brings to light the divergence among critics with respect to it. Preference is not so clearly exhibited by the writer himself as to make it possible to choose between the various doctrines and truths he has set forth for appreciation and imitation. It is best, therefore, to rest content with a conclusion as general as that of Cramer:[2] "The leading ideas of the Book are that righteousness, although it may seem to be at the mercy of wickedness, does in the end conquer; that God hears the true prayer of the afflicted in the time of suffering; and that one may win the love of Jehovah by the practice of almsgiving, the burial of the dead, and other pious acts." This would have been as true in the days of Sennacherib as of Ardeshir I., as practicable in Assyria as in Parthia.

§ V. Place of Composition.

Was this in or out of Palestine? This is usually answered in accordance with the date and aim attributed on other grounds to the writer. The text itself selects Assyria (xii. 20, xiii. 1); Kohut prefers Persia, Ewald the far East—more closely defined by Westcott as in some

[1] See this Commentary: Introduction to Ecclesiasticus; Bissell, p. 278; Schürer,[2] ii. p. 595.

[2] See above, p. 157, and Neubauer, p. xvi.

[3] Cp. Neubauer, pp. xxvii. xliii.

[4] Pp. 114, 123. Cp. Milman, 'Hist. of the Jews,' ii. 427.

[5] 'Gesch. d. V. I.' iv. 233.

[6] De Wette-Schrader, 'Einl. in d. A. T.' § 375; Hilgenfeld, 'Z. f. d. w. Th.' (1862), p. 198.

[1] See Grimm, 'Z. f. d. w. Th.' (1881), p. 52.

[2] Quoted in Bissell, p. 117.

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city subject to Persia, perhaps Babylon. The geographical inaccuracies exclude these countries in the opinion of Grätz and Grimm,[1] and the acceptance of a Semitic original is opposed to the conclusion advanced by Nöldeke[2] alone, that Egypt was its home. A larger support is given to the alternative view that it was written in Judæa, but whether in the southern or northern part of the province must be left undecided.[3]

§ VI. History.

Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament[4] make no mention of the Book. There is no reason why they should or should not, and their silence cannot be quoted for or against its existence. With the acceptance of the LXX. Version as a whole was also included the recognition of the Book of Tobit contained in it. In the Greek Church it met with more favour than in the Latin. Westcott, Lightfoot, and Schürer[5] agree in considering St. Polycarp's advice—"When ye can do good, defer it not, ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται" ('Ad Philipp.' ch. x.)—a quotation from Tobit (iv. 11; xii. 9); and a still earlier reference to the precepts of the Book is furnished by the 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (see iv. 14, note). The Gnostics called the Ophites counted Tobias among the prophets;[6] and Clement of Alexandria[7] considered the book canonical. Origen's testimony[1] to it is of a like kind. He points out that the Jews did not admit this Book or Judith into their lists because they had them not in Hebrew,[2] and rests the authority of the former on the usage of the Church. St. Athanasius appears to have at times used it as possessing canonical authority; but when giving a formal and critical list of the sacred Books, he classes it among the Apocrypha as a writing "to be read by those but just entering on Christian teaching, and desirous of being instructed in the rules of piety." In the Latin Church the Book is quoted by Cyprian, Hilary, and Lucifer as authoritative, and the majority of the Latin Fathers endorsed the opinion of St. Augustine, accepting it with the other Apocrypha of the LXX., "among the Books which the Christian Church received."

St. Augustine was probably influenced both by his liking for the LXX. and by the teaching of his spiritual father, St. Ambrose, to whom the Book was prophetic; and who made it the subject of an essay, in which he discussed the evils of usury. St. Jerome, on the other hand, refused to it canonical recognition. "The Church," he said, "reads it, but does not receive it among her canonical Scriptures." The Council of Trent finally took upon itself to assert its canonicity. Since then commentators have been content to dwell by preference on the moral beauty and idyllic tenderness of the work. "Is it history?" says Luther; "then is it a holy history. Is it fiction? then is it a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet." "Read it," says Pellican, "as a little book of the greatest usefulness. It is full of maxims, most profitable both for faith and morality." The Church of England has never been behindhand in recognising these excellences. The Second Book of Homilies illustrates its teaching on Almsdeeds—"that merciful almsdealing is profitable to purge the soul from the

[1] Grätz, p. 445; Grimm, p. 46.

[2] Nöldeke, p. 63.

[3] Grätz, pp. 405 &c., 445, decides against Galilee on the ground of inaccurate description of Tobit's birthplace; but his arguments are proofs of an inaccurate text rather than of inaccuracy as to the fact. A slight but valuable hint in favour of Judæa is furnished by ii. 11 (see note).

[4] Alleged parallels between Tob. iv. 15 and St. Matt. vii. 12; Tob. xiii. 16–18 and Rev. xxi. 18; Tob. iv. 9 and 2 Cor. viii. 12, resolve themselves into resemblances of the most general character.

[5] Cp. Westcott in 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. n.* Tobit (Book of), § 6; Lightfoot, 'Apostolic Fathers,' part ii. vol. ii. § ii. p. 923; Schürer, 'Apokryphen d. A. T.' in Herzog's 'R. E.'[2] He finds also a reference to Tobit xii. 8, 9 in '2 Clem. ad Cor.' xvi. 4.

[6] Irenæus, 'Adv. Hæres.' i. 30, 11.

[7] 'Stromata,' ii. 23, vi. 12, quoting Tob. iv. 16, xii. 8. He dignifies it by the name ἡ γραφή.

[1] For the authorities which follow, see Westcott in 'Dict. of the Bible,' Book of Tobit; Fritzsche, p. 18; Bissell, p. 121.

[2] In Fritzsche, p. 19, Tobit iv. 17, v. 12, vi. 7 are given as passages which might make the Jews unwilling to reckon the Book canonical.

infection and filthy spots of sin"—by referring to Tob. iv. 10 with the words, "The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture." Until the re-arrangement of the Lectionary, the Book was read in the daily Lessons of the Church, and quotations from it are to be found in the Offertory Sentences of the Communion Service (cp. Tob. iv. 7–9), in the Marriage Service (cp. Tob. vi. 17, note), and in the Litany (cp. Tob. iii. 3, note).

EXCURSUS I.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

I. A Semitic original.
II. A Greek original.
III. Priority of Chaldee or Hebrew.

The question as to the original language of the widely-diffused story of the Book of Tobit practically resolves itself into a choice between a Semitic and a Greek text. And that choice still baffles many. There are no decisive grounds, says Schürer,[1] in favour of a *Hebrew* original. The *Greek* of the book, says Grimm,[2] is of that character that it may be either original or a translation. Weighty names range themselves on both sides in this literary contest, but what has been most fully said will be found in Nöldeke's monograph[3] in favour of a Greek, and in Grätz's papers[4] in favour of a Semitic, original. Both critics have had the advantage of writing with the Bodleian Chaldee text before them, but from it they have deduced the most opposite results. The advocate of a Semitic original has found in it that which has enabled him to supersede conjectural by real arguments; the supporters of a Greek original are convinced by it that their reasoning is correct.

One element in the question is the difference which distinguishes this Chaldee text and St. Jerome's Vulgate from the other texts with regard to the *form* of the narrative. The Chaldee and the Vulgate uniformly employ the third person in speaking of Tobit; the Greek and all the other texts use the first person in section i. 1—iii. 6, and after that section the third person. This latter usage, exhibiting transition or variation in form, is evidently more original than the fixed uniformity existing in the former; and it seems therefore clear that the Bodleian Chaldee text could not have been the foundation of the existing Greek Version. To establish such a foundation an older Chaldee, or at least Semitic, text must be conceived, which preceded the present Chaldee, and preserved the first person in the section referred to. The Hebrew texts, though much later, possess this requisite change, and therefore present the model of such a Semitic original as is desired.

I. THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE WAS SEMITIC, HEBREW OR HEBRAIC.

(1) The language of St. Jerome is sufficiently distinct as to one fact. When he met the wish of his brother bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, and translated into Latin the Book of Tobit, he had before him "librum Chaldæo sermone conscriptum." It may be admitted that he made this translation without being moved by any great respect for a work which the Jews excluded from the Canon of Holy Scripture and placed in the Apocrypha; but why did he translate it at all? He marvels, he tells his friends, at the persistency with which they pressed their wish, but he complied with it. Why? Possibly for two reasons. First, the Book was current in the Roman and Greek churches; secondly, its doctrines were acceptable, its enforcement of religious practices desirable. This both explained and fostered its popularity; it was a reason for the circulation of the Book. Then why were the Versions, Greek and Latin (for example), in which it circulated unsatisfactory? Evidently because they were not accounted true and accurate reproductions of an original text. Now, if that original text had been Greek or Latin, the Bishops would not have troubled St. Jerome to do what they could have done for themselves. Their appeal to him was to do for them what he alone in his day was capable of

[1] Schürer, 'Apokryphen d. A. T.' in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] § vi. 7. His preference for a Greek original is more strongly expressed in 'Geschichte d. Jüdischen Volke,'[2] ii. p. 606.

[2] 'Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie,' 1881, p. 49.

[3] 'Monatsbericht der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,' 1879, p. 45 &c.

[4] 'Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft der Judenthums,' 1879, p. 157 &c.

doing in a satisfactory manner. And his response was to translate afresh and from a Semitic original.

There is no need to deny the fact that St. Jerome's mode of supplying the want was peculiar; but this result, which in our day would be eminently unsatisfactory, was, in his case, in part due to the hostility which pursued his studies. His translations of the canonical Books of the Old Testament direct from the Hebrew had brought upon him odium and charges as offensive as they were unjust. "Arguunt," he says in his Preface to Tobit, "nos Hebræorum studia, et imputant nobis contra suum canonem Latinis auribus ista transferre." His adversaries were not likely to be more charitable when he dealt with a Book, Apocryphal it is true, but enshrined in the sacred ark of the Alexandrian Version. Therefore, as regards the Book of Tobit, he emphasises the fact: "Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio." He thought it better to displease the "Pharisees" about him than disobey the commands of the Bishops: and the result was the Vulgate Version. It is a mistake to assert that this Version is an abbreviation; but it is in many places nearer to the Chaldee than to the recognised Greek Version.

(2) The evidence from names in the Apocrypha is proverbially unsatisfactory; but in the case of this Book Raphael and Reuel, Tobi and Anna, Tobias and Sarah, Gabrias and Azarias are actually Hebrew, or easily reducible to Hebrew forms. Other names, even when disputed (see below), and such names as Asmodeus, Enemessar, and Achiacharus, do not dispel the general impression that the proper names are mostly Hebraic.

(3) Variations, if not mistakes, exhibited by the Greek Version are adduced as due to faults of translation from a Semitic Version, or indicative of this class of error.

(*α*) i. 13. The words of the E. V., "grace and favour," find their parallel in the חנא of the Chaldee (or חן וחסד of the Hebrew). But the Greek text reads *χάριν καὶ μορφὴν*. The sentiment is not in question (see note *in loco*), but how came *μορφὴ* in the text? It is the word frequently used in Daniel (*e.g.* iv. 33, v. 6, vii. 28) for זיו (A. V. "brightness"); but here Grätz thinks that instead of חסדא the reading חזוא, "form" (see Levy, 'Ch. W. B.' *s. n.*) was followed.

(*β*) i. 22, *ἐκ δευτεράς*. Fritzsche (*i. l.*), supplying the word *χώρας* or *τάξεως*, would make this expression = מישנה, or "second in rank." This would presuppose a Hebrew original text. But a variant reading (Vatic. *δ*), "præstitit *me* rex *iterum*," suggests that a text existed וישיבני שנית (cp. the general tenor of the Heb., Chald., and Itala renderings), which applied the king's acts to Tobit and not to Achiacharus. Another text, however, had וישיבינו, and that was followed by the Greek.

(*γ*) v. 18, *ἀργύριον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ μὴ φθάσαι*. The last words are Hebrew in cast = אל יקדם; while the absence of any corresponding words in the existing Hebrew and Chaldee texts imply the currency of a text which contained them. Ilgen's reproduction of the words in Hebrew, כסף להכסף אל יקדם, if faulty in grammar and sense, can be easily corrected (*e.g.* by the Syriac כספא לכספא לא נמטא; cp. Rosenthal, p. 147, n. 4): alterations such as הכסף לסוף אל יקום (Grätz) or כספא לכסופא לא ייתי (Rosenthal), are too drastic and conjectural.

(*δ*) vi. 15 (E. V. 14), *κατάξω τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ πατρός μου . . . εἰς τὸν τάφον*: so Itala, "vitam." But the usual phrase is והורדתי את שיבת אבי וגו'; cp. Gen. xlii. 38, "he shall bring down my grey hairs" &c., *i.e.* metaphorically, my old age: cp. the Vulgate here, "deponam senectutem illorum." The conclusion is that the Greek followed a reading חית instead of שׁיבת.

(*ε*) vi. 10, *προσήγγισαν τῇ Ῥάγῃ*. The other Versions (see note *in loco*) read more correctly Ecbatana; but how did the reading Ῥάγῃ arise? On the supposition that a Hebrew text was before the writer, the original may have been קרבו לעיר אגבתנא. The word לעיר was changed into לרעי, and rendered *ἐν Ῥάγῃ*. Grätz would further see in this misreading a proof that the translator had a Hebrew and not a Chaldee text before him. In Chaldee a city = קרתא, and the Chaldee text of the Bodleian uses that word here in its shortened form, בקורי רגיש.

(*ζ*) v. 15. In the sentence *τίνα σοι ἔσομαι μισθὸν διδόναι, ἔσομαι διδόναι* is not so much a barbarism or a change from *ἔσται μοι* (Fritzsche), as a literal reproduction of לתת עתיד אני ליתת (or). So Rosenthal (p. 150).

(*η*) xiii. 6, *τίς γινώσκει, εἰ θελήσει ἡμᾶς*. The first two words recall כי יודע, with its sense of "perhaps" (cp. Jon. iii. 9).

(*θ*) iv. 17. In the Additional Note to this passage are specified some of the alterations proposed to make this difficult verse more clear. In Grätz's opinion the verse presents "the most pregnant proof of a Hebrew original;" but this proof depends upon the acceptance of his alterations. Inasmuch as these alterations have not commanded, and do not command, universal acceptance, the broader position—to which he also draws attention — can alone be considered here. The previous verse (iv. 16) is rightly alleged to be Hebraistic in cast; and this might be with equal justice affirmed of the entire

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section. The next verse as restored by Grätz would be יינך לחמך ושפך (or וכסך) פרום בקרב הצדקים ואל הרישעים אל תתן . . .

If Rosenthal's objection (p. 145) that the use of בקרב in the sense intended is not Hebraic may be dismissed as hypercritical and one which he himself does not press, there is more force in his contention that to introduce the pouring out of wine is to introduce as a requisite a new and unnecessary element in the description of well-doing. Rosenthal's preference is for a reading which combines several emendations: שפך רחמיך בקרב הצדיקים ולרישעים אל תתן.

Both writers are, however, agreed that a text was before the writer of the Greek Version which he failed to understand, and Rosenthal finds in the variations of the other texts so many attempts to escape from the difficulty of the Greek text upon which they depended.

To these illustrations of textual misunderstandings and mistranslations of a Semitic original Rosenthal adds the following.

(ι) vii. 13, *ἔγραψε συγγραφὴν καὶ ἐσφραγίσατο.* On the ground that such sealing was not a Jewish practice (see, however, Introduction, p. 159), Rosenthal (p. 132, n. 1) argues that the translator misunderstood the original text before him. The Hebrew and Chaldee texts printed by Neubauer have one and the same word; but he translates them differently. The Hebrew, ויחתם אותה בעדים, he renders "and he *sealed* it before witnesses;" the Chaldee, וחתמו יתה סהדיו, "and witnesses *signed* it." The document would certainly be signed and the technical word descriptive of the act would be in neo-Hebraic or Talmudical diction, חתם (cp. Levy, 'N. H. Lex.' *s. n.*) without the superfluous בעדים of the Hebrew. The Greek translator did not, however, understand the expression neo-Hebraically and technically, but Biblically; hence his rendering.

(κ) iii. 5, *πολλαὶ αἱ κρίσεις σού εἰσι καὶ ἀληθιναί, ἐξ ἐμοῦ ποιῆσαι κ.τ.λ.* The words *ἐξ ἐμοῦ* seem to have but little connexion with their context (Rosenthal, p. 143), and are hardly explained grammatically by the Itala: "multa sunt judicia tua et vera, quæ de me exigas" &c. The Bodleian Chaldee and the Hebrew text do not help here; but a Hebrew rendering of the Greek passage would be רבים משפטיך ונאמנים ממני לעשות. Giving to מכני a comparative sense, and taking it in conjunction with נאמנים, the sentence would mean: "Many are Thy judgments and more faithful than I" &c. This grammatical form, if not common, is not opposed to neo-Hebraic diction; but this infrequency the Greek translator did not know, and his translation, *ἐξ ἐμοῦ*, is alleged to be an evidence of his ignorance and helplessness.

(λ.) ii. 14, *ποῦ εἰσὶν αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύναι σου;* What, asks Rosenthal (p. 144), had almsgiving to do with Tobit's suspicion? The answer might be found in the simple fact that, when two persons are quarrelling, a retort is frequently quite outside the special point of blame which provokes it; but Rosenthal discovers in the Greek translator, not now an ignorance of neo-Hebraic, but acquaintance with it. The rendering of the Chaldee אן טובך וזכוותך says nothing about almsgiving; the Hebrew, איה חסדיך וצדקותיך, presents in חסד the sense of love or affection, and expresses the protest, "where is thy love and justice, that thou makest against me so unloving and unjust a charge?" This sense the Greek translator declined, while he adopted the neo-Hebraic meaning of חסד, love of one's neighbour, and expressed that sense in *ἐλεημοσύναι.*

(μ.) ix. 6, *καὶ εὐλόγησε Τωβίας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.* See Additional Note to this passage. Here the Greek reading is simply recorded as being one which to Rosenthal (p. 147) is a fault in translation.

(ν.) x. 5, *οὐ μέλει μοι, τέκνον, ὅτι ἀφῆκά σε κ.τ.λ.* In the note to this passage are given some conjectural emendations. Rosenthal (p. 149) conjectures a Hebrew reading, בני לו לא שלחתיך, "O my son! Would that I had not sent thee" &c., which an error of a copyist altered into לי לא, and the Greek translator rendered *οὐ μέλει μοι.* A less unsupported conjecture may be found in the hint furnished by the Greek C, *οἴμοι, τέκνον, . . . πρὸς τί κ.τ.λ.*, where the *οἴμοι* reproduced the Chaldee of the Bodleian ווי לי.

(4) The proper names, in several cases, are presented in the three Greek texts under forms which shew defects due to misunderstanding or misreading a Semitic original.

(*a*) *Enemessar* (i. 2, 13; see note). This faulty rendering of Shalmaneser must have penetrated into the Greek Version after the time of St. Jerome; the Vulg. as well as the Itala having Salmanassar. In i. 17 the Greek text is further corrupt by the misreading of Ἐνεμεσσὰρ for Σενναχηρίμ.

(*b*) *Gabael* (i. 14) is not considered by Grätz a Hebrew-sounding name, but a corruption of Gabriel, the reading of the Syriac. He does not, however, approve of the alliteration "Gabriel son of Gabrias" (cp. iv. 20), and would—by the help of faults and gaps—restore a reading *καὶ παρεθήμην Γαβριήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου, τοῦ . . . τοῦ Γαβριήλου.* The alteration of the Hebrew Fagius עביאל בן גבריאל is less forced than this, and Neubauer's acceptance of the name as Hebrew, with a meaning "treasure of God" (p. xvi.), is

certainly admissible. The name may have come down from exilic times.

(*c*) *Achiacharus* (i. 21). The name can of course be put into Hebrew letters (אקיקר), but it is not Hebrew; and the rendering אחי אהרון (Heb. Fag.) is at once a confession that it is not and an attempt to make it so.

(*d*) *Edna* (vii. 2) is disclaimed by Grätz. He does not consider the meaning of the name ("delight") applicable to so harmless and passive a person, and prefers the name Anna given by Itala (and Vulgate) as being nearer to the original. Neubauer differs from him.

(5) Confusion with respect to topographical and geographical sites.

(*a*) The birthplace of Tobit (i. 2; see note) has always been a crux to critics. Three neighbouring localities are given, and vast ingenuity is exercised in preventing confusion becoming worse confounded. The Greek texts A and B and the Chald. call the place Thisbe (var. Tibe, Tibos); some Latin (not Vulg.) texts call it Gebuel, Bihel (formed from Ge-bihel). This place, thus variously called Thisbe and Gebuel, was defined to be (a) εἰς δεξιῶν Κυδιὼς τῇ Νεφθαλὶ ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ (A); or better (B and C) Κυδίων τῆς Νεφθαλὶμ ἐν τῇ ἄνω Γαλιλαίᾳ. Approximations sufficiently intelligible to this are found in the Latin, "in dextra parte Cidissi civitate ex Nephtalim quæ est super Galilaea," or (Itala) "in dextera parte Edisse civitatis Nepthalim in superioribus Galileæ." The name Kadesh-Napthali can be easily discovered under these curious spellings. (b) takes the identification a step further: ὑπερανὼ Ἀσὴρ (A), or Ἀσσὴρ (B and C), ὀπίσω δυσμῶν τοῦ ἡλίου. The name Ἀσὴρ, a corruption of Ἀσὼρ, is Hazor (חצור), a name, as Raumer has ingeniously shewn, reproduced in the reading of the Latin texts Naason [= Naasor = Anaasor = ἀνὼ (part of ὑπερανὼ) Ἀσὼρ]: and the remaining words direct the reader generally to the west of Tobit's birthplace (cp. the Itala: "post viam quæ ducit in occidentem"). (c) A step further is given. The texts B and C (absent from A) have ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Φογώρ; the Itala, "ex sinistra parte Raphain;" the Vulgate, "in sinistra habens Sephet." Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' ii. xx. 6) mentions a Σέφ in Upper Galilee; and it is thought that he meant Σεφέθ = Safed, of Crusader fame. Saphet or Safed might be rendered in Hebrew צפת, which again might be an abbreviation of מצפה. The Itala scribe read Ρεφ instead of Σεφ, and reached the name Rephain—a name familiar in the nomenclature of the Holy Land —though no such place was to be found in Galilee. But how came the name Φογώρ? Grätz's explanation is ingenious. Safed was situated on a hill. It may have been known by the name צפת טורא or טור צפת = Σεφεθὼρ = Σεφεγὼρ (by a change of θ into γ). The syllable Σε fell away, and the remainder, φεγὼρ, was, after the analogy of בעור, changed into Φογώρ.

These various steps lead up to the conclusion that Tobit's birthplace lay between Kadesh on the right and Saphet on the left: westward of it was Hazor. Gischala satisfies the requisite conditions according to Grätz; but can Thisbe-Gebuel be the same as Gischala? Yes, says Grätz: change γ into θ, and Θισβη = Γισβη; transpose the letters of Gebuel and you have Chalab. Put together Gisbe and Chalab and make a name Gischalab. That is not so very different from Gischala. At the same time Kadesh was not on the right but on the left of Gischala, and Sephet not on the left but on the right of the same place. Where so much can be altered in a manner satisfactory to ingenuity, this difference is trifling; or if it be preferred, the mistake in position may be admitted. In either case it only proves that the writers were either not at home in the necessary topography or indifferent to accuracy. But what — it is asked — was the state of the Greek texts which could exhibit or lend themselves to such variations? and what was the writer of A about that he could omit (if he knew it) the topographical hint supplied by B and C?

Grätz finds in text A other mistakes *re* localities due to mistranslation and omission.

(*b*) i. 5 (see note). The reading τῇ Βάαλ, τῇ δαμάλει is in B and C τῷ μόσχῳ . . . ἐν Δάν. The Chaldee (and the Hebrew at greater length) reads: "to the calves . . . at Bethel and Dan." On the supposition that the more original text is presented by the Chaldee, the alteration made by B and C— which consists in dropping Bethel—is venial compared with that of A, which has omitted Dan and corrupted Bethel into Baal. Bickell prefers to consider the Greek text a corruption of בעולה or בעולות.

(*c*) xi. 1 (see note). The Greek text C adds καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἥ ἐστι ἀπέναντι τῆς Νινευΐ. This curious mistake is probably due to a misreading of a name more correctly reproduced in the Latin Versions, Charran or Charam, and emended by Reusch into Chalah = Χαλάχ (כלח). The Chaldee and Heb. texts also give a name, Akris. Texts A and B alone have no name, and apparently made no guess at any.

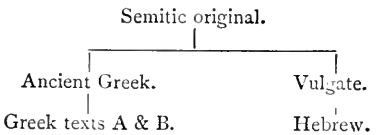
(6) Not only as regards localities, but also as regards other matters is the text A accounted very deficient. Grätz illustrates this by comparing this text not only with the other Greek texts, but with other Versions in the following passages: i. 6–8, ii. 9, 10 (where text A omits, for the sake of brevity, the details furnished by B and the Chaldee

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(*int. al.*), and the period of Tobit's blindness, four years, as well as the time, two years, during which Achiacharus supported him), ii. 14 (in the account of Tobit's quarrel with his wife, A is much abbreviated), vi. (*passim*).

The conclusion which will, I think, be drawn from these alleged proofs in favour of a Semitic original will be that, though they are by no means of equal value, and some from their conjectural character of no value at all, yet they present—where of real value—a fairly strong case.

The following pedigree expresses Grätz's conclusions:—



What is to be said on the other side?

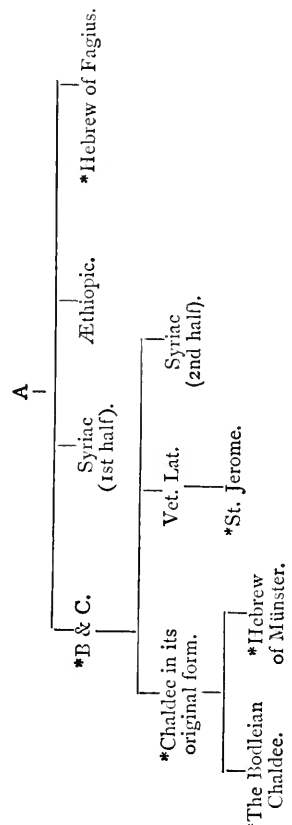
II. The original Language was Greek.

The Greek Version, which furnishes to Grätz and Rosenthal proofs of translation from a Semitic original, furnishes to Nöldeke proofs of an exactly opposite character. It contains grammatical constructions which to him are not Hebraic, and sentences which exhibit a freedom of handling very distinct from the mould prescribed by the LXX. For example, the diction of the following sentences he cannot consider Hebraic (p. 61): i. 6, *ἐπορευόμην . . . τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ τὰς δεκάτας τῶν γεννημάτων καὶ τὰς πρωτοκουρίας ἔχων* κ.τ.λ. (cp. the LXX. of Deut. xviii. 4); iii. 8, *καὶ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠνομάσθης*; iv. 6, *εὐοδίαι ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου*; vii. 7, *ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου υἱός*; xii. 7, *μυστήριον βασιλέως καλὸν κρύψαι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνακαλύπτειν ἐνδόξως*; and the play upon the words *ἀπεστάλη Ῥαφαὴλ ἰάσασθαι* exhibits to him no proof of a Hebrew text, but simply such a knowledge of Hebrew as the writer might presuppose in his readers.

Of the Greek texts, that known as A is, in Nöldeke's opinion, the nearest approach to the original text; and from it, as a base, he constructs a table. (See next column. Those Versions marked with a star he considers translations.)

What are the arguments by which preference for A is supported?

(*a*) The fluctuations in the text of A (supported in its first half by a very literal Syriac Version of about the 7th century) are much fewer than in the text of B. This stability does not, it is admitted, prove anything to the detraction of the less stable group (B and its cognates). It may have been due to the fact that the text A was adopted by Eusebius,[1] and that his patronage secured for it permanent acceptance, without its being of necessity the best.



(*b*) On internal grounds, however, Fritzsche and Nöldeke unite in concluding that B is a revision or emendation of A. The brevity and abruptness of A are admitted; but this in the course of time led to expansiveness at the hands of others. The process was followed by the inevitable result; much was improved, but much also was lost. This feature will be seen by examining these texts in such passages as—ii. 6 (the quotation from Amos viii. 10 is by B taken literally from the LXX.; in A it is freely rendered. The latter process is more original than the former); v. 1, 2 (B expands A); v. 3–5 (B improves upon A); viii. 9 &c.

(*c*) The text of A is frequently at fault in matters geographical. Rages and Ecbatana are placed too closely to each other (vi. 9, ix. 6),—an error which B avoided in the first passage by reading Ecbatane in vi. 5; while

[1] See Westcott, 'The Bible in the Church,' p. 155 &c.

its information (v. 6) that the two towns were only two days' journey from each other, and that Rages was in the mountains and Ecbatane in the plain (the very opposite being the fact), indicated a later and correcting hand. Other geographical statements of B (i. 2, xi. 1) are traceable to the same wish to make clear or correct (not always successfully) what was indistinct or mistaken in A.

Per contra, critics who dispute the originality or priority of A do not deny its brevity, but they find in it the correction of the prolixity of an older Greek translation. As illustrations of this tendency such passages as i. 14, v. 3 (the circumstances connected with the history of the bond or bag), iii. 7 (the blaming of Sarah by her maidens), viii. 9–11 (the details of the preparations for the burial of Tobias), present A in a condensed form when compared with B and (sometimes) C. The exact relations of A to B they count it difficult to define.

The argument that the construction of the sentences of the Greek Version is frequently non-Hebraic is also admitted, and a general tendency to Grecize the style is recognised, but the deduction drawn is not that of Nöldeke. These characteristics do not, it is affirmed, affect the question of translation or non-translation.

If some kind of conclusion has now to be drawn where critics and counsels are so divided, must it not rather be one based upon the balance of probabilities? Nöldeke's preference for a Greek original is connected with his view that the work is Alexandrian; in this view he stands alone. Grätz's assertion of a Semitic original is united with the opinion that the work is Palestinian; and with this the majority of critics agree.

Apocryphal literature of the character before us might have one out of three possible birthplaces, and would reflect the language and thought of its home. If it was composed in Palestine, it would be composed in a Hebraic style and diction, however remote that might be from the purer language of the canonical Books. This was the case with Judith, Susanna, Ecclesiasticus, and the 1st of Maccabees. If it was composed in one of those centres, such as Alexandria, Antioch, or Acco, where Jews congregated who had lost the knowledge of Hebrew and used Greek for their commercial and other transactions, then the work would be written either in Greek or that Hellenistic diction permeated by Biblical colouring which was currently used. This accounts for the Book of Wisdom, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Maccabees &c. Lastly, if it was composed in Mesopotamia, in Nahardea or Nisibis, where numerous Jews were to be found, it would be written in Chaldee or Aramaic, the language there in use. To which now of these places does the accumulated evidence point? The last may be excluded, and the probabilities point to the first.

There remains, however, one question. The Book has come down to us both in Hebrew and Chaldee: which was the language of the original?

III. Priority of Chaldee or Hebrew.

The Bodleian Chaldee (Neubauer) and the Constantinopolitan Hebrew (Münster) are closely connected in diction and in sequence of events. The singular detail connected with the expulsion of Asmodeus (see vi. 17, note), the name "king of the demons" given to that spirit-power, the selection of a "bag" instead of a "bond" as the sign of the contract between Tobit and Raguel (v. 3), the omission of the dog, the interesting expansion in iv. 13–15, and much else common to these Versions, distinguish them from the others and unite them to each other without prejudice to the points of difference.

i. What are these texts? Some details have been given already (see Introduction, § II.); the special questions still requiring answers are questions connected with the Chaldee. (*a*) From what is this Chaldee derived? (*b*) Was it the text used by St. Jerome?

(*a*) Grätz (p. 387) does not consider the Bodleian Chaldee an original text at all, but an abbreviated rendering of a translation from a Greek or Latin text; and Nöldeke singles out the Greek text B as the text employed. Grätz adduces in proof the following points. The proper name Rages appears in forms רגש or ראגיש or ריגיש. This is a reproduction of the Greek accusative (not dative, Bickell). Had a Semitic Version been before the writer, he would have found the forms רג or רגא or perhaps רי (cp. the Ragha of the Avesta and the Pehlevi form Ragâ). The Greek name Tigris is expressed in the form תיגרין (vi. 1), whereas דגלת or דקלת (in the O. T. חדקל; cp. Dan. x. 4) was the nomenclature current in the Northern Semitic lands. Ἐκβατάνοις is reproduced in אגבתנים; and Greek words will be readily discerned in אנגרייתא (cp. ἀγγαρεύω), אריסטוון (ἄριστον), סימנא (σημεῖον), אנדרונא (ἀνδρὼν as distinguished from γυναικῶν), מרצוף (μαρσύπιον).[1]

These proofs are not universally accepted. By anticipation Neubauer rejects some of them (p. xi) when he affirms that the forms of Ragais or Ragas, Ecbatanes or Egbatanas, and Tigrin would scarcely occur in the text if translated from the Greek or Latin.

[1] Much assistance in examining the forms and reproductions of non-Semitic words in these and similar texts will be found in Strack u. Siegfried's 'Lehrbuch d. neu-hebräischen Sprache:' see especially § 67.

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Further, according to Neubauer, the Bodleian Chaldee has sentences which are to be found sometimes in one or other of the Greek or Latin texts; and others are peculiar to it or the Hebrew translation. Bickell (p. 218) admits the approximation of the Bodleian text to B (cp. *e.g.* ix. 6), but explains it by the opinion that the reviser who wrote B aimed at a more accurate agreement with a Hebrew original than did the writers of A and C. In opposition to their antagonists, these critics allege the idiom of the Chaldee text to be of such a character as to render impossible the admission that it is a translation from a non-Semitic text; and Bickell adduces faults of translation as proofs that the original before the writer of that text was a Semitic and not a Greek Version.

What can be said as regards the possibility or impossibility of the Chaldee being a translation has been adduced in the Introduction, § II. The faults of translation remain to be examined. Bickell adduces vi. 15, אקטר מיניה תחת לבושה, as due to a misreading of the last word. He would substitute for it לבונה. It can, however, be shewn not only that the alteration is unnecessary—the act enjoined being not without parallel (see Excursus II., p. 182)—but the supposition of error is rendered impossible by the Hebrew of the corresponding passage (viii. 2).

Again, the interesting reading in vi. 2, ואכל לחמא דטליא (cp. the Heb., where לחם is omitted by Münster), is thought by Bickell to rest upon a text ויאב ללחם רגל הנער, from which רגל has fallen out, and the opening words altered or misread. But the alteration is far too conjectural, and אבה, in the sense desired, is usually associated with a negative particle.

It has already been noticed that in the narrative of the transactions between Tobit and Gabael the Versions differ as to the character of the pledge between them. When Tobit sends Tobias to Gabael, he gives him—according to the Greek and Latin Versions—a handwriting (v. 3, ix. 5); according to the Chaldee and Hebrew texts, a bag. Whence arose this difference? It has been conjectured that the original text had a reading חרט, which meant "writing" (Isa. viii. 1) as well as "bag" (2 Kings v. 3), or a reading דיסקא, "writing," which was mistaken for דיסקי or דסקי, "a sack." Neither conjecture can pass. The infrequent word חרט is in Isaiah applied to something very different from what is intended by *χειρόγραφον*, and דיסקא would not occur in an ancient Hebrew work.

The ingenuity in conjecture which is at work here is fatal. By its extravagance it tends to throw discredit upon proof which is more solid. The mistakes in translation had better be omitted from the table of evidence. The derivation of the Bodleian Chaldee from a Semitic text rests upon firmer grounds already specified (p. 164 &c.), and to those one more may be added. If it had been derived from a Greek text, it and its cognates would have been useless to St. Jerome.

(*b*) Was then the Bodleian Chaldee the text before St. Jerome? Neubauer himself thinks that the great Translator had before him "the present text in a fuller form" (p. x.). Nöldeke (p. 60) is more disposed to think that it may have been the actual text. Arguing from the diction of the text, he urges that it may certainly have been in circulation in Palestine in the days of St. Jerome; and reasoning from the presumption that many Chaldee Versions would not in all likelihood be in existence at one and the same time, he reaches the conclusion that it is at least probable that he used this particular one. The great objection to this view is the Vulgate itself. When St. Jerome undertook to produce a Version of Tobit, he had before him the Versions of the day in Greek and Latin which his friends the bishops could procure or which he himself possessed; he used, with the help of his Israelite teacher, a "Chaldee" Version; and the result was—the Vulgate. Now, whatever the Vulgate has in common with the ante-Jeromian texts may be considered parts of the original text. But that is exceedingly little so far as the Bodleian Chaldee is concerned. There is far more approximation between the Chaldee and the Itala. Either therefore St. Jerome treated his materials in the most cavalier fashion, or he had before him, as Neubauer says, a Chaldee with a more expanded text.

ii. An original Semitic text being presupposed, the question recurs, Which Semitic Version can claim priority? Was the original in Chaldee or in Hebrew? Neubauer accounts the Constantinopolitan Hebrew a translation from an earlier recension of the Bodleian Chaldee (p. xi.), in which was preserved the form of Tobit speaking in the first person. Nöldeke also adduces several philological considerations which point to the priority of the Chaldee over the Hebrew. An examination of the diction of the Bodleian text has led him to the conclusion that it was written in Palestine about A.D. 300 or a little earlier,[1] and that it exhibits a current dialect somewhat modified by the literary style of the Targums.[2] The diction of the Constantinopolitan Hebrew is, in the next place,

[1] P. 67. On p. 54 he assigns it to the fourth century; but the date given in the text appears to be his more matured conclusion.

[2] Neubauer (p. xi. n. 5) points out that the biblical verses agree mostly with the translation of Onkelos.

reckoned more modern than the Talmudical period. It is not the Hebrew of the Mishnah (לשון חכמים), but purer, marked by an imitation of Biblical Hebrew (לשון הקודש), modified by Mishnaic forms. In this respect this Hebrew text is purer than the Hebrew text of Fagius, which is more thoroughly Mishnaic, and is a free translation of the Greek A. The diction of the Constantinopolitan Hebrew bears, he thinks, the same relation to Biblical Hebrew on the one hand and to Mishnaic Hebrew on the other, that the Latin of the Humanists bears to classical and mediæval Latinity respectively.

The same conclusion of priority on the part of the Chaldee is affirmed on other grounds. (*a*) The approximation of the Chald. to the Greek B is closer than that of the Hebrew (cp. these texts on i. 16, &c.; ii. 2; iii. 9, 10; viii. 5, 7; x. 1–7, and end). (*b*) The gaps in the Chaldee are considered partly the omissions or abbreviations of a copyist (*e.g.* i. 16, 18; iii. 3, 5, 9, &c.), partly an abridgment for adaptation to the Midrash, and partly (*e.g.* the concluding scene with Raphael) abbreviation on dogmatic grounds. The text of the Hebrew, on the contrary, is sound and full. The alterations and expansions noticeable, for example, in the prayers and hortatory sections do not diminish from the unity characteristic of the composition. They emanated from one and the same translator. The Midrashic character of some of the additions (*e.g.* that which describes the cause of the conspiracy of Sennacherib's sons; see i. 20, note) does not, it is urged, seriously contradict such a conclusion. Their character marks them as later additions, or indirectly indicates a more expanded Chaldee text from which they were taken.

These arguments are to a certain extent supported by the sense attached to "Chaldee" by Grätz, Rosenthal, and Bickell. They prefer the term "neo-Hebraic," as expressing more correctly the nature of the dialect in which the copies of Tobit and Judith lying before St. Jerome were composed. This dialect was no popular dialect (לשון הדיוט), but a dialect for the learned and for literary composition (לשון חכמין or לישנא דרבנן), and the first period of its activity is placed in the first three centuries A.D.[1]

It is, however, to be remarked that this judgment upon the character of the diction affects only the existing copies. If other considerations (Introduction, § III. &c.) require that the original of the Book of Tobit should have been in circulation about two centuries B.C., and if (as I venture to believe) that original was Semitic, an earlier Chaldee copy or an early Hebrew text must have existed then. This, it may be inferred, was the judgment of St. Jerome and of his coadjutor. A reference to his words, "quicquid ille (the translator) mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit," shews that he was probably reproducing in Biblical Hebrew the language of the "Chaldee." St. Jerome understood Biblical Hebrew, and reproduced it in its turn in Latin.

The existence of such an original being thus presupposed, is it not a question of probabilities whether the original was Chaldee (in the sense of Aramaic rather than neo-Hebraic) or Hebrew? Unfortunately little analogy is offered by what has come down to us in the sparse literature of the last two centuries B.C.; but if weight may be attached to the otherwise converging proofs that the Book was the work of a Palestinian Jew, country and patriotism may balance opinion on the side of Hebrew rather than Aramaic, it being understood that such a Hebrew original would not be written in pure Hebrew, but in a diction more or less Aramaized and even affected by the intrusion of foreign words.[2]

[1] Strack und Siegfried, 'Lehrb. d. N. H. Sprache,' § 1, *c*, *e*.

[2] A few such words exist in the Constantinopolitan Hebrew; *e.g.* סימן (*σημεῖον*), אושפיז (*hospes*), מומון (*μαμμων*), אקרים (? *ακρος* in such compounds as Acropolis), פתבג (cp. Dan. i. 5 &c.), מזיקין (evil spirits); but they are not so numerous as in the Bodleian Chaldee. In this Hebrew text Latin words occur; such words were not common till the period of Roman domination (Schürer, 'Geschichte,'[2] ii. p. 48).

EXCURSUS II.

ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY.

A right apprehension of the views of the Jews on these points will be of considerable assistance in estimating aright the date of the Book of Tobit.

I. ANGELOLOGY.

It is generally admitted that the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, the Apocryphal Books, the Pseudepigraphic[1] writings, and the later Jewish literature exhibit a gradual development of doctrine on this subject. In

[1] The title given to writings circulated under the covert of illustrious names: *e.g.* the Book of Enoch, the Sibylline Oracles, the Psalter of Solomon, the Assumption of Moses, the Vision of Isaiah, the Apocalypse of Baruch.

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this development the Book of Tobit occupies an important place.

(1.) In the Old Testament, statements and details become more precise and definite during and after the Exile. In the Pentateuch Angelology is but little developed. *The* Angel of the Lord and, comparatively seldom, other Angels of God (Gen. xviii.) do the work assigned to them. God, when dealing with the individual, sends His Angel before His servant (Gen. xxiv. 7, 40), delivers him from all evil (Gen. xlviii. 15), and rewards his obedience (Gen. xxii. 18). Similarly, the history of His people, as contained in the narrative of the Exodus (Ex. xiv. 19, xxiii. 19 &c.; Num. xx. 6) and of the establishment in the Promised Land (Josh. v. 14; Judg. ii. 1–5, vi. 11), presents a like method of procedure. The subject is not, however, free from difficulty; the acts assigned to the Angel being sometimes assigned to Jehovah Himself. Nevertheless it is usually concluded that the Angel presents to man the "descent of God into visibility" (Oehler), leaving it undecided whether that presentment be momentary or permanent, hypostatic or unsubstantial; and that what he does or speaks is the act and speech of Him Whom he represents.

The Prophets developed the Mosaic doctrine of God and His relation to the world. The title "Lord of Hosts" (1 Sam. i. 3) is of significant importance in the history of Angelology (cp. Neh. ix. 6). The host of heavenly spirits appear as the messengers of God, as the appointed instruments of executing His judgments present and final, and as participating in His counsels. Now also appear in more definite delineation Angels of higher order and special office. The imagery of Isai. vi. 2 is developed in Ezekiel. This Prophet's six men, slaughter-weapon in hand, "and one among them clothed with linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side," are types respectively of destroying and delivering Angels (ix. 2–4); Zechariah's horseman and chief among those who "walk to and fro through the earth" (i. 8 &c.), whether he be identical with "the Angel of the Lord" or not; and the presence of an *Angelus interpres* to explain to Daniel and Zechariah the meaning of their visions:—these are features of Angelology which, if not absolutely novel, are expansions—legitimate expansions—of previously existing conceptions. Names of Angels also begin to appear, such as Gabriel and Michael in the Book of Daniel; the former corresponding to the *Angelus interpres* of Zechariah, the latter to the Angel of the Lord in the same Prophet. These names, if also in some cases the names of men, are instructive. Their etymology embraces some attribute of Him Whom they serve, as well as the nature of the service they render. But the practice of nomenclature is still infrequent. The ineffability attaching to what is most holy is still preserved. In Daniel, the great unnamed Being Himself calls out by name Gabriel and Michael (viii. 15, 16; x. 5, 6, 13); they obey Him, they help Him (x. 13, 21); and He proclaims the final end (xii. 7–13).[1]

(2.) The teaching of the Apocrypha is a development of the teaching of the canonical Books of the Old Testament, but the development is conducted upon lines at once natural and sober. Jewish Angelology was the product of a development from within rather than from without; and Palestine more than Babylonia and Persia was the home of this development. The Book of Tobit bears a part in the history of this development. An Angel, bearing a name, Raphael—expressive of his mission[2] (xii. 14, 18), and yet connected (1 Chron. xxvi. 7), like Michael (1 Chron. xxvii. 18), with the names of men—presents himself to Tobit and his son, to Raguel and his daughter. His appearance is to them, as tradition asserts that it was to Abraham (see iii. 16, note), that of a human being like unto themselves. He is hired as a guide (ch. v.), he is employed as a confidential agent (ch. ix.); he eats and drinks, rests and travels. But his own description of himself is distinctly more definite than those of the Biblical Books: "I am Raphael, one of the seven (the number is absent from some of the texts) holy Angels which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One. . . . All these days I did appear unto you; but I did neither eat nor drink, but ye did see a vision . . . Give God thanks, for I go up to Him that sent me" (xii. 15, 19, 20). Most of these details (*e.g.*, cp. for that of eating and drinking Gen. xviii. 8, xix. 3; Judg. vi. 19) have their prototypes in Biblical parallels; others indicate the effect of influences external to them. For example, the specific number seven connects itself with the Old Testament conception of completion and perfection; and if the local colouring of the Book indicate the external influences perceptible in it, it is a perfectly legitimate deduction

[1] Cp. on the whole subject, from an Old Test. point of view, Oehler, 'Theology of the O. T.' §§ 59–61, 195–199; Schultz, 'Alttestamentliche Theologie,'[3] p. 555 *sq.*; ANGEL in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible;' ENGEL in Hamburger, 'R. E. für Bibel u. Talmud,' Abth. i.; Herzog, 'R. E.'[2]; and Riehm, 'H. W. B.'

[2] "I cannot give thee my name. We are always named after our mission and work," is the Midrash on Gen. xxxii. 30 (quoted by Hamburger). The Talmud gives Bas Basia, Mas Masia, Kas Kasia, Sharlai and Amarlai as other names of Angels of healing (Brecher, 'Der Transcendentale, Magie, u. magische Heilarten im Talmud,' pp. 38, 199).

to associate the number with the "seven spirits" of Babylonian mythology.[1]

(3.) The secrets of Assyrian angelology are not, at present, so largely unravelled (or discovered) as those of Assyrian demonology; but what is known sufficiently indicates that the post-Biblical writings borrowed their conceptions more largely from Babylonia than from Persia. Inferior to the triads of the greater Assyrian Gods was a celestial hierarchy,[2] ranging from the mediator Mardouk to the two guardian spirits, male and female, assigned to each human being.[3] There were spiritual beings who had their homes in heaven, others whose domain was earth. As there were seven spheres, so were there seven good gods and seven evil, seven beneficent spirits and seven evil.[4] It was one of the works of the good spirit to deliver man from the evil spirit or demon who possessed him. There was the good *sed* and the good *oudouq* ready to do battle against the evil *sed* and the evil *oudouq;* the lesser gods themselves neither disdained nor refused to give their help. A tablet[5] records how

> "The goddess Istarit, whose palace, abode of delight,
> Is inaccessible
> Approached the bed of the dying man."

And a chorus of gods breaks out:—

> "Who shall restore this man?
> Who shall . . . drive away the demon?
> Istarit, daughter of Bel,
> Nergal, son of Bel,
> Maroudouk, lord of Eridou,
> These are they who shall drive out the demon from the body of the dying man."

Other potent celestial powers are Nous-souk and Memith (personified),[6] Nin-ki-gal (Assyr. Allat), Tourtak, Announa-ge, Davkina, the Sun with his archangels of earth and heaven.[1] Izbar,[2] the fire-god, plays no insignificant *rôle* among the ministers of good. He approaches Mardouk in a spirit of supplication, as Mardouk approaches Ea his father. By his flame, burning on the domestic hearth, the fire-god expels demons; on the sacrificial altar he is both present and adored.

Curiously enough, a cognate title "prince of fire" is found assigned to Gabriel. An inscription in the interior of a Judæo-Babylonian vase at Cannes,[3] attributed by its decipherer to the 1st (or at latest 2nd) Christian century,[4] records how the house, inmates, and goods of one Zadan-ferruch, son of Kaki, were sealed against the assaults of demons. "Sealed were they with 70 knots and 70 bands, with 70 seals and 70 stones, and with the seal of Arub-dziuah son of Rabe; with the seal of Michael the powerful, the king, the prince of the Law; with the seal of Casdiel the powerful, the king, the prince of the Chaldeans; with the seal of Gabriel, the powerful, the king, the prince of fire; with the seal of Asaph Nadas-diuah, the gardener of Solomon, king, son of David; with the seal of Solomon, king, son of David; and with the great seal of the Lord of the world, whose knot cannot be loosed, and whose seal cannot be broken;[5] blessed art Thou, O Jehovah, our God, King of the world. Amen." The attributes of a "prince of fire" are, in Rabbinical writings, not unfrequently assigned to Gabriel.[6]

(4.) Among Pseudepigraphic writings which are of value in the history of the development of Angelology, a chief place both in date and importance is to be assigned to the Book of Enoch. Accepting the conclusions of Dillmann, Lipsius, and Schürer,[7] that the main work (chaps. i.–xix., xxi.–xxxvi., lxxii.–cv.)

[1] Cp. Delitzsch *s. n.* ENGEL in Riehm's 'H. W. B.,' and the Excursus on Angelology in the Speaker's Commentary on Daniel, p. 349. Kohut, 'Ueber die jüdische Angelologie u. Dämonologie,' p. 7, accepts with many critics the tradition that the Jews, when returning from exile, brought the names of the months and of the Angels (and therefore many angelological conceptions) with them from Babylon; but the Talmudical passage which records the tradition (Talm. Jerus. Rosh Hashana, i. 2; Bereschit Rabba, p. 48) makes no mention of Angels, and his treatise is too strained in its attempt to connect with Parseism the Jewish belief and teaching on these subjects. Cp. Grünbaum in 'Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 257 &c.

[2] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 138.

[3] Halévy, 'Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie,' p. 19. Cp. also the Pastor of Hermas (*c.* A.D. 150), 'Commandment,' VI. ch. ii.: "In regard to faith. There are two angels with a man—one of sternness, the other of evil."

[4] Lenormant, pp. 17, 18; Halévy, pp. 19, 20, 28, 47–8.

[5] Halévy, p. 83.

[6] Ibid., pp. 36, 41.

[1] Lenormant, pp. 10, 16, 22, 161, 164; 'Records of the Past,' xi. 123, 125.

[2] Lenormant, p. 169 &c.; 'Records of the Past,' ix. 144–6; Halévy, p. 136 &c.

[3] Hyvernat, "Sur un Vase judéo-babylonien du Musée Lycklama de Cannes," in 'Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung,' ii. p. 113 *sq.*

[4] Ibid., p. 145. It should be added that Nöldeke, 'Zeitschr. f. K. S. F.' ii. 293, dates it A.D. 700.

[5] In the Talmud demons are frequently declared to be powerless against what was sealed. Cp. Brecher, pp. 52–3, 59.

[6] Hyvernat, p. 129; Grünbaum in 'Z. f. K. S. F.' ii. 223–4 and reff.

[7] Dillmann, "Pseudepigraphen des A. T." in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. n.* "Die Henoch- u. Noah-Schriften;" Lipsius, "Enoch, Apocryphal Book of," in Smith and Wace's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography;' Schürer, ii.[2] p. 616 &c.; Schodde, 'The Book of Enoch,' p. 43; and Langen, 'Das Judenthum in Palästina,' pp. 35–64,—all date the main work at about 160 B.C.

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represents Jewish theological opinion at the close of the second century and beginning of the first B.C., and that the Book of Parables (chaps. xxxvii.–lxxi.) dates from the time of the later Hasmoneans and the Herods, it is interesting to note how the Angelology of the former is expanded in the latter.

In the main work[1] Enoch relates with "tongue of flesh" his vision of "the Holy and Great One."[2] He was lifted into heaven, and passing through the tongue of fire surrounding the wall of a house reached a second building of indescribable magnificence and size. Its floor was fire, and its ceiling was fire. In it was a high throne the appearance of which was like a hoar-frost; around it was, as it were, a brilliant sun. He heard Cherubim-voices. From under the great throne came streams of flaming fire, so that it was impossible to look upon it. And He Who is great in majesty sat upon it. His garment was more glittering than the sun and whiter than pure snow. No Angel could enter there; no mortal could look upon the form of the face of the Lord and the Majesty. Flaming fire was around Him, and a great fire before Him. No one of those around Him could approach Him. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, but He needed not the Holy Council. And the Holy ones who were near Him left Him not day or night. From amongst the host of heaven there came to Enoch four "who were like white men" (*i.e.* Angels).[3] They bore the names of Michael, Gabriel, Surjan, and Urjan.[4] The two last are the same as Suriel and Uriel, and Raphael is identified with Suriel.[5] Of these, Uriel, Raphael, Michael, and a fourth, Raguel, acted as guides to Enoch in his travels through heaven and earth;[6] and of some the mission is defined.[7] Raphael (or Rufael) is "bidden to bind Azazel;" Gabriel is to "destroy the children of fornication and the children of the watchers from among men;" Michael is to announce to Semjaza and to the others with him the punishment in store for them.[8] In another vision, when the throne of judgment is set on earth in "the pleasant land," Enoch sees "the first six white ones." They are unnamed, and the number is disputed; but it finds support from Ezek. ix. 2.[1]

In the Parables (chaps. xxxvii.–lxxi.) further details are to be gleaned. The appellation of God most characteristic and frequent is "the Lord of the spirits,"[2] a title which corresponds with the contents of a section dealing essentially with the spirit-world. A more elaborate and definite classification of Angels is given. As before, Enoch is moved by "the spirit" into the heaven of heavens, and he sees the house surrounded by fire; "a house built of crystal stones, and between each stone flames of living fire." Round about were Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim. These are they who do not sleep, but watch the throne of (God's) glory. And he saw Angels who could not be numbered. A thousand times thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand, they surrounded that house. "And Michael and Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel, and the Holy Angels who are in the heavens go in and out in that house. And they . . . came out, and with them the 'Head of Days' (*i.e.*, One Who is old). His head was white and pure as wool, and His garments such as no man could describe."[3] In another vision[4] Enoch hears the song of those "who do not sleep." They stand before God's glory and sing their Trisagion, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of the spirits. He filleth the earth with spirits." On the four sides of the Lord of the spirits he saw four beings (*πρόσωπα*),[5] different from those standing (before the glory of the Lord of spirits), and he learned their names from the Angel (the "Angel of peace") who came with him. And he heard the voices of those four beings as they sang praises before the Lord of glory. The first voice praised the Lord of the spirits from everlasting to everlasting. The second voice praised the Chosen One (Isai. xlii. 1, the Messiah) and the chosen ones who depended on the Lord of the spirits. The third voice prayed for those who dwell upon the earth and made their petition in the

[1] Ch. xiv. Cp. with Dan. vii. 9, 10, and Part II. § 3 of this Excursus.

[2] A characteristic title of this division of the Book. Cp. i. 3 and the notes of Dillmann and Schodde.

[3] Ch. lxxxvii. 2.

[4] Ch. ix.

[5] Syncellus, quoting in his Chronography the fragments of the Greek 'Enoch,' gives twice the four names as Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel. See the fragments in Fabricius, 'Codex Pseudepigraphus in V. T.' i. p. 179 &c.; Dillmann, pp. 82–5. The name Suriel is possibly a misreading (see Dillmann, note to ix. 1).

[6] Chaps. xvii.–xxiv. [7] Ch. x.

[8] See below, Part II. § 3.

[1] Ch. xc. 21. The six would include the four previously noted (cp. xc. 31). The difficulty about the number, whether it be six or seven, arises from the state of the Æthiopic MS. The number seven finds support from some Versions of Tob. xii. 15, six from the passage in Ezekiel. Were Enoch xx. other than an interpolation of later date, the number of Angels there, viz. six, would resolve the difficulty here; but the functions there assigned to the Angels are novel, and in some points contradict those assigned to them elsewhere. Six is the number of "the Holy Angels of God" in the Pastor of Hermas, Vis. iv.

[2] See ch. xxxvii. 1 and Dillmann's note.

[3] Ch. lxxi.

[4] Chaps. xxxix., xl.

[5] כולאבי הפנים. Cp. Isai. lxiii. 9.

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Name of the Lord of the spirits. The fourth voice kept off the Satans, and allowed them not to come before the Lord of the spirits to accuse those who dwelt upon earth. And Enoch asked the Angel of peace who these four beings were, and the answer came: "The first is the holy Michael, merciful, slow to anger; and the second, who is set over all the sicknesses and the wounds of the children of men, is Rufael (Raphael); and the third, who is over all powers, is the holy Gabriel; and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life, is Phanuel."[1]

One other Pseudepigraphic Book — the Fourth Book of Ezra[2] (the Second Book of Esdras in the Apocrypha)—brings forward the name of Uriel (iv. 1). The Angelophany is, as in the Book of Daniel, in visions.

(5.) Marked as is the development in Angelology between the Biblical and Pseudepigraphic writings, it is still more marked in the later Jewish theology.[3] The pure silence and sacred reserve of the canonical Books, abandoned by the author or authors of the Book of Enoch, is now exchanged for what is perhaps symbolically beautiful, but also strangely welded together by a fantastic imagination, national conceit, ignorant superstition, and foreign elements.

God is conceived as more and more isolated, "the Only One in His world" (יחידו של עולם).[4] His sphere is a seven-fold heaven graduating to the summit. In the centre of the highest range is His dwelling-place (מחיצא). The throne of the Glory (כסא הכבוד, in the Targ. כורסי דיקרא) is there; from it issues the Light which, blinding to men (cp. Exod. xxxiv. 29 &c.), is the atmosphere and food of Angels. In the sphere of this highest heaven, yet hidden by the cloudy veil (פרגוד) from celestial beings, He surrounds Himself with His family (פמליא של מעלה), the Angel-host. There too are the souls of the unborn and of the righteous-dead, whose approach to the veil is nearer than that of the host, and whose home is the "Paradise" into which the saint of Christ was "caught up" (2 Cor. xii. 4). No man can tell the number[1] of the innumerable host (Job xxv. 3; Dan. vii. 10), nor state the hour of their creation. Was it on the second day when the heavens were made (Gen. i.), or on the fifth day (Gen. i. 20; Isai. vi. 2), when winged creatures appeared? Nay, was it not, is it not, "day by day" that Angels were and are created, "new every morning" (Lam. iii. 23), issuing from the Light streaming from under the Throne, singing their Hallelujah, and again absorbed in the "river of fire" (נהר דינור)?

From amongst this "family of God" stand forward prominently certain classes and chiefs. In their ranks (according to Maimonides) were ten gradations. The highest was the Chaijoth (חיות), or "living creatures," and in succession to them the Ophanim, Asellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Malaachim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim.[2] As chiefs Michael occupies the highest rank; yet higher than he is the mysterious Metatron, whom tradition identified with the translated Enoch (Gen. v. 24), and associated with Jophiel, Uriel, and Jephiphja in the pious task of burying Moses (Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan on Deut. xxxiv. 6). He was the "Prince of the Presence" (שר פנים); his very name Metatron (מטטרון[3]) was equivalent in numerical value (314) to that of the Almighty

[1] Other visions bring forward names of the leaders of the divisions of the year (ch. lxxxii.), or specify Angels of power and of supremacies (ch. lxi.), or assign spirits to the thunder, lightning, sea, frost, dew &c. (ch. lx.). Consult the notes of Dillmann and Schodde *in locis*.

[2] *Circa* A.D. 81–96. Cp. Schürer, ii.[2] p. 657. In iv. 36 the name Uriel is replaced in some MSS. by Jeremiel.

[3] Cp. Brecher, pp. 8 &c. Weber, 'System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie,' pp. 157 &c. Edersheim, 'Life of Jesus,' ii. 745 &c.; App. xiii., "Jewish Angelology and Demonology."

[4] On this and the following Hebrew or Aramaic titles and words consult Levy's works, 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim,' 'Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch üb. die Talmudim u. Midraschim,' *s. nn.*

[1] Brecher, pp. 12, 13. The later Jewish theology environs God with at least 90,000 myriads of angels, because מלך = 90 (Weber, p. 165). Brecher (p. 7) considers the whole conception a reflexion of the Persian estimate of the divinity which doth hedge about a king. The curious in such matters will find in Brecher (p. 9) the names and descriptions of the seven heavens.

[2] Cp. Brecher, p. 33. The derivation of Chashmallim is, according to one Rabbinical passage, singularly beautiful. They are חיות עתים חשות ועתים ממללות, creatures who sometimes keep silence, sometimes speak. They are silent when God speaks, and speak when and what He has spoken. See Levy, *s. n.* חשמל. The Cherubim are in the Talmud depicted as young and blooming; an imaginary etymology making כרוב = כרביא, רביא being the name given in Babylonia to a young lad. The Ishim are the Angels who appear to the prophets and speak with them; their name indicates the approximation of their knowledge to that of men.

[3] Derived from *μετάθρονος* or *μετατύραννος*, the next to the Throne or Lord (Weber, p. 173; Levy, 'Chald. W. B.' *s. n.*). Others connect it with *μεταδρόμος* (Brecher, p. 28), or with *metator*, or with Mithra (cp. Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 236).

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(Shaddai = שדי), Whose representative he is in the world. There he is the teacher of His children, and one who pleads before Him for His chosen people. When Moses died and God bewailed him, the Metatron comforted God: "Thine he was when living, Thine he is when dead." With Michael are associated other chiefs, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, whose number is increased later on to seven, by the addition of Sammael, Izidkiel, Hanael, and Kepharel,[1] and under whose charge respectively were placed the several days of the week. Similarly the 70 nations of the world were under the protection of 70 Angel-princes; Michael, chief of Angels, being also prince of Israel, the people of peoples, the prince of Jerusalem, the prince of Zion. Individuals also, like nations, have their guardian Angels (cp. Gen. xxiv. 7; Targ. Jerus. i.), who serve as their protectors against wicked spirits, and incite them to good works. Thus it was Michael who led the daughter of Dinah to Egypt to the house of Potipherah, where she was brought up and presently married to Joseph under the name of Asenath (Gen. xli. 50). "The whole world," says one Talmudical passage,[2] "is full of spirits and demons. When a man keeps one commandment, one good Angel comes to him; or when he keeps two commandments, two Angels; when he keeps all the commandments, many Angels. And who are these Angels? They are the Angels who will shield him from the evil spirits (מזיקין)." These guardian Angels present themselves to men in most varied forms: sometimes sitting, sometimes standing; sometimes as men, sometimes as women; sometimes as winds, sometimes as flames. They can be visible or invisible as circumstances require. The name they receive or assume expresses their ministerial act or message. Each Angel has a tablet on his heart in which the Name of God and his own are combined.

The Angels understand Hebrew only. "Do not pray in Aramaic," says a Rabbinic rule,[3] "but always in Hebrew. The Ministering Angel cannot bring before God the prayer of one who prays in Aramaic, for he does not understand it. Hebrew, the language of the Law, is the only holy language; it is the language spoken in heaven." Alas for the Gentiles! The ministry of Angels is not for them: it is limited to the people of Israel. Israel is the realm of Angels; in the world of nations stalk the demons!

[1] Cp. the seven from the Book of Enoch above, § 4. Brecher (pp. 21–32) gives the names as Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Metatron, Sandalphon, and Sagsagel. The Roman Catholic Church, accepting only the names assigned to Angels in the (to it) canonical Books, has rejected by synodical decrees (Rome, A.D. 745; Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 789) all names except Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (cp. Hefele, 'Concil. Geschichte,' iii. 539, 660). D. F. Strauss ('Dogmatik,' i. § 49) contemplated them as heads of three "Departments:"—"Kriegswesen — Gabriel; Medicinalwesen — Raphael; Cultus—Michael."

[2] Brecher, p. 13; Weber, p. 166.

[3] Brecher, p. 17.

II. Demonology.

The reserve of the Biblical writings on this subject is still more marked than in the case of Angelology, but the teaching is not less progressive. From the simplest form in which the Old Testament recognised evil as working, onward to its fullest development in Rabbinical literature, are many stages, but they can be traced fairly and broadly.

(1.) Around the throne of God are His ministering spirits, some to help and guide, some to punish and destroy (cp. 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23; Ps. lxxviii. 49; Isai. xix. 14); but all alike execute His will. From dependent to independent action, from conduct due to absolute obedience to God to conduct due to a hostile disposition to man and the covenant-people, is a development partly instinctive, partly due to external influences. The prologue to Job and Zechariah iii. present it in a form where Satan would work ill, yet can only do so by God's permission; the later writer of 1 Chron. xxiv. 1 represents the adversary as acting in a more independent fashion; yet is he very far from being the ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου of the New Testament.[1]

(2.) The views of Israel, affected after the conquest of Canaan by the neighbouring influences of Syrian and Phœnician idolatry, were gradually developed by contact with Babylonian and Persian conceptions. This is noticeable in the Apocryphal Book of Tobit. The "evil spirit" who "loves" Sarah, and "kills" the husbands who approach her (iii. 8, vi. 14), is specified by name—Asmodeus. He is the "king of the demons" (Heb. and Chald. שדים [Shedim]; cp. Deut. xxxii. 17), a "devil." He cannot be expelled by ordinary powers; special means—the heart and liver of a fish (vi. 7)—are to be used for exorcising him; and when he is expelled, an Angel binds him (viii. 3).

Even if the name of this evil spirit be Persian or Median (see iii. 7, note), the details above given are curiously in conformity with Assyrian rather than with Persian belief.[2] In the creed of the Babylonian it was recog-

[1] For the O. T. conceptions on this subject, consult Oehler, §§ 200, 201; Schultz, ch. xxxvii. 'Das Böse ausserhalb der Menschheit;' and the works mentioned in Part I. § 1, n. 2.

[2] Cp. for what follows, Halévy, pp. 55 &c., 83 &c.; Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 3 &c.; Jensen, "De incantamentorum sumerico-assyriorum serie," &c. in the 'Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung,' i. 279 &c.

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nised that heavenly spirits could be called upon to relieve those vexed by demons. As has been stated (Part I. § 3), Istarit, the "queen of heaven," would in some cases come down and intervene in behalf of the sufferer. The power of the demons was confessedly great. As there were seven beneficent spirits, so were there seven malevolent demons. A celebrated tablet gives to these last the very name Shedim before us. In nature and office they are

"Invincible, born in the firmament of heaven,
Committing violence.
The chief of these seven is (blank);
The second is a lion who spares no one;
The third is a tiger;
The fourth is a serpent;
The fifth is a viper;
The sixth is a swift wind which obeys neither God nor man;
The seventh is a whirlwind, an evil wind.
All these seven are the agents of An, the king."

They attack kings and men, though they are defeated by the good deities.[1]

Another tablet speaks of *the* Shed as the demon who is distinguished from others by his colossal force.[2] A third recites what may almost be called a popular incantation against them:[3]

"Seven are they, seven are they!
In the channel of the deep seven are they!
In the radiance of heaven seven are they!
In the channel of the deep in a palace grew they up.
Male they are not, female they are not.
In the midst of the deep are their paths.
Wife they have not, son they have not.
Order and kindness know they not.
Prayer and supplication hear they not.
The *cavern* in the mountain they enter.
Unto Hea are they hostile.
The throne-bearers of the gods are they.
Disturbing the *lily* in the torrents are they set.
Baleful are they, baleful are they.
Seven are they, seven are they, seven twice again are they.
May the spirits of heaven remember, may the spirits of earth remember."

The indication here, frequently repeated,[4] that these evil spirits are debarred from the joys of family life, explains in part their hostility to those who seek them:

"They take no wife, and beget not children.
They know not tenderness."[5]

"They snatch the wife from her husband's embrace;
They drive the man from his nuptial chamber."[1]

"They prevent the impregnation of the wife by her husband; or
Subject her to their embraces by nocturnal pollution."[2]

Of the means employed to expel them, that of fire and of smoke caused by ingredients cast into a vessel containing fire is not uncommon. Jensen gives the following incantations:[3]—

"Tollo vas angustum sacrum et incendo ignem,
Foculum accendo, projicio panicum.
* * * * *
Sicut allium istud desquamatur et in ignem injicitur,
Flamma comburens comburit (id), . . .
Morbus qui in corpore meo, carne meo, musculis (?) meis est,
Sicut allium istud utinam desquamatur, et
Hoc tempore flamma comburens utinam comburet (eum).
Incantatio, Utinam exeat et ego lucem utinam videam!
* * * * *
Sicut lana ovilla ista carpitur et in ignem injicitur,
Flamma comburens comburit (eam), . . .
Sicut lana caprina ista carpitur et in ignem injicitur,
Flamma comburens comburit (eam) . . .
Morbus, qui in corpore meo, carne mea, musculis (?) meis est
. utinam interimatur et
Hoc tempore flamma comburens comburit eum" &c., &c.

The remedy was at once propitiatory and purificatory.

There are numerous instances of the application of these or similar special remedies to special parts of the body.[4] Halévy's rendering of another incantation intimates that a wild herb was to be placed in a handkerchief and tightly wrapped round the head of the sufferer. Or the advice is given:

"Take the pure wool of a young sheep:
Bind it round the head of the sick man;
Bind it round the neck of the sick man.
The demon in the body of that man will go away immediately."[5]

As a substitute for lamb's wool, a kid's skin might be used.[6] Sometimes drinks were

[1] Halévy, p. 100 &c.
[2] Ibid. p. 37.
[3] See Sayce, 'Records of the Past,' ix. p. 146; cp. also ibid. iii. 143, xi. 135; Halévy, p. 47.
[4] Cp. Halévy, p. 43.
[5] Ibid. p. 42.

[1] Cp. Halévy, p. 2.
[2] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 28, 36.
[3] 'Zeitschr. f. K. F. S.' i. 286, 292 &c. Cp. Halévy, p. 135 &c.
[4] Cp. Halévy, pp. 4, 175; Lenormant, p. 38.
[5] Cp. Halévy, pp. 55, 56. For the use of herbs, cp. also 'Records of the Past,' iii. 146–7; Halévy, p. 139.
[6] Ibid. p. 102.

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given, such as butter and milk furnished by cows sacred to the gods;[1] sometimes ointments made of butter or of the liver of a fish.[2] In an ancient Babylonian work on Medicine,[3] are given some most excessively unpalatable recipes composed of 5, 7, or 12 ingredients. There are mixtures of wood, snake, mead, and raw flesh; of tree-root and dog-tongue; of sheep's heart, skin, herbs, and reed; to be taken sometimes in water or wine, sometimes without, in comparison with which the nauseousness of the smell of the heart-and-liver smoke (Tob. viii. 2) can have been nothing. These remedies were, however, reckoned very efficacious in the expulsion of the demons of sickness of every kind.

It was believed that many of these demons came from the desert (cp. Isai. xxxiv. 13, 14), and it was one object of the incantations and exorcisms to drive them back to the place from which they came, and imprison them or bind them.[4] The desert was the "land not inhabited" (אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה), the place of Azazel (Lev. xvi. 22. See below, § 3). In the Book of Tobit Asmodeus flees to Egypt and is there bound by the Angel. The reason for the selection of that land in particular is not given, but it may have been due to the belief that the gods of Egypt had special power over demons.[5]

A rough kind of hierarchy is to be traced in Accadian and Assyrian demonology,[6] and classes rather than individuals are distinguished by special titles. The malevolent *Sed* and the malevolent *lamas*, counterparts of their benevolent namesakes,[7] appear to stand at the top of the ladder of tormentors. Under them is a tribe of inferior spirits—*labas*, *ahar*, *al*, *alap*, *maskim*, *ekim*—sometimes working singly, sometimes agitating in groups of seven, and perhaps led by *Asak*, *Oudouk*, and *Namtar*.[8]

(3.) The main portion of the Book of Enoch opens with reflections upon the fall of the Angels:[1] "The sons of the heavens saw and lusted after the daughters of men. They said one to another, We will choose for ourselves wives from among the children of men, and will beget for ourselves children." Two hundred of them bound themselves by a curse to carry out this plan. Semjaza[2] was their leader, and the names of seventeen others are added.[3] They wrought their purpose, and taught their wives charms and conjurations, and made them acquainted with the cutting of roots[4] and of woods. Monstrous births—"giants whose stature was 3000 ells"—and still more monstrous deeds wrought by the giants followed upon the fall. It became the malignant work of the fallen angels to corrupt mankind. Prominent in deadly teaching was Azazel.[5] Michael, Gabriel, Surjan and Urjan cry "to their Lord, to their King. See how Azazel has taught all wickedness on earth, and has revealed the secrets of the world which were prepared in the heavens."[6] The statement is a distinct advance upon the Biblical record (Lev. xvi. 8 &c., Heb.) which indicates by the name Azazel a spiritual power opposed to the God of Israel without defining his work.[7] The execution of the judgment passed upon Azazel is entrusted to Rufael (Raphael): "Bind him hand and foot and put him in the darkness. Make an opening in the desert which is in Dudael,[8] and put him in it. Lay upon him rough and pointed rocks.

[1] Halévy, pp. 83, 84.

[2] Ibid. p. 16.

[3] Translated by Sayce in 'Z. f. K. F. S.' ii. pp. 1 &c., 205 &c. The Talmudical beverages are less nauseous. See some of them in Brecher, p. 204 &c.

[4] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' pp. 29, 42; 'La Divination,' pp. 6, 7, 29; 'Records of the Past,' iii. 152.

[5] Cp. the interesting history given in Lenormant, pp. 30–32. That a scribe misread the text of Tobit, and substituted מצרים instead of גזרה, is possible, but not probable.

[6] Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 23 *sq.*

[7] See above, Part I., § 3.

[8] Halévy, pp. 2–4, 17, 28, 32, 93, 102, 129. Lenormant gives different names to some of these. These names are not always explained or apparently explicable.

[1] Ch. vi. This interpretation of Gen. vi. 1 &c. is found in Philo, 'De Gig.' i. 2; Josephus, 'Antiqq.' i. 3. 1; Tertullian, 'De cultu Feminarum,' i. 2, ii. 10.

[2] שמחזאי or שמיעזא (see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Chald. et Talm.' *s. n.*), the Samgasai of the Targ. of Jonathan on Gen. vi. 4.

[3] The number in the Greek text of Enoch here is 20, which commends itself on the principle of a leader to every 20. In ch. lxix. (a Noachic fragment) the number is in all 21. The difference in the names — drawn from imagination—in these lists is very great. See Dillmann and Schodde, notes *in locis*.

[4] See the stories in Josephus, 'Bel. Jud.' vii. 6. 3; 'Antiqq.' viii. 2, 5. Cp. Edersheim, 'Life of Jesus the Messiah,' App. on Demonology, ii. 767.

[5] Cp. Part I. § 4, above.

[6] Ch. ix. In ch. viii. he is first or chief of seven; in the lists of chaps. vi. and lxix. he is tenth.

[7] Cp. Oehler, 'Theology of the O. T.' §§ 140, 201. Schultz,[3] pp. 437, 608. Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. pp. 225–6, 235 &c. Hamberger, 'R. E. für Bibel u. Talmud,'[2] *s. n.* Asasel.

[8] Ch. x. Dudael = דּוּדָא אֵל, God's kettle. In ch. lx. 8 the monster Behemoth occupies a vast desert called Dendain, probably a name coined to express judgment (דִּין דַּיְנָן). For the punishment of binding, cp. Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Rev. xx. 2.

Cover him with darkness that he may remain there for ever. Cover his face that he may not see the light. And on the great day of judgment he will be cast into the great fire. Heal[1] the earth which the angels (fallen) have defiled, and proclaim thou the healing of the earth that I will heal it, and that not all the children of men shall perish through the mystery of that which the watchers have spoken and taught their sons.[2] The whole earth was corrupted through the teaching of the works of Azazel. To him ascribe all sins." The same punishment by the same hand is implied—if less detailed—in a later vision: "I saw one of those four who had come out before; and he took that star which had first fallen from heaven, and bound it hand and foot and put it in an abyss; and this abyss was narrow and deep and terrible and dark."[3]

A host of evil powers are the offspring of the union between the disobedient angels and women. The Lord bids Enoch say to "the watchers of heaven": "Ye were formerly spiritual, enjoying an eternal, immortal life. Therefore I made not wives for you, for spiritual beings have their dwelling in heaven (cp. St. Matt. xxii. 30). But now the giants (the sons born of the connexion blamed), begotten of body and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon earth, and their dwellings will be upon earth. Evil beings go forth from their bodies And the spirits of the giants, who hurl themselves against the clouds,[4] shall be repelled and cast down (from heaven) and do battle and cause destruction upon earth, and do evil. They will take no kind of food nor be thirsty, and they shall be invisible. Punishment will overtake them in their turn, first in the corruption to which their human flesh is heir, and finally destruction in the day of the great judgment."[5]

In the 'Parables' the presentment of demonology, if not dissimilar,[6] is less detailed, and the ample nomenclature of the rest of the book is absent. In his vision[1] Enoch sees Phanuel "keeping off the Satans," the accusers of those who dwell upon the earth. These Satans are "angels of punishment," spiritual powers of evil, under the leadership of one who is *the* Satan.[2] Enoch looking down upon the earth sees a deep valley with a burning fire. Into the valley are brought the kings and the powerful. In that valley also are being made iron chains of immense weight. Turning to "the Angel of Peace," Enoch asks, "For whom have these chains been prepared?" And the Angel answers, "These have been prepared for the hosts of Azazel to take them and lay them in the lowest hell. With rough stones shall their jaws be covered, as the Lord of the spirits has commanded. Michael and Gabriel, Rufael and Phanuel will lay hold of them on that great day, and will cast them on that day into the furnace of flaming fire. Therewith shall the Lord of the spirits take vengeance upon them for their unrighteousness, because they were subject to Satan, and have led astray those who dwelt upon earth."[3]

(4.) The Jews conceived themselves encompassed on all sides by evil, death, and the power of demons: "through fear of death (they) were all their lifetime subject to bondage" (Heb. ii. 15). Jewish theology massed together these "noxious" spirits under the name *Massikin*.[4] Their work was distinctly opposed to that of the "ministering spirits" of good, and man "fallen from his first estate" was the special object of their malignity. They are the spirits of night and darkness, of destruction and death. The chief of the *Massikin* is Satan. As the "spirit of delusion"[5] he first tempts man; next as "accuser"[6] he brings charges (often false) against him; and then, as the "angel of death,"[7] seeks to slay him. Not unfrequently he is identified with Sammael,[8] "the chief of all Satans," once an

[1] Raphael not only binds, but, in accordance with the usually accepted etymology of his name, *heals* also. The etymology which, connecting him with the Rephaim (cp. Isai. xiv. 9; Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,'[2] ii. 279, note 2), invests him with greatness and power, finds illustration rather than proof in the strength and power to bind assigned to him here.

[2] Cp. ch. xvi.

[3] Ch. lxxxviii. Cp. ch. lxxxvi. Commentators are agreed that in these chapters the binder is Raphael and the bound is Azazel. Cp. ch. xiii.; and see Dillmann and Schodde *in locis*. For the "abyss," see chs. xviii., xix.

[4] Cp. the "war of the seven evil spirits against heaven," in 'Records of the Past,' v. p. 161 &c.; Halévy, p. 100 &c.

[5] The subject is very obscure. See ch. xvi. and the notes of Dillmann and Schodde.

[6] See Dillmann's note on xl. 6, 7.

[1] Ch. xl. See above, Part I. § 4.

[2] Ch. liii. 3.

[3] Ch. liv.

[4] מזיקין. Cp. Part I. § 5; Buxtorf's and Levy's Lexx. *s. n.* It is the word given in their quotations and renderings for "devils;" *e.g.* in Ps. cvi. 37. Cp. the *maskim* of Babylonian demonology, § 2, above. On the points discussed in this section consult Brecher, p. 40 &c.; Kohut, p. 50 &c.; Hamburger, 'R. E.' Abth. ii. *s. n.* "Geister"; Weber, 'System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie,' p. 242 &c.; Edersheim, 'Life of Jesus,' ii., App. xiii. p. 752 &c.

[5] רוח השטנות.

[6] מקטרג (*κατήγορος*).

[7] מלאך מותא. Cp. Kohut, pp. 68, 69. The Rabbinic history of Abraham and Satan illustrates the application of these three titles.

[8] See Brecher, p. 37; Levy, 'Chald. W. B.' *s. n.* Rabbinic tradition affirmed Sammael to

Archangel near the throne;[1] afterwards—in the form of the serpent—the deceiver of Eve, or the guide who would have led Abraham and Isaac astray when on their way to the sacrifice of the latter. The Rabbinic conception of Satan is often puerile and inadequate; hardly above the level of a Babylonian superstition, infinitely below the Biblical presentment of his nature and work.

Under the term *Massikin* is comprehended further a class of spirits inferior to those who were originally Angels of God. These are half-spiritual beings, demons, known as *Shedim*,[2] *Lilin*, and *Ruchin;* commonly attributed to the intercourse of Eve with male spirits, and of Adam with Lilith and female spirits during the 130 years of his ban (cp. Gen. v. 3). Their number is incalculable; their presence is everywhere.[3] They have the power of increasing their kind; they fly with wings, and pass freely from one end of the world to another. Their usual dwelling-places are the north, the desert, where their cries rend the air, and all unclean places; but they sometimes select cities like Tiberias, and trees like the caper-bush.[4] Ashmedai (Asmodeus) is the king of the (male) Shedim, Lilith the queen of the Lilin. The malignity of the former works harm by day and through evil dreams by night. The Rabbinic description of Ashmedai, if tinctured with Parsism even more than the Asmodeus of Tobit, differs as much from that of the Avesta in many important points as it does from that of the Apocrypha. Ashmedai is by Jewish theology identified with Satan-Sammael; and the attributes affirmed of the latter lend support to the assumption that Ashmedai as the "angel of death" represents Angro-mainyus, as the "old serpent" Aji-dahaka, and as evil concupiscence Akômanô.[1] Ashmedai is frequently cruel, passionate, and lustful; and in that he is like Ashma—the chief helper of Angro-mainyus, the bearer of the wounding spear, the foremost among those evil spirits who pollute the world—and the Asmodeus of Tobit. But the Ashmedai of Rabbinic theology is also represented in a character which, from its mixture of kindness and mischief, of good humour and cunning, is decidedly independent of other teaching with respect to either Ashma or Asmodeus. Ashmedai met a blind man and a drunken man: he put them both in the right way. Presently he met a bridal procession, in which all were rejoicing hilariously; and he began to weep. He heard a man give the order to his shoemaker, "Make me a pair of shoes which shall last me for seven years;" and he began to laugh. He laughed again when he saw a juggler engaged in his tricks. Ashmedai was asked to explain such difference of demeanour. "I put the blind man," he answered, "in the right way; because I heard it said of him in heaven that he was a good man, and that whosoever did him a good turn should attain to the life to come. I did the same with the drunkard, because I saw that he was a thorough villain. I wept at the bridal procession, because in thirty days the bridegroom will die, and his wife—in order that the Levirate rule may be fulfilled—will have to wait thirteen years. I laughed at the man who ordered the shoes, because he had only seven days to live, and at the juggler because he knew not, with all his craft, that a king's treasure lay hidden under his feet."[2] Such jocular absurdity as this is unknown in the delineation of Ashma or Asmodeus. Rather is it the character of the hobgoblin or elf of fairy tales. Rabbinic credulity has reached an altogether opposite pole of development concerning him when it affirms: "Ashmedai is indeed king of the demons, but he himself hurts no one."[3]

Ashmedai's contest with king Solomon is one of the oldest Jewish fables;[4] but the exaggerations and superstition which encumber it in its present form remove it from comparison with what is told of the Asmodeus of the Apocrypha. Solomon, so long as he wrought good works, had power over *Shedim*,

have been Esau's guardian-angel. Kohut derives the name from אל סם = the great poison.

[1] See above, Part I. § 5.

[2] Jewish theology affirms it a greater glory of God that there should exist harmless Shedim than that such a class should not exist at all. Cp. the story given in Kohut, p. 53, to prove the necessity for the existence of Satan as a condition for the stability of the world. The existence of the Shedim was asserted to be necessary as supplying the link between Angels and men. Brecher devotes many pages (45–59) to collecting all that fear and fancy have imagined concerning them.

[3] Sometimes they were arranged into four classes; morning-spirits, mid-day-spirits, evening-spirits, and night-spirits. A thousand at the right hand and ten thousand at the left, they crowd round the scholar and the bride. Lilith is attended by 180,000 spirits. They lurk in the crumbs on the floor, in the oil in the vessels, in the water for drinking, inside the room and outside it (Kohut, pp. 56, 61; Edersheim, ii. 757). Brecher (p. 52) gives the recipe for seeing them. See also Wünsche, 'Der Babylonische Talmud,' i. p. 12.

[4] Kohut, p. 57. The Shedim of the caper-bush had no eyes, and were easily avoided (Brecher, pp. 51, 57, 197).

[1] Kohut, p. 80.

[2] Cp. Kohut, p. 77.

[3] See Grünbaum in 'Z. f. K. F. S.' ii. 218.

[4] Cp. Kohut, p. 81 and reff.; Edersheim, ii. 758. Grünbaum ('Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 204 &c.) has drawn out the development of the various elements of the legend from simpler to more complex forms, and the reproductions of it in other legendary cycles.

Ruchin, *Lilin*, and all evil spirits. He used to exhibit that power by making them dance before him. When he was engaged in building the Temple, he was anxious to carry out the principal rule which forbad the use of iron tools in the construction of the altar (Exod. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5, 6; Josh. viii. 31; 1 Kings vi. 7). His wise men recommended his securing the *Shamir*,[1] which possessed the power of boring through the hardest stone. Whereupon Solomon conjured up *Shedim* to tell him where the *Shamir* was to be found. They told him that they knew not; but that Ashmedai the king of the *Shedim*, who dwelt in a hill they indicated, could tell him. It was the habit of Ashmedai to go daily to heaven and ascertain the decrees of the heavenly council (cp. Job i. 6; ii. 1): thence he returned to earth to carry out counter-schemes for the destruction of men. While he was absent from his hill Solomon sent Benaiah the son of Jehoiada with a chain and his signet-ring (which bore the Name of God) wherewith to seize and bind him. He was secured, after having been first made drunk. Standing before Solomon, Ashmedai enjoined the capture of the bird[2] in whose custody was the *Shamir*: and, this having been done, the Temple building was completed. Ashmedai stood once more before Solomon. The king asked him, "What superiority have you greater than what we have?" "Loose me," answered the fettered spirit-king. "Give me your signet-ring, and I will shew you." The king, stimulated by pride or curiosity, did as he was asked. Ashmedai, as soon as free, became a huge giant. He seized Solomon, flung him an immense distance, assumed his form, and reigned in his place. Ashmedai threw away the ring, which a fish swallowed. The fish was caught, and Solomon recovered his signet. His wise men recognised the signet, and Ashmedai fled away.[3]

The demons are not indeed the only spiritual beings employed by God to punish men. As there are Angels who execute His good pleasure, so there are Angels of His wrath and punishment. The Angels *Aph* and *Chuma*[4] met Moses in the inn, and sought to kill him for his neglect in circumcising his son (cp. Ex. iv. 24). Four others are called[5] *Kezeph*, *Mashchith*, *Meshabber*, *Mekalle*. Two others, perhaps the most terrible, *Abaddon* and *Maveth*,[1] bring death upon men. These Angels of destruction convey the godless to their place, just as the ministering spirits convey the godly to the places of the blessed. But these Angels of punishment are not actuated by blind persistent hatred of men. This is the fearful privilege of the *Shedim* and their kindred: and fully do they exercise it upon the sick[2] and sorrowful, the bride and bridegroom, the woman in childbirth, and the pupil of the wise. Their time of mischief and revel is from dark till cock-crow. Around a house they gather full of evil intent. Alas for the child which shall leave its protection! Under the form of serpents and animals, and in Egypt of flies with poisonous sting, they hunt for their prey. So terrible is this family of *Massikin* that God alone has power to quiet them. He extends His protection generally when His priest pronounces the Aaronic blessing (Num. vi. 24–6): and the individual is shielded when his guardian-Angel repeats his exorcisms, or he himself recites the *Shema* (Deut. vi. 4) and its accompanying prayers. The phylacteries were not without efficacy in popular belief. Numerous were the means employed to exorcise, dispossess, and frustrate the spirits of evil. The more religious employed texts of Scripture; the more superstitious magical[3] and unintelligible words written on paper or parchment. The traveller was enjoined to repel the angel of death who should meet him in his journey with the words of Zech. iii. 2; the sleeper was charged to repeat Psalm xci. ere he closed his eyes. That sleeper, when awaking, must beware of rubbing his eyes with unwashed hands. The "Bat-chorin" (a demon or a sickness) lurking in those hands would afflict him with blindness. Food touched by unwashed hands became the resting-place of the "Shibta."[4] The food of demons also consisted in certain particles which they found in water and fire. It was therefore dangerous to drink water at night, lest the *Shaberiri*,[5] the demon of blindness,

[1] *Shamir* is variously represented to have been a worm, a plant, and a mineral (Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. p. 205 &c.).

[2] The moor-cock, or, according to others, the lapwing or the eagle (Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. pp. 208–13).

[3] Solomon is said to have been ever afterwards afraid of demons (Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. pp. 205, 215, 221).

[4] חכוה and אף; Weber, p. 166.

[5] כוף, משחית, משבר, מקלה.

[1] אבדון and מות.

[2] Many sicknesses are identified with the *Shedim* who produce them: cp. Brecher, pp. 53, 177; Kohut, p. 59.

[3] Cp. the magical books of Ephesus (Acts xix. 19). There was a wonderful "Book of healing" which tradition attributed to Solomon, but Hezekiah felt constrained to put it away. Unfortunately its unholy teaching had already drifted into the minds of the enlightened (see Brecher, p. 194).

[4] Cp. Brecher, pp. 171, n. 89 (and Tobit ii. 10, note), 177; Grünbaum, 'Z. d. D. M. G.' xxxi. 254.

[5] שבריריו. See Brecher, p. 203; Levy, 'Chald. W. B.' *s. n.* Some would limit the exercise of this power to the Wednesday and Saturday—

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should smite the drinker. What then was a thirsty man to do? The formula ran: "N. son of N. thy mother hath warned thee and said, Take care of the Shaberiri, Beriri, Riri, Iri, Ri, who is there in the cup." Then might a man drink without fear; for when the demon heard his name pronounced and each time curtailed of a syllable,[1] he would be sensible of a corresponding curtailment of power, and would flee away! Necromancy, witchcraft, magical arts, especially Egyptian, amulets,[2] and charms — all had their advocates and alleged uses. Incantations recited while incense composed of certain ingredients was burning, the use of formulæ and even of nonsense-words,[3] potations,[4] unguents, were frequently employed.

Two remedies only—or rather tentative modes of cure—need be specially distinguished here. Both have a relation to the remedies specified in the Book of Tobit:—

(1) Expulsion by fumigation (cp. Tobit vi. 16; viii. 3, note). Rabbinowicz[5] gives an extract from Hippocrates which suggests a mode of testing the powers of fertility in a woman:—"Wrap her in a cloke, and smoke her under the clothes." If such and such results happen, then it may be assumed that she has the power of bearing children; if not, not. This or something similar may have been the origin of the curious Rabbinical remedy reported in the Talmud:[6] "If a serpent have crept into a woman's womb, place her with feet apart over two vessels. Take some fat meat and burn it upon coals. In a basket put herbs and sweet-smelling wine, and mix them well together. Give the woman a pair of tongs, that when the serpent attracted by the smell shall issue forth, she may seize it and cast it into the fire." It is curious to compare these specifications with the more restrictive pathological treatment recommended in the older and simpler Versions of the Tobit text.

(2) The second remedy is one based upon the imagined possibility of transferring disease or affliction from one person to another, or from human beings to animals. In the case of blindness produced by the *Shaberiri*, the incantation, after enjoining the performance of certain irrational acts, proceeded: "May the blindness of M. the son of N. leave M. the son of N. and pierce the eyeballs of the dog." It was not thus that a Raphael and a Tobias are recorded to have rewarded the faithful fourfooted companion of their journey.

In conclusion, the results which, I believe, may be fairly drawn from this comparative study are, as regards the Book of Tobit, two.

(*a*) The Angelology and demonology of this Book do not support the view of those who place its composition in Palestine in the 2nd century A.D. The Jewish teachers in Palestine of the first three Christian centuries were confronted by a Syrian and Hellenistic gnosis, Neoplatonism, and an ever-advancing Christendom. As a means towards confuting these opinions, or of annulling their power, the Rabbis strove to purify Judaism from all antagonistic belief, whether it had intruded itself from without or developed itself from within. Collision between the Greek spirit and Judaistic thought had already separated the Jewish people into two parties, the Hellenistic and the national. Of the former some did not believe in Angels (cp. Acts xxiii. 8), and to Philo they were but emanations from God (λόγοι θεοῦ), beings intermediate between God and the world. On the other hand, Angels were to the Gnostic independent creators, rulers of the world, and promulgators of laws. If the Jerusalem Talmud may be taken as the treasury of Palestinian opinion during the centuries preceding its actual writing (*c.* 4th century), then it is significant of the results of the struggle that its Angelological conceptions have nothing in common with the Æons of Gnosticism, the Logos of Philo, or the Amshashpands of Parseism. Its demonology is not less significantly free from Ashmedai legends. It was otherwise with the Jews resident in Babylonia. They were not exposed to the dangers imperilling the belief of their brethren in Palestine; and the spirit-legends which find their earliest expression in Apocryphal literature are reproduced and developed in the Babylonian Talmud. Rab (died 243 A.D.), the great teacher at Sura, and his contemporary Samuel (died 250 A.D.) at Nehardea, speak readily about Ashmedai and the Solomon-legends, but they are the first to do so. There were two periods in which activity and fertility in producing *Midrashim* (or explanations and amplifications of Biblical topics) were most marked; the first anterior to the times of the Maccabean struggle for freedom, the second the time of rest after the disastrous rebellion against Rome of Barcochba and Rabbi Akiba. This latter was a busy time for Halachist and Haggadist; dicta polemical and apologetic, disputations and controversies, mark the age when the Jewish Rabbi did not hesitate to measure his powers with the philosopher of Greece and Rome. But the methods, con-

—the *dies* (*et noctes*) *nefasti* of the week (see Kohut, pp. 52, 93); but this is hardly correct (see Brecher, p. 57; Grünbaum, 'Z. f. K. F. S.' ii. p. 219).

[1] Cp. the similar curtailment of the Abracadabra: Kohut, p. 89.

[2] Cp. Brecher, pp. 58, 195.

[3] Brecher, pp. 200 &c.; Kohut, p. 89.

[4] Brecher (p. 201) gives some recipes.

[5] 'Législation civile du Thalmud: Les Femmes &c.,' p. xlviii.

[6] Sabb. 110a; Brecher, p. 207.

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ditions, and conduct of that controversial age were not those of the former period. The greater simplicity and refinement of the pre-Maccabean and post-Maccabean literature is strikingly emphasized by the evident effort of these later Rabbinic teachers to divest current conceptions of the garbage of paganism and present them afresh in the ancient monotheistic mould. Hence, for example, the dissemblance of the Ashmedai of the Talmud alike from the Ashmedai of the Avesta and the Asmodeus of the Apocrypha: but that dissemblance only magnifies the earlier, because less elaborated, conception of the Apocryphal ideal.

(*b*) This last feature is in fact an indication of date. An impartial consideration of the development angelological and demonological sketched in the previous paragraphs can, I respectfully submit, but prove how impossible it would have been for a writer of the last two centuries B.C. to have produced the Angels and demons of the Talmud. The latter portraits require that lapse of time, that use of accessories, that hardening of details and handling of materials which they everywhere present. But this would have been a token of spuriousness in anything earlier; as it is, it is a token of genuineness where it occurs. The Raphael and Asmodeus of Tobit could not have been depicted in Biblical times; and they would have been rejected as insufficient in Talmudical. They fall into their natural era when they are assigned to the 2nd or 1st century before Christ.

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TOBIT.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Tobit his stock, and devotion in his youth.* 9 *His marriage,* 10 *and captivity.* 13 *His preferment,* 16 *alms, and charity in burying the dead;* 19 *for which he is accused, and fleeth,* 22 *and after returneth to Nineve.*

THE book of the ‖ words of Tobit, son of Tobiel, the son of Ananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, of the seed of Asael, of the tribe of Nephthali;

‖ Or, *acts.*

2 Who in the time of ‖ Enemessar king of the Assyrians [a] was led captive out of Thisbe, which is at the right hand of that city, which is called ‖ properly Nephthali in Galilee above Aser.

‖ Or, *Shalmaneser.*

[a] 2 Kings 17. 3, 23.

‖ Or, *Kedes of Nephthali in Galilee,* Josh. 20. 7. Judg. 4. 6.

CHAPTER I.

1. *The book of the words of Tobit*] A title more simply expressed in the Heb. Version, "This (is) the book of Tobi;" and in the Chaldee (Bodleian), "The history (or, act) of Tobiyah." "The words" (λόγοι) are rather "the acts" (as in marg.). Cp. the LXX. of 2 Chron. xii. 15, and the frequent phrase οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραήλ (*e.g.* 2 Kings xiv. 28). The Hebrews (cp. Grotius, 'Critici Sacri,' *in loco*) preserved records of family events, and handed them down to their posterity. These records or συλλογαὶ are here called βίβλοι λόγων, "books of the acts" (cp. 1 Kings xi. 41).

The name Tobit (Τωβῖτ, var. Τωβεῖτ, Τωβεῖθ) is probably the Grecised form of the Hebrew Tobi (above), through the common process of adding a consonant when the Hebrew word ended in a vowel (cp. Havilah=Εὐϊλὰτ, Gen. ii. 11: Ναζαρέτ. See 'Crit. Sacri,' *in loco*). The name Tobi (lit. "my goodness") is probably an abbreviation of Tobiyah ("the goodness of Jehovah," Zech. vi. 10), after the analogy of such names as Melchi (Luke iii. 24) for Melchiah, Uzzi for Uzziah. The name Tobiah (of itself not uncommon: cp. Neh. ii. 10; 2 Macc. iii. 11. See Introduction, p. 160) is also the Heb. rendering for Tobias (*v.* 9). The Vulgate makes no distinction between the names of father and son (cp. Vulg. of *v.* 9, *nomen suum imponens ei*).

Tobiel . . . Ananiel . . . Aduel . . . Gabael . . . Asael.] The names all terminate in El (God), the essentially monotheistic name among the Semitic races. Tobiel is the same name as Tabeal ("God is good," Isa. vii. 6); Ananiel as Hananeel ("God hath graciously given," Neh. iii. 1); Aduel as Adiel ("ornament of God," 1 Chron. iv. 36. A variant reading here is "Ariel"); Gabael (perhaps) as Gabriel ("hero of God," Dan. viii. 16—the reading of the Syriac here); Asael as Jahzeel ("allotted of God," Gen. xlvi. 24), the eldest son of Naphtali. A few only of the links which connect Tobit with Naphtali are given, not all. Cp. Esther xi. 2; Matt. i. 1. The opinion that these names indicate (by their termination) a northern origin, cannot be positively maintained (see Nestle, 'Die Israelitischen Eigennamen,' p. 105 &c.).

2. *Enemessar*] Either Shalmaneser (see marg., the reading of the Heb., Chald., Syr., Itala, Vulg. &c.), or Sargon if *v.* 15 be taken literally: if the former, Enemessar may be a corruption of Shal-maneser by the omission of the first syllable (*shal*), and the inversion of the letters *m* and *n* in the second (cp. Bupalnasor, the rendering of Nabopolassar by Abydenus); if the latter, Enemessar (Anumasir, "the god Anu is gracious") may be the otherwise unrecorded private name for Sargon (Oppert and Bickell). See Additional Note.

Thisbe] See 1 Kings xvii. 1, note. Thisbe (or Tishbi) in Galilee is to be distinguished from Thisbe (or Tishbi) in Gilead, the city of the prophet Elijah. The Heb. text, by a different reading, obliterates the name: "he was *of the inhabitants* of a city of Naphtali."

that city which is called properly Nephthali] The Greek reads, ἡ ἐστιν ἐκ δεξιῶν κυδίως τῆς Νεφθαλί; and the Itala, *ex Bibel civitate quæ est in dextera parte Edisse civitatis Nepthalim.* Κυδίως represents in a corrupted form, or as a Galilean dialect-variation, the proper name Kadesh (see marg. and reff.); and the city Kadesh-Naphtali is meant. The rendering "properly" is due to a reading κυρίως; the name Edisse (or Cydissus) to a corruption of Κυδίως.

Aser] Or, Hazor, mentioned (Josh. xix. 36, 37; 2 Kings xv. 29) as near Kadesh. If the rendering of the Hebrew Version, "On the western boundary," indicates the position,

3 I Tobit have walked all the days of my life in the way of truth and justice, and I did many almsdeeds to my brethren, and my nation, who came with me to Nineve, into the land of the Assyrians.

4 And when I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel, being but young, [b]all the tribe of Nephthali my father fell from the house of Jerusalem, which was chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, that all the tribes should sacrifice *there*, where the temple of the habitation of the most High was consecrated and built for all ages.

[b] 1 Kings 12. 19, 20, 28.

Hazor may be identified with Jebel Hadireh ('Map of Western Palestine,' Pal. Explor. Fund). See, however, Josh. xi. 1, note. The words ὀπίσω δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Φογὼρ, added by a Greek MS. after Ἀσσὴρ, and the reading of the Itala, *in superioribus Galilææ contra* (Vulg., *supra*) *Naasson post viam quæ ducit in occidentem in sinistra parte Raphain*, or of the Vulgate, *in sinistro habens civitatem Sephet*, are closer identifications of the locality where Tobit lived. Sephet has been conjectured to be the same as Safed, so celebrated in the times of the Crusades.

The deportation alluded to in this verse is disputed. According to 2 Kings xv. 29, "the land of Naphtali" and the inhabitants of "Kedesh and Hazor" were taken captive to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser (B.C. 745–727). Shalmaneser invaded Palestine twice (B.C. 725, 724; 2 Kings xvii. 3, 5, notes), but, so far as is known, made no deportation of captives. The final deportation of Israel was the work of Sargon (2 Kings xvii. 6, note) in B.C. 722 and later. The writer of this verse is therefore thought to have mixed up the statements of 2 Kings xv. 29 and of xvii. 6, though there is nothing impossible in the conjecture that Tobit was not carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, but by Sargon, whom the writer identifies with Enemessar. This would be the more likely if the lowlanders of the district were first deported, and afterwards the highlanders (*in superioribus Galileæ*, Vulg.), to whom Tobit belonged.

To the Venerable Bede, this captivity was a type of the captivity of the human race by Satan, king of all bad men; and the death of the king (*v.* 21) was the type of the victory over the devil, and of the restitution of prosperity to God's people.

3. *the way of truth &c.*] The picture of the *homo integer vitæ*. "Truth" (ἀλήθεια) is in the Heb. (and Chald.) text rendered by a word which implies perfection of every sort (cp. Pss. ci. 2, 6, cxix. 30); "truth," "truthfulness," "uprightness," "honesty," "sincerity," being elements of such integrity. "Almsdeeds," here the translation of a noun which both in the Heb. and LXX. expresses the benefits which flow from beneficence and mercy, was a special form of "goodness" for which Tobit was known (cp. *v.* 16, ii. 14, xii. 9, xiv. 2); but he confined his exercise of it to members of his own tribe and nation (cp. St. Augustine, 'De Doctrinâ Christianâ,' i. 28). Daniel, in his advice to Nebuchadnezzar, took a more liberal view of helpfulness to the distressed (see Dan. iv. 27, note; and cp. the Gk. rendering). Cp. the teaching of Christ (Matt. v. 44) and the practice of the Roman centurions (Luke vii. 5; Acts x. 2).

The term for nation (ἔθνος) fitly describes the foreign element which rendered the inhabitants of Galilee so mixed.

The Vulg. adds an interesting detail of character not recorded by the other Versions: *Cumque esset junior omnibus in tribu Nephtali, nihil tamen puerile gessit in opere.*

4. The rebellion of the tribe of Naphtali is included in that of "Israel" (marg. ref.). It is viewed first in its political significance; cp. the Heb. "all the tribe of N. rebelled against the house (Chald., kingdom) of David, and refused to go to Jerusalem;" and next as the religious apostasy consequent upon the national revolt (*v.* 5).

Jerusalem is described in the Heb. text as "the city which the Lord chose out of all the tribes of Israel, wherein was the altar of the Lord that was sanctified for all the tribes of Israel, and the Temple of the Lord was built in the midst thereof for offering up the burnt-offerings and the thank-offerings to the Lord three times a year" (cp. Exod. xxiii. 17).

The language of the E.V., supported by that of the other texts, seems to intimate that Tobit was alive at the time of Israel's original defection. As this took place in B.C. 931 (according to the revised chronology: the traditional date is B.C. 976), and Tobit was taken captive to Nineveh in B.C. 722 (*v.* 2, note), the above supposition would make him more than 200 years old at the latter date—an age contradicted by the number 158 specified as that of the years of his life (see xiv. 11). This is no difficulty if the narrative be mainly fictitious; but some prefer to understand this verse as descriptive of a state of national and religious apostasy in Naphtali, which dated indeed from the days of Jeroboam, but only reached that climax which was punished by captivity when Tobit was "young." Cp. the Vulg. of *vv.* 4–7.

the temple of the habitation &c.] Cp. for these words Wisd. ix. 8; 2 Macc. xiv. 28:

5 Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Nephthali, sacrificed ‖unto the [c]heifer Baal.

‖ Or, *to the power of Baal*, or, *the god Baal.*

[c] 1 Kings 12. 30.

6 But I alone went often to Jerusalem at the feasts, [d]as it was ordained unto all the people of Israel by an everlasting decree, [e]having the firstfruits and tenths of increase, with that which was first shorn; and them gave I at the altar to the priests the children of Aaron.

[d] Deut. 16. 16.

[e] Exod. 22. 29. Deut. 12. 6.

7 The first tenth part of all increase I gave to the sons of ‖Aaron, who ministered at Jerusalem: [f]another tenth part I sold away, and went, and spent it every year at Jerusalem:

‖ Or, *Levi*. Numb. 18. 21.

[f] Deut. 14. 25, 26.

8 And the third I gave unto them to whom it was meet, as Debora my father's mother had commanded me, because I was left an orphan by my father.

9 Furthermore, when I was come

and for the words "built for all ages," 1 Kings ix. 3; 2 Chron. vii. 16.

5. *the heifer Baal*] Specially that erected in Dan by king Jeroboam (Itala). The Heb., Chald., and Vulg. specify two calves; *i.e.*, that at Bethel as well as that at Dan. The marginal rendering is due to a variant reading, δύναμις (= El, God: cp. Matt. xxvi. 64) instead of δάμαλις. The representation of a male deity (Baal) by a female animal (heifer) is, in Old Test. symbolism, indicative of shame and contempt (Hos. ii. 8, LXX.; x. 5, note); ἡ Βάαλ being equivalent to ἡ αἰσχύνη (cp. Dillmann in 'Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie,' 1881). Baudissin (Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. nn.* Astarte and Baal) finds in the feminine ἡ Βάαλ possible indications of an androgynous deity. See also Additional Note.

Grätz's and Neubauer's conjecture (p. xiv. n. 4) that τῇ Βάαλ is a corruption for Bethel is ingenious but quite unnecessary.

6. *I alone*] *i.e.* "alone" of his family. Others of his tribe sometimes went with him (v. 13). The Vulgate renders it, *Hic solus fugiebat consortia omnium; sed pergebat in Jerusalem* &c. For the precepts of *vv.* 6–8, consult marg. reff. The nature of the "increase" is specified in the Heb. and Itala to have been "corn and new wine and oil and figs and pomegranates and of every fruit of the land." The "first tenth" of this Tobit gave "to the sons of Levi" (not of Aaron: see marg. correction, Heb., and Itala).

that which was first shorn] Cp. Deut. xviii. 4, "the first of the fleece of thy sheep;" *i.e.* a fleece reserved for an offering.

at the altar] Rather "for"—for the use of the altar.

7. *another tenth &c.*] The second tithe (cp. Deut. xii. 17, xiv. 22–27) was set apart in the first, second, fourth, and fifth year of every seven years; but as a matter of fact a second tithe was also taken upon certain fruits in the third and sixth years (see Rosenthal, p. 118 n.). As permitted by the Law (Deut. xiv. 25), Tobit "sold" it (*commutans in pecunia sex annorum*, Itala) on account of the expense of transportation, and devoted the money to festival purposes at Jerusalem. The Greek word for "sold" (ἀπεπρατιζόμην) is an ἅπαξ λεγ., and probably of Alexandrian formation. There is no mention of the sale in the Hebrew and Chald. texts, but the result of it is implied in the words, "I went to Jerusalem every year with all these things" (Heb.), *i.e.* the first tithe, "the second tithe, and the third tithe for the stranger, the widow, and the orphan;" and in the pithy rendering of the Chaldee, "he ate (cp. Deut. xiv. 26, 27, 29) the second tithe and the poor tithe, and gave according as everything is written in the book of Moses."

8. *the third*] *i.e.* the third tithe, called by the Chald. text "the poor tithe" (πτωχοδεκάτη, so the Talmud and Jerome). On the nature of this tithe cp. Deut. xiv. 28, 29; xxvi. In the third and sixth of every seven years it took the place of the second tithe (cp. Deut. xxvi. 12, LXX.). The language of the Heb. text (see *v.* 7, note) intimates that Tobit paid this "third tithe" yearly; but this is not to be understood in the sense that the third tithe was collected yearly. The facts of the case are stated by the Greek text A (cp. E. V. of *v.* 7), and summarised in the Vulg.: *omnia primitiva sua et decimas suas fideliter offerens; ita ut in tertio anno proselytis et advenis ministraret omnem decimationem.* In the third year three-tenths were paid, though not collected, from all kinds of fruits (cp. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*; Josephus, 'Antiq. Jud.' iv. ch. viii. 22). On this somewhat complicated subject cp. Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' art. "Tithe;" Schürer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. V.,'[2] p. 200, n. 4; and especially Herzog's 'R. E.'[1] art. "Zehnten bei den Hebräern."

because I was left an orphan] Tobit gives this as a special reason for his observance of the duty of the third tithe. His was the orphan's gift to the orphan. Of Deborah, the wife of Tobiel (*v.* 1), Tobit's grandmother, the Chald. says, "she brought him (Tobit) up, and led him in the true path."

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to the age of a man, I married Anna
Numb. 36. 7. of mine *g* own kindred, and of her I begat Tobias.

10 And when we were carried away captives to Nineve, all my brethren and those that were of my
Gen. 43. 32. Dan. 1. 8. kindred did eat of the *h* bread of the Gentiles.

11 But I kept ‖ myself from eating ; ‖ Gr. *my soul.*
12 Because I remembered God with all my heart.

13 And the most High gave me grace and favour before Enemessar, so that I was his ‖ purveyor. ‖ Gr. *buyer.*

14 And I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother

9. The practice, common still in the East, of marrying among one's own kindred, had for the Jews a religious significance (cp. Deut. vii. 3, 4; Ezra x. 2, &c.; Neh. xiii. 23, &c.), and was the means of preventing legal disabilities (marg. ref.). Of the son Tobias the Vulg. adds in language expressing the positive and negative duties of religion (Reusch), that Tobit *ab infantia timere Deum docuit, et abstinere ab omni peccato.*

10. *we were carried away captives*] "We," *i.e.* himself, his wife, and child. The Heb. and Itala have the reading "I was carried captive," found also in some Greek MSS., a reading which emphasises the distinction drawn by Tobit between himself and the rest of his fellow-captives in the next part of the verse (cp. also the Chald. and Vulg.). The distinction between "brethren" and "kindred" is not to be pressed too closely: "kindred" may be the more general and wider term, "brethren" the more special. The Greek equivalent of "kindred" (*οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους μου*) is in favour of a wide application, and is supported by the word (kinsmen) used here by the Chald. and Heb. texts (cp. also the Heb. of Ruth ii. 20; Neh. xiii. 4, "allied unto Tobiah;" Job xix. 14; Ps. xxxviii. 12). In *v.* 9, "kindred" (Gk. *πατρία*) is taken in the narrower sense of "tribe" by the Heb., and in the wider sense of "race" or "seed" by the Chaldee Version.

the bread of the Gentiles] Or "nations," *i.e.* heathen. To "eat unclean things in Assyria" (Hos. ix. 3, see note; cp. Ezek. iv. 13) had been one of the punishments denounced upon Israel. The Law forbad certain kinds of food (Lev. xx. 25; Deut. xiv. 3, 7) which the heathen did not forbid; therefore for a Jew to partake of such food was to break the Law. Hence the Chald. inserts after "kindred" the words "polluted themselves and" &c. Cp. the strong feeling expressed by St. Peter on this point (Acts x. 14. See also Add. to Esther xiv. 17; Judith xii. 2).

11. The Heb. text presents an interesting reading: "But I defiled not myself with their dainties, because I feared the Lord, and remembered the Lord with all my heart and with all my soul." The word "dainties" is *path-bag*, the word used in Daniel i. 5–8 (where see supplemental note), to which passage and act the conduct and language of Tobit bear strong resemblance.

13. *grace and favour*] As a reward for his "remembrance" ("fear and love," Chald.) of God (*v.* 12). The Greek text (*χάριν καὶ μορφὴν*) rather gives prominence to the physical beauty and comeliness which followed upon Tobit's abstinence, as in the case of Daniel and his companions (Dan. i. 15). The Heb. and Chald. support the E. V.

purveyor] The Greek *ἀγοραστὴς* is used by Xenophon ('Mem.' i. 5. 2) of the slave who bought provisions for the house (in later authors, *ὀψωνάτωρ*) and acted as purveyor; but the Heb. and Chald. texts employ words which give a truer sense of the nature of the office to which Tobit was raised: Chald., "He set him master" (cp. Dan. ii. 49) &c.; Heb., "He appointed me over all that he had (cp. the same word in the case of Joseph, Gen. xxxix. 5, and Gedaliah, Jer. xl. 11) unto the day of his death." The resemblance in these Versions to what is said of Daniel (*e.g.* ii. 48, vi. 3) is again to be noted. The Latin Versions further assist us in understanding Tobit's position; thus *Salmanasar dedit illi potestatem quocumque vellet ire, habens libertatem quæcumque facere voluisset* (Vulg.). According to the same Version, he used this "liberty" well: *pergebat ergo ad omnes qui erant in captivitate, et monita salutis dabat eis.*

Enemessar] See *v.* 2, note.

14. *I went*] On the king's business (Vulg.). This was Tobit's habit (*ἐπορευόμην*; cp. *v.* 15). On one of these occasions he deposited "on trust" (cp. the use of the Heb. and Gk. word) with one of his tribe, Gabael, the large sum of 4000*l.* (if the "silver talent" be taken as = 400*l.*), money *ex his quibus honoratus fuerat a rege* (Vulg.). According to the Vulg., this money was a loan when Gabael was in want, who gave to Tobit a note of acknowledgment (see v. 3, note).

Bede, commenting on the "trust," remarks, "So the people of God committed to the heathen by the LXX. that knowledge of the Divine Law contained in the Decalogue, which freed them from the poverty of unbelief" (see also his note on ix. 2).

"Rages" is the Raga of the Behistun inscription, and gave its name to a province. It

of Gabrias, ‖at Rages a city of Media ten talents of silver.

15 Now when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead; ‖whose estate was troubled, that I could not go into Media.

16 And in the time of Enemessar I gave many alms to my brethren, [i] and gave my bread to the hungry,

17 And my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast ‖about the walls of Nineve, [k] I buried him.

18 And if the king Sennacherib had slain any, when he was come, and [l] fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many; but the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king.

‖ Or, *in the land, or, country of Media.*

‖ Gr. *the ways of whom were unsettled.*

[i] See Job 31. 17, 19, 20.

‖ Or, *behind the walls.*

[k] 2 Esd. 2. 23.

[l] 2 Kings 19. 35, 36. Isai. 37. 36, 37. Ecclus. 48. 18, 21. 1 Mac. 7. 41. 2 Mac. 8. 19.

was the key to the pass called "the Caspian Gates," and as such bore an important part in the wars of Media. Its ruins (called Rhey) are about five miles from the Persian capital, Teheran. The marg. rendering of E. V. is that of an otherwise unsupported Greek reading, *ἐν ἀγροῖς*, instead of *ἐν Ῥάγοις*.

15. Sennacherib is here said to have been the "son" of Enemessar. This, if taken literally, would identify Enemessar with Sargon (see *v.* 2, note). Shalmaneser died B.C. 722, and was not succeeded by a son, but by the usurper Sargon (died B.C. 705).

whose estate was troubled] The word "estate" does not allude to the king's state of mind, but to that of his kingdom. The Greek *αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἠκατασταθησαν* is supported by the Heb., "the highways of Media were closed because of the wars which were in the land, and I could not go to the land of Media to receive my money." "The tribute became great," explains the Chaldee; "the travellers ceased by reason of the trouble" (cp. Judg. v. 6, 7). Assyrian history fully bears out the disturbed state of Elam, Media &c., in Sennacherib's reign, both before and after his invasion of Judæa (2 K. xviii. 13 &c.). See Lenormant, 'Ancient History of the East,' i. 398; G. Smith, 'History of Assyria' (from the monuments), p. 110 &c. Duncker ('Gesch. d. Alterthums,' i. 275 &c., 455 &c.) dates the independence of Media (B.C. 714) from after Sennacherib's unfortunate expedition to Syria.

16. *in the time of Enemessar*] So Itala; the Heb., Chald., and Vulg. place this in the time of Sennacherib, "to whom the children of Israel were very hateful" (Vulg.).

brethren] Specially "orphans and widows" (Heb.). In the conduct ascribed to him in this verse Tobit was obedient to the injunctions of the Law and the Prophets (Deut. vi. 11, 12; Isa. lviii. 7; Ezek. xviii. 5–9). "Prope accedebat ad Evangelicam perfectionem" (Grotius). Cp. Matt. xxv. 35, 36.

17. *cast about the walls of Nineve*] See marg. rend. (so the Gk.); Heb. "outside." The Chald. has the variation "cast out in the street of the Jews," as if Nineveh had its Ghetto. To the cruelty of slaughter was added the ignominy of no-burial, the *τάφος ἄταφος*. It would seem (cp. *vv.* 16, 18) that previous to Sennacherib's defeat Tobit was allowed to bury the dead undisturbed and openly; but that after that event he had to bury them "privily." Cp. the Heb. "I many times stole their corpses and buried them." That a dead body should remain unburied was considered by the Hebrews a great disgrace (cp. 1 Kings xiii. 28, 29, xxi. 24; 2 Kings ix. 35, 36; Ps. lxxix. 3; Ecclus. xxxviii. 16). Burial-places were with the heathen, as with the Jews, outside the walls; contact with graves, as with dead bodies, constituting ceremonial defilement.

The example of Tobit, blessed by the presence of God's Angel (xii. 12), has been commemorated by the Roman Catholic Church as one of the "Corporal acts of Charity." "Nihil hoc officio præstantius, ei conferre qui jam tibi non potest reddere; vindicare a volatilibus, vindicare à bestiis consortem naturæ" (Ambrose *in loco*; cp. Lactantius, 'Inst.' vi. § 30). Though the burial of the body brings with it no special good, and non-burial no special evil (cp. Augustine, 'De Civ. Dei,' i. 12, "Si aliquid prodest impio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio vilis aut nulla"); yet Christianity, which looks upon the body as "a member of the Body of Christ," Himself so reverently received from the Cross and laid in the tomb, and also "the temple of the Holy Ghost," must of necessity take reverent care of the bodies of the dead, whether by burial or otherwise. See some interesting passages from Minucius Felix (xi.), Lactantius (vi.), and Origen ('c. Cels.' viii. 30), quoted by Reusch here.

18. For the defeat alluded to, cp. marg. reff. No record of it is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, it not being the custom in these ancient nations to chronicle their repulses (see Dan. iv. 31, note *c*). The Chald. text is, "When Sennacherib returned from Judah with confusion of face ('because that the Lord God of Israel had smitten him in the land of Judah for the reproach wherewith he reproached and blasphemed the God of Israel,' Heb.; cp. the Vulg. and Itala), he

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19 And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king, that I buried them, and hid myself; understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear.

20 Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was there any thing left me, beside my wife Anna and my son Tobias.

21 And there passed not five and fifty days, before two of his sons

went to Nineveh in fierce wrath against the ten tribes which were in the land of Assyria, and killed many of them. And their corpses were cast out in the street, and none buried them." The Heb. text notes that Tobit recognized in this calamity upon "all the congregations of Israel throughout his (Sennacherib's) kingdom" a judgment upon them for "not laying to heart the destruction of their brethren . . . Instead of mourning and afflicting themselves before the Lord concerning the persecution of their brethren, and because that He was wroth with them, they were eating and drinking and making merry, delighting themselves with instruments of song and harps and psalteries, and were not grieved for the destruction of Judah for our wickednesses and the wickednesses of our fathers" (cp. Amos vi. 5, 6).

As Tobit buried the bodies he prayed this prayer, "O Lord God of Israel, Thou art righteous in all that hath come upon us, for Thou hast dealt truly, and we have done wickedly" (Heb.). This is a truer reflexion of the language likely to be used by a devout Jew than a direct prayer for the dead, such as the R. C. commentators (*e.g.* Reusch) suppose Tobit to have used. On this subject see Bp. Harold Browne's and Bp. Forbes' works on the Thirty-nine Articles, under Article xxii.

19. *complained*] The Heb. text gives the complaint, "Thy servant Tobi, whom thou hast appointed over all that thou hast, sendeth his men over all the streets of Nineveh to seek the slain of his nation, and he burieth them privily, and feareth thee not." Cp. the similar language in Dan. vi. 14.

20. The king's command was to seize Tobit, his wife and son, and slay Tobit (Heb.). Tobit "flying with them" (Vulg.) escaped, but they were taken. Tobit's hiding-place remained undiscovered, *quia multi diligebant eum* (Vulg.), and his deliverance was due to the "cry for him of the widows and orphans in Israel" (Heb.). The *nudus latuit* of the Vulg. is best taken in the sense of E. V.: "neither was there anything left me." Wife and son were restored to him on his return to Nineveh (ii. 1).

21. *five and fifty days*] Chald., Itala, and Vulg., 45; *al.* 40; the Heb. has no number. The figure, if genuine, must be taken with the R. C. commentators as indicating, not the space of time which elapsed after Sennacherib's return from Judæa, but the period after the confiscation of Tobit's goods. According to the Chald. and Itala, Sennacherib's death took place while Tobit was hiding, and after the forty-five days; according to the Inscriptions, Sennacherib did not die till B.C. 681, twenty years after his expedition against Judah (B.C. 701). See 2 Kings xix. 36, 37, notes.

two of his sons] Adrammelech and Sharezer. "His judgment," says the Heb. text, "reached unto heaven, and was lifted up even to the skies, and the God of Israel delivered him into the hand of his two sons:" to which the same text adds the following curious statement as a reason for the patricide (cp. also Kimchi's note on 2 Kings xix. 36 in Buxtorf's 'Biblia Rabbinica'):—"He (Sennacherib) asked his counsellors and his elders why the Holy One (blessed is He!) had been jealous for Israel and Jerusalem . . . And his wise men and his counsellors said to him, Abraham, the father of Israel, led forth his son to slay him, that peradventure he might thereby obtain the favour of the Lord his God; therefore hath He been jealous for His children, and hath executed vengeance upon thy servants. Then said the king, I will slay my two sons for the Lord's sake: peradventure I shall obtain by them (the Lord's) favour and He will help me. And the saying came to Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons, and they laid in wait for him and killed him with the sword at the hour when he went in to pray before his idol, Dagon."

This reading of Dagon (the Dakan of Assyrian and Dagan of Babylonian inscriptions; cp. also the Assyrian and Babylonian fish-god, Oannes) instead of Nisroch (2 Kings xix. 37) tends to confirm the view that Nisroch was also the name of a god (query, the eagle-god) rather than that of a temple (see note *in loco*), even if the identification of Nisroch be uncertain. The name is now taken to be a corruption of, or another form for, Asur (Νασαράχ, Ἀσαράχ, LXX. of Isa. xxxvii. 38: cp. Baudissin, *s. n.* in Herzog, 'R. E.²'), or a corruption of Nusku, a synonym of Nebo (cp. Sayce, 'Theol. Review,' p. 27, 1873; and Halévy, 'Rev. des Études Juives,' Oct.–Dec. 1881).

Rashi (in Buxtorf, 'Bibl. Rabb.' *l. c.*; see also Munster's note here in 'Crit. Sacri') accounts for Sennacherib's death as follows. His princes, furious at the death of their sons and friends before Jerusalem, conspired

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m killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararath; and ‖Sarchedonus his son reigned in his stead; who appointed over his father's accounts, and over all his affairs, Achiacharus my brother Anael's son.

22 And Achiacharus intreating for me, I returned to Nineve. Now Achiacharus was cupbearer, and keeper of the signet, and steward, and overseer of the accounts: and ‖Sarchedonus appointed him next unto him: and he was my brother's son.

m 2 Kings 19. 37. 2 Chron. 32. 21.

‖ Or, *Esar-haddon.*

‖ Or, *Esar-haddon.*

against the king. When he heard it, he entered the temple and vowed to offer his sons in honour of the god, should he escape the peril. They took his life to save their own.

the mountains of Ararath] Gk. text, "coasts (ὄρη) of A." What is meant is the mountain-girt country of the central portion of the Araxes between the modern Erivan and Nachshivan in the N.E. of Armenia, a country at that time hostile to Assyria. The Chald. reads "the land of Kardu;" a reminiscence of the Syrian tradition which identified Mount Ararat not with the modern Agri-dagh near the Araxes, but with the range of the Dschebel Dschudi S.W. of Lake Van.

From the inscriptions it would seem that Adrammelech and Sharezer did not flee into Armenia in consequence of the murder of their father, but in consequence of their defeat by Esarhaddon. Esarhaddon was absent from Nineveh at the time of Sennacherib's death, but he—though a younger son—at once contested the succession. The result was determined in his favour by a battle in the land of Hani-rabbat, near the Upper Euphrates (Smith, 'Hist. of Assyria,' p. 127).

Sarchedonus] Esar-haddon (marg.), the Asshur-akh-iddin of the Inscriptions: he reigned from B.C. 681 to B.C. 668. In his time Assyria reached a greatness never previously attained.

over his father's accounts] The Itala, Chald., and Heb. support the Gk. rendering, "over all the accounts of his (own) kingdom," &c. The "affairs" (διοίκησιν) were more especially financial. The position occupied by Achiacharus (or, Akikar: see Additional Note) was that of "Rab over all that was (the king's) and Shalit over all the land of Assyria" (Chald.; cp. the original of Dan. ii. 48). The Cod. Sinaiticus adds the unsupported statement that Achiacharus had held the position assigned to him in *v.* 22, in the reign of Sennacherib. Instances of similar promotion of a foreigner are however familiar through the precedents of Joseph in Egypt, Daniel in Babylonia, Nehemiah and Mordecai in Persia.

22. *next unto him*] Gk. ἐκ δευτέρας, *i.e.* "second in rank." This was the position occupied at the Persian court by the "keeper of the signet" (Esth. iii. 10; viii. 2, 8; Addit. to Esther xvi. 11). The Heb., Chald., and Itala condense into a single sentence, "he ruled over all the land of Assyria," the accumulation of offices heaped upon Achiacharus by the Gk. text and E. V. As "steward" (διοικητὴς) he was controller of finance generally; as "overseer of the accounts" (ἐκλογιστὴς) he exercised special supervision over tribute and tax flowing in from Babylonia and Asia Minor, Judæa and Phœnicia, Egypt and Ethiopia.

he was my brother's son] The son of Anael (*v.* 21; or Ananiel, *v.* 1). To this one Version adds, "my kinsman and of the kindred of the king," the latter words being evidently intended to add illustriousness to the family. It is defended by Gutberlet upon the conjectural ground that a beautiful Jewess, a kinswoman of Achiacharus, may, like another Esther, have been admitted into the harem of the Assyrian king.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO VERSES 2, 5, 13, 15, 16, AND 21.

2, 13, 15, 16. *Enemessar*] Bickell ('Zeitsch. f. Kath. Theol.' 1878, p. 220 n.) finds in the name a corrupt reproduction of Sarru-Kinu (Sargon) reversed; gon = kinu = Ginum = ענם = Enem. To Grätz ('Monatschrift,' 1879, p. 398) the name is simply a great blunder on the part of the three Greek texts.

The well-known Jewish habit of discovering in foreign names an etymology indicative of character has here found full play. Rosenthal (p. 142) does not therefore accept here any corruption of Shalmaneser or textual variation; but—arguing from the etymological facility which finds in the last syllable ריב of the name סנחריב (Sennacherib) the "contention" or "strife" characteristic of that king, and in the שלמן of שלמנאסר (Shalmaneser) "the rewards" (in a bad sense) or "bribes" supposed to be indicative of Shalmaneser's nature—discovers also in the first syllable of Enemessar, חנם אסר, the causelessness, the want of purpose which the writer of the Book of Tobit may have had in his

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mind, and which he sought to express by the fabrication of a name.

5. *the heifer Baal*] Grätz (p. 434) objects that the cultus of Baal and of the calves was not identical. Possibly not; but though it cannot be asserted as a certainty that Baal was represented under the form of a calf, there is much probability in its favour. In Palmyrene inscriptions occurs the name Aglibal (עגל בול). De Vogüé's conjecture that עגל = a young calf has much to commend it. See also Baudissin in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. n.* Baal; Hamburger, 'R. E.'[2] *ibid.*

21. *Achiacharus*] The fanciful reproduction of this as אחי אהרון ("brother of Aaron") by a Heb. (Fag.) text is, if etymologically worthless, of value as shewing that a Hebrew name was thought more consistent with the circumstances of the history than a Greek or Persian name. In pursuance of this thought Rosenthal (p. 143) suggests that the latter part of the name has been corrupted, and somewhat positively declares the name in the original text to have been אחיה (Achjah) or אחיהו. It is true that, as he points out, the names borne by the other members of Tobit's circle end in either *el* or *jah*, e.g. Gabrijah, Ananel, Tobiah, Gabael, Reuel, Asarjah; but that fact does not advance his argument. For no explanation is given, why this name alone has been altered. Further, his transformation of אחיהו into אחיחר would be more possible were the letters of this name in the best Heb. and Chaldee texts the same as those he gives for the name Achichar: but it is not easy to see how or why the scribe altered אחיהו into אקיקר.

CHAPTER II.

1 *Tobit leaveth his meat to bury the dead,* 10 *and becometh blind.* 11 *His wife taketh in work to get her living.* 14 *Her husband and she fall out about a kid.*

NOW when I was come home again, and my wife Anna was restored unto me, with my son Tobias, in the feast of Pentecost, which is [a]the holy feast of the seven weeks, there was a good dinner prepared me, in the which I sat down to eat.

[a] Exod. 34. 22. Deut. 16. 10, 11.

2 And when I saw abundance of meat, I said to my son, Go and bring what poor man soever thou shalt find out of our brethren, who is mindful of the Lord; and, lo, I tarry for thee.

3 But he came again, and said, Father, one of our nation is strangled, and is cast out in the market-place.

4 Then before I had tasted of any meat, I started up, and took him up into a room until the going down of the sun.

CHAPTER II.

1. *the feast of Pentecost*] See marg. reff. The rites were restricted, according to the Law, to a single day; a period which the Jews, since the Captivity, have extended to two days in order to avoid the possibility of an error in calculating the true day. Its festive character was to be marked by free and hospitable liberality: "the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow that is among you" were especially to be remembered. Hence Tobit's remark (*v.* 2): "I and all who sit with me will not eat" (Heb.); he would "tarry" till such guests (plural: see the Chald. and Vulg.; the other Versions limit the invitation to "one poor man") as were prescribed by the Law were with him and his family.

I sat down] The Itala *discubui* and the Gk. ἀνέπεσα (altered by one Cod. to ἀνεπαυσάμην), a late word, indicate that a reclining rather than a sitting posture was adopted. Cp. St. Luke xiv. 8; St. John xiii. 12, xxi. 20.

2. *poor man . . . of our brethren*] The Itala adds, "who are captives in Nineveh." This limitation, and that which follows, "who is mindful of the Lord" (cp. the stronger phrases of the Chald., "such as fear God," and of the Itala, *Deum habet in mente in toto corde suo;* cp. Ecclesiasticus xii. 1–7), is defended by the words above, "among you" (*v.* 1, note), and by the self-evident certainty that only such persons would be legally "clean" and fitted to partake of the Feast.

3. *strangled*] Vulg. *jugulatum;* Itala, *occisus laqueo circumdato.* The Chald. and Heb. texts simply state that he was "slain." The "market-place" is rather the broad, open space (Vulg. *platea;* Heb. and Chald. "the street") near one of the gates.

4. *into a room*] Chald. "into a house;" Gk. εἴς τι οἴκημα; Itala, *in domum apud me;* Heb. "in my keeping:" all of which express what is likely to have been the case. The house would not have been that which Tobit occupied, since it would have become un-

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5 Then I returned, and washed myself, and ate my meat in heaviness,

6 Remembering that prophecy of [b] Amos, as he said, [c] Your feasts shall be turned into mourning, and all your mirth into lamentation.

7 Therefore I wept: and after the going down of the sun I went and made a grave, and buried him.

8 But my neighbours mocked me, and said, This man is not yet afraid to be put to death for this matter: [d] who fled away; and yet, lo, he burieth the dead again.

9 The same night also I returned from the burial, and slept by the wall of my courtyard, [e] being polluted, and my face was uncovered:

10 And I knew not that there were ‖sparrows in the wall, and mine eyes being open, the sparrows muted warm dung into mine eyes, and ‖a whiteness came in mine eyes; and

[b] Amos 8. 8, 10.
[c] 1 Mac. 1. 39.
[d] ch. 1. 19.
[e] Numb. 19. 11.
‖ Or, *swallows.*
‖ Or, *white films.*

clean by the introduction of the dead body (Num. xix. 14, 16); but it would probably be "his own house" (Vulg.). Tobit kept the body there till the "going down of the sun," partly because the feast-day would then be over, and partly, *ut caute sepeliret eum* (Vulg.).

5. *washed*] The law of purification was very strict. The unclean person was to purify himself with the water of separation made from the ashes of an heifer, and his uncleanness lasted seven days (Num. xix. 2 &c., 11 &c.). Evidently the literal observance of this law was impossible in Assyria. It may therefore be simply concluded that Tobit did what was accepted as possible under the circumstances (see *v.* 9, note).

that prophecy of Amos] See marg. reff. The appropriateness of the reference is singularly touching if it be read in connexion with Amos viii. 3 (see note *in loco*): "Many the corpses! In every place they are flung! Hush!" Tobit in his "heaviness" and "weeping" (*v.* 7) applied to himself the Divine judgment upon Israel as a nation. The Heb. and Sinait. texts add that the prophecy was spoken "in Bethel," the Itala "in Bethlehem;" an instance of the wish to assign to a godly man a (comparatively) more sacred place of residence or sphere of work.

8. *my neighbours mocked me*] Cp. the thought of Pss. xxxi. 11, xxxviii. 11. These were not his "heathen" neighbours, but, as the Heb. and Chald. are careful to report, his "kinsmen" (the Heb. adds "and my family"), to whom Tobit's readiness to risk his life was first unintelligible, and then ridiculed. Cp. St. Paul's different, because Christian, estimate of such an act (Rom. v. 7, 8). Tobit was "not afraid," explains the Vulg., "because he feared God more than the king."

9. The Heb. reads, "And on that night, after I had buried him who was dead, I washed, but was not able to purify myself in an unclean land as would have been meet in the land of Israel." The law "in the land of Israel" is given in marg. ref. Tobit, conscious of pollution, would not enter his own house; and further, remained in the open air, that others might not incur pollution through contact with him. The Itala adds that Tobit left his face uncovered "on account of the heat."

10. *sparrows*] So the Itala. The Heb. and Chald. have "birds" simply; the Vulg. "swallows" (see end of next note); and Bede accepts swallows as typifying, by their light swift flight, levity and pride of heart, the "uncleanness" of which blinds those whom it dominates.

mine eyes being open] Pliny's statement (quoted in Gutberlet, p. 94), "patentibus oculis dormiunt lepores, multique hominum; quod κορυβαντιᾶν (see Lidd. and Scott, Lex., *s. v.*) Græci dicunt," is inaccurate as regards the hares, and, if not equally so as regards men (see an instance in Gutberlet), is so exceptional as to make very questionable such an interpretation of the text. The words are absent from the Heb., Chald., Vulg., and Itala; but the Vulg. helps to a natural explanation, *et ex nido hirundinum dormienti illi callida stercora inciderent super oculos ejus* &c. The dung fell upon his eyes, slightly penetrated them at the time, and when he opened them penetrated them still more.

whiteness] Gk. λευκώματα, a word used by Aristotle for a white spot in the eye caused by the thickening of the cornea; "a cataract." The Heb. and Chald. texts use words, also employed in the Heb. and Targum of Lev. xxi. 20 (A. V., "a blemish"), which rather indicate suppuration or dropping. These texts seem to indicate the immediate consequence of the dung muting into the eye, as well as (Chald.) a continuous symptom of the malady. Fritzsche ('Comm.,' p. 34) identifies the disease with the *albugo* (Itala), or a non-transparent spot of a bluish colour, which was cured by the use of the gall of sheep, cattle, and barb (fish). The Chald. adds, "Every morning he went to the

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I went to the physicians, but they helped me not: moreover Achiacharus did nourish me, until I went into Elymais.

‖ Or, *was hired to spin in the women's rooms.*

11 And my wife Anna ‖did take women's works to do.

‖ Or, *her work.*

12 And when she had sent ‖them home to the owners, they paid her wages, and gave her also besides a kid.

13 And when it was in my house, and began to cry, I said unto her, From whence is this kid? is it not stolen? render it to the owners; *f* for it is not lawful to eat any thing that is stolen.

f Deut. 22. 1.

14 But she replied upon me, It was given for a gift more than the wages. Howbeit I did not believe her, but bade her render it to the owners: and I was abashed at her.

physicians to cure his eyes; and he was not cured, but the whiteness increased in his eyes until he became blind. And he was blind four years" (so, as regards time, Heb. and Itala).

Blindness was superstitiously considered a punishment for sin (cp. St. John ix. 2); and as a "blemish" it was sufficient to debar a member of the house of Aaron from approaching to offer "the bread of his God" (Lev. xxi. 18, 20, 21). The blinded Tobit is to Bede an illustration of the Apostle's saying, "Blindness in part hath happened unto Israel" (Rom. xii. 25, Vulg. Consult Rev. Vers.). If Tobit had not become wearied, he would never have become blind! "Qui infatigabilis in bonis operibus persistit, nunquam fidei luce privatur. Jacet spiritualiter et dormiet fatigatus, qui vigilare et stare in fide, viriliter agere, confortari negligit."

The Vulg. adds here a singularly beautiful expansion: *Hanc tentationem permisit Dominus evenire illi, ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiæ ejus, sicut et sancti Job. Nam cum ab infantia sua semper Deum timuerit, et mandata ejus custodierit, non est contristatus contra Deum quod plaga cæcitatis evenuerit ei. Sed immobilis in Dei timore permansit, agens gratias Deo omnibus diebus vitæ suæ. Nam sicut beato Job insultabant reges, ita isti parentes et cognati ejus irridebant vitam ejus, dicentes: Ubi est spes tua, pro qua eleemosynas et sepulturas faciebas? Tobias vero increpabat eos, dicens: Nolite ita loqui. Quoniam filii sanctorum sumus, et vitam illam exspectamus quam Deus daturus est his qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo.* This last sentence, reputed an anachronism by Fritzsche, certainly reflects the belief of such passages as Isa. xxv. 8 and xxvi.

until I went into Elymais] The clause does not appear at all in the Heb., Chald., or Vulg., and in the Itala is applied to a different person, *priusquam iret* (*Achicarus*) *in Limaidam.* This reading ἐπορεύθη instead of ἐπορεύθην is undoubtedly correct. Tobit does not appear to have left Nineveh (see chs. xi., xiii.). Achiacharus, on the contrary, after supporting Tobit for two years (Itala), was compelled to leave it, probably through some court intrigue (xiv. 10, note), and his return is recorded in xi. 18.

Elymais, called a city in the country of Persia in 1 Macc. vi. 1, was rather a province on the Persian Gulf, perhaps Elam, to the south of Media. One Hebrew text (Fagius) reads ("gravi errore," Grotius) Alemania instead of Elymais. Alemannia was the name for Germany among the Spaniards and Franks; hence that Hebrew paraphrase has been thought to have been the work of a Jew resident in Moorish Spain during the Middle Ages.

11. *women's works*] So Heb., Chald., Sinait. text, Itala, and Vulg.; the nature of the work being spinning and weaving (*opus textrinum*, Vulg.). This appears to have been a *spécialité* with the women of Judæa; the women of Galilee worked at linen (Schürer,[2] p. 37, n. 174). Others take the Greek ἠριθεύετο ἐν τοῖς γυναικείοις in the sense "wove wool in the women's *rooms*" (see E. V. marg.): ἐριθεύομαι is primarily to work as a day-labourer or hired servant of any sort (ἔριθος); but the later meaning of ἔριθοι, "spinsters" and "weavers," "workers in wool," is taken to have passed here into the verb. The use of γυναικεῖον in the attached sense of "rooms" is confined to this passage, the fem. adj. (sub. αὐλή) being more usual. The rendering of the E. V. is preferable. Achiacharus having left Nineveh, the support of the blind Tobit for the four years (*v.* 10, note) fell entirely upon his wife Anna. See Vulg.: *de labore manuum suarum victum, quem consequi poterat, deferebat* (sc. *domi*).

12. The Itala and Sinait. texts add that this took place on the seventh day of the month Dystros, an interesting addition to the otherwise infrequent use of the names of the Macedonian calendar in the Apocrypha (see Additions to Esther xiii. 6, note; 2 Macc. xi. 30). Dystros is usually taken to correspond with March. If this date can be trusted, the event connected with the text occurred in that month of the fourth year of blindness; and between this and the previous verse this space of time must be understood to have elapsed.

14. *I was abashed*] Lit. "I became red," "I blushed:" the Heb. (cp. Chald.) reads, "We quarrelled together concerning the

g Job 2. 9.
‖ Or, *lo, all things are known to thee.*

g But she replied upon me, Where are thine alms and thy righteous deeds? ‖behold, thou and all thy works are known.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Tobit, grieved with his wife's taunts, prayeth.* 11 *Sara, reproached by her father's maids, prayeth also.* 17 *An angel is sent to help them both.*

THEN I being grieved did weep, and in my sorrow prayed, saying,

2 O Lord, thou art just, and all thy works and all thy ways are mercy and truth, and thou judgest truly and justly for ever.

3 Remember me, and look on me, punish me not for my sins and ignorances, and *the sins of* my fathers, who have sinned before thee:

4 For they obeyed not thy commandments: wherefore thou hast delivered us a for a spoil, and unto captivity, and unto death, and for a

a Deut. 28. 15, 37.

matter of the kid;" and the Itala adds, "and she was angry because I believed her not."

Where are &c.] Cp. i. 3. The Heb. supplies the meaning of her questions: "Where are thy kindnesses and thine alms which profit thee not in the day of thy trouble?" No good had resulted from them, therefore she concluded that they had not been wrought in a right spirit. "Thy reproach (cp. ii. 6) is known to all the world;" she considered that the blindness and poverty were sent as a punishment for his hypocrisy.

Tobit's unjust refusal to believe his wife's protestation of innocence is naturally explained as due to a nature embittered by four years' blindness and poverty; evidently, however, their married life was not at this time happy (cp. x. 6, 7).

CHAPTER III.

1. According to the Itala, this prayer was spoken in the court of Tobit's house (cp. *v.* 17). Under the open canopy of heaven, and apart from the sounds of altercation, he, "grieved, fainting and sick with his affliction" (Heb.), poured out his soul before God. The prayer is marked by faith and trust (*v.* 2); by humiliation, personal and national; and by the recognition of the justice of God's punishment upon himself and his forefathers, though deprecating its execution (*vv.* 3–5). It is framed upon Scriptural models (cp. Ezra ix. 6–15; Neh. i. 5–11, ix. 6–38; Dan. ix. 4–19; Baruch i. 15 &c.), and clothed in Scriptural language (see especially *v.* 4, note); but it cannot be said (with some commentators) to have reached the spirit of a Christian prayer. The submissiveness apparent in one thought is qualified by the somewhat dictatorial character of that which follows it (*v.* 6); and there are evidences of querulousness and of irritation with those who have cast upon him "false reproaches" (*v.* 6) which are far removed from the teaching of Christ (St. Matt. v. 23, 24; vi. 12, 14) or of His Apostle (1 Pet. ii. 19 &c.). Questions of some importance and difficulty are raised by the eschatology of the Received Text of *v.* 6 (see note).

2. *all thy works and all thy ways are mercy and truth*] Cp. Ps. xxv. 10; Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, a passage held by the Jews to enumerate thirteen attributes of God. The Heb. and Chald. read, "all Thy works are might (Itala, *magna*), and all Thy ways are goodness (Itala, *misericordia*) and truth." The Gk. texts render "mercy" or "goodness" by ἐλεημοσύναι, a use of the word in the LXX. not infrequent in the singular, but rare in the plural (cp. Prov. iii. 3. See Cremer, 'Biblisch-theolog. Wörterbuch,'[4] *s. n.*).

3. *look on me*] With favour and kindness. Cp. *v.* 15; Luke i. 48.

ignorances] Gk. ἀγνοήματα; Itala, *negligentia*. The word is absent from the Heb. and Chald.; it is evidently used here and elsewhere (1 Macc. xiii. 39) as synonymous with that form of error or transgression from which the original element of want of thought or knowledge has passed beyond the stage of defence or excuse (Lev. iv. 2, note), and reached that in which weakness is deliberate, and therefore sinful (cp. Judith v. 20, where ἀγνόημα passes into σκάνδαλον and ἀνομία). Cp. the language of St. Paul, who, speaking as a Jew, reproved that "ignorance" which "alienated (men) from the life of God" (Eph. iv. 18; cp. Acts xvii. 30), and ranked it, in his own case, as parallel with "unbelief" (1 Tim. i. 13). For such "ignorances" ("errors of the people," Heb. ix. 7) the High Priest once a year on the great Day of Atonement made sacrifice "not without blood;" and again for such, Christ, "an High Priest of good things to come, . . . by his own blood entered in once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. ix. 11, 12). The turn given to the words by the Vulg., *Ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis, neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum meorum*, is reflected in the language of the Litany, "Remember not,

proverb of reproach to all the nations among whom we are dispersed.

5 And now thy judgments are many and true: deal with me according to my sins and my fathers': because we have not kept thy commandments, neither have walked in truth before thee.

6 Now therefore deal with me as seemeth best unto thee, and command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may be ‖dissolved, and become earth: [b] for it is profitable for me to die rather than to live, because I have heard false reproaches, and have much sorrow: command therefore that I may now be delivered out of this distress, and go into the everlasting place: turn not thy face away from me.

‖ Or, *dismissed, or, delivered.*

[b] Jonah 4. 3.

7 It came to pass the same day, that in Ecbatane a city of Media Sara

Lord, our offences nor the offences of our forefathers; neither take Thou vengeance of our sins." See Reusch *in loco.*

who have sinned] Gk. ἃ ἥμαρτον; but the Heb., Chald., Itala, and other codices support the E. V.

4. *a proverb of reproach*] Cp. Wisdom v. 3. The Heb., Chald., and Itala separate the words, *e.g.* "a proverb, a reproach" (Itala and Vulg., *improperium;* in Jer. xlii. 18, *opprobrium*), and are nearer to the original text of Deut. xxviii. 37. The Heb. text adds the words of Isa. i. 9.

5. *deal with me*] Or, accepting ποιῆσαι instead of ποίησον, "in that Thou dealest with me." According to the English Version, the language is that of humble submission to a punishment acknowledged to be just. Cp. the paraphrase of the Itala, *multa sunt judicia tua et vera quæ de me exigas et de peccatis meis et parentum meorum.* The Heb. and Chald. have, however, inserted a negative, "reward me not after my wickedness and the wickedness of my fathers" &c., which brings this verse into accordance with *v.* 3.

6. *and command &c.*] The usual Gk. text omits the "and," thereby making the sentence more incisive and abrupt.

be dissolved and become earth] "Sancti habent corpus pro carcere et pro vinculis" (Theophylact), by which the soul is imprisoned, and from which it is "dissolved" by death. For the phrase "become earth" cp. Gen. iii. 19, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The desire for death—defended by St. Augustine ('c. Gaud.' i. 31), in the often-quoted sentence, "Non est injustum homini justo optare mortem quando amarissima est vita"—has its Scriptural parallel in the language of Job (vii. 15), and especially of Elijah (1 Kings xix. 4) and of Jonah (marg. ref.), though the frame of mind of Tobit was not that of Jonah. Cp. also 2 Cor. i. 8; Phil. i. 21–24. For the "false reproaches and much sorrow" to which Tobit alludes, see ii. 14, note.

The conception of Tobit of things after death is not that of the New Test., but of the Old. His words—"Command my spirit to be taken (lit., "taken up," ἀναλαβεῖν) from me (omitted in Gk. text), that I may be dissolved (see marg., *i.e.* "die:" cp. *v.* 13; 2 Macc. vii. 9; Luke ii. 29), and become earth and go into the everlasting place" (cp. Job xxi. 26, xxxiv. 15; Ps. civ. 29; Eccles. iii. 20)—recall one passage especially, "Man goeth to his long home. . . . Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God Who gave it" (Eccles. xii. 5, 7; cp. Baruch ii. 17). This book elsewhere expresses a knowledge of and belief in Hades (iii. 10, xiii. 2); and such passages as Dan. xii. 1 &c. (cp. 2 Macc. xii. 42 &c.) would be familiar to any writer living two centuries before Christ. To consider, however, "the everlasting place" an expression as definite and realistic as the "everlasting habitations" of Luke xvi. 9, is—on the above supposition as to date—to introduce an anachronism. It was not till Christ had overcome the sharpness of death, that the kingdom of heaven was opened to all believers (cp. John xiv. 1–3). To understand, also, the words "Command my spirit to be taken from me," as a recognition of the ministration of Angels, like to that in Luke xvi. 22 ("the beggar was carried by the Angels into Abraham's bosom"), is also to introduce a sense not, perhaps, entirely anachronistic, but certainly not warranted by the language of the other texts. The Heb. "take (not 'take up') my soul from me," and Chald. "take my soul out of mine hands," express the more correct, because less definite, belief of Tobit's time on this latter point; and in these texts it is noteworthy that allusion to "the everlasting place" is entirely absent.

The Itala renders the opening part of the verse, *præcipe recipi* (Vulg. adds *in pace*) *spiritum meum ut jam dimittar desuper terram.* The addition of the Vulgate is interesting from the well-known use of the formula on Christian tombs.

7. Ecbatane, the Achmetha of Ezra vi. 2

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the daughter of Raguel was also reproached by her father's maids;

8 Because that she had been married to seven husbands, whom Asmodeus the evil spirit had killed, before they had lain with her. Dost thou not know, said they, that thou hast strangled thine husbands? thou hast had already seven husbands, neither wast thou named after any of them.

9 Wherefore dost thou beat us for them? if they be dead, go thy ways after them, let us never see of thee either son or daughter.

(cp. Judith i. 1) and the modern Hamadan, was founded B.C. 700 by the first Median king, Deioces (Herod. i. 98). It was situated in the northern part of Media Magna, and was the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings. It was a city of less importance than Rages (i. 14, note), a reading adopted here by the Vulg. only, and more probably due to a scribe's confusion with the name Raguel following than to identification with an otherwise not mentioned Rages in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana (Fritzsche and Reusch).

Raguel, or Reuel (Chald. and Heb.), "the friend of God," a not uncommon name among the Hebrews and Edomites (see Exod. ii. 18, note), has here a special interest in connexion with what follows. In the Book of Enoch it is the name of that guardian Angel of the universe who executed God's judgment upon the world and the stars. See Excursus II. on Angelology, I. § 4. Raguel was cousin to Tobit and Tobias (vi. 10, vii. 2).

reproached] The Heb. text reads, "Her father's maid-servants ('one of the maids,' Chald., Itala, and Vulg.) were reproaching her and mocking her, saying to her, It is not meet to call thee Sarah, but Zarah," *i.e.* not "princess" but "adversary" (cp. 1 Sam. i. 6).

8. *seven husbands*] Cp. Matt. xxii. 25. The number is, in both cases, literally possible; but it was also that usually employed among the Assyrians and Hebrews to denote completeness metaphorically.

Asmodeus] "King of the demons" (Chald. and Heb.), *dæmonium nequissimum* (Itala). The name is usually considered to have been borrowed from the Parseism which so largely influenced later Jewish Angelology and demonology. In the Avesta, Ashma is next to Angro-mainyus (Ahriman), the chief of evil spirits: he is "wicked Ashma," the adversary of Sraosha and Mithra; his name means "anger," and he carries a terrible weapon: he is the antagonist of souls, and he has all knowledge except that of healing (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' iii. p. xlviii.). Benfey and Stern, Windischmann and Kohut, give to the name the signification of "covetous," "lustful;" and the terminal syllable (*deus*, δαῖος) is probably derived from *daeva* (*div*), or "demon" (Baudissin; Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. n.*). These characteristics of the Persian "Aeshma-daeva"—partly repeated in the Asmodeus of the book Tobit, who is both murderous and lustful (v. 14); and bears the title "king of the demons (*shedim*)," with which word the Talmud and Midrash translate *daeva*—are still more developed in the Talmudical legends, which connect together King Solomon and Asmodeus (see Excursus II. ii. § 4). The Semitic etymology of the name "Asmodeus" ("the destroyer," from *shamad*, "to destroy") found in the Talmud, and still preferred by some, is not so probable as the Persian.

Critics, in search of parallels, find in the "love" of Asmodeus for Sarah a reference to the love of "the sons of God" for "the daughters of men" (Gen. vi. 2), and in the death of her husbands a resemblance to the end of Er and Onan (1 Chron. ii. 3).

Dost thou not know] Gk. οὐ συνιεῖς. The emendation οὐ σὺ εἶς is indirectly supported by the Chald., Heb., and Itala, the first and the last of which do not, however, put the matter interrogatively but positively: *e.g.* "It is thou who hast killed" &c. (Chald.). *Tu es quæ suffocas* (Itala). If the reading συνιεῖς be preferred, the sense will rather be, "Thou art not wise (*i.e.* thou art foolish; cp. 2 Cor. x. 12) to strangle thy husbands" &c.

These "seven husbands" are, according to Bede, a figure of the crowd of heathen nations, whose teachers know only the life of this world ("quod septem diebus volvitur"), but nothing of eternal life. Therefore were they destroyed by the Devil till the true Bridegroom came, even the Lord Jesus Christ.

neither wast thou named after any of them] *i.e.* Sara had not attained the dignity and name of wife (cp. Isa. iv. 1). For "named" (ὠνομάσθης) some texts have "profited by" (ὠνάσθης), which probably gave rise to the *nullo eorum fruita es* of the Itala: ὠνάσθης may, however, well be an abbreviation or corruption of ὠνομάσθης.

9. Either then or previously Sara shewed her anger for some fault of her maids by blaming (Vulg.) and even beating them. They continue their "reproach" (v. 7):—"If they be dead" &c., *i.e.* "If thy husbands have died a natural death, and if thou hast not murdered them, yet go thy ways; go after them" &c.; "die as they have died" (Chald.)—childless. The Heb. text puts it, "It would be good for thy parents that thou shouldest die for them,

10 When she heard these things, she was very sorrowful, so that she thought to have strangled herself; and she said, I am the only daughter of my father, and if I do this, it shall be a reproach unto him, and I shall bring his old age with sorrow unto the grave.

11 Then she prayed toward the window, and said, Blessed art thou, O Lord my God, and thine holy and glorious name is blessed and honourable for ever: let all thy works praise thee for ever.

12 And now, O Lord, I set mine eyes and my face toward thee,

13 And say, Take me out of the earth, that I may hear no more the reproach.

14 Thou knowest, Lord, that I am pure from all sin with man,

15 And that I never polluted my name, nor the name of my father, in the land of my captivity: I am the only daughter of my father, neither hath he any child to be his heir, neither any near ‖kinsman, nor any son of his alive, to whom I may keep myself for a wife: my seven husbands are already dead; and why should I live? but if it please not thee that I should die, command some regard to be had of me, and pity taken of me, that I hear no more reproach.

‖ Or, *brotier.*

16 So the prayers of them both were heard before the majesty of the great God.

and that they see not of thee either son or daughter" &c. The maid (or maids) knew nothing of Asmodeus. To them Sara was the *interfectrix virorum* (Vulg.).

10. According to the Versions, Sara went up to the upper chamber of her father's house. She purposed strangling herself, but the thought of the sorrow and reproach to her aged father restrained her. The Chald. and Itala add: "It is not good for me to hang myself. It is better for me to pray to God that I may die, and I shall hear no more reproach, neither I nor my father." The Heb. text gives the prayer (corresponding to *vv.* 11–13) as follows: "O Lord God, Thou hast given me to my parents, who are old and well stricken in age, and Thou hast sent against my husbands who married me the king of the demons, for Thou art the God of all the spirits and of all the demons, and the Maker of all creatures, and in Thy hand are all the kinds of evil spirits which are in the world. Now, therefore, O Lord, is it good in Thine eyes that I should bring down the old age of my father and my mother in sorrow to the grave (cp. Gen. xlii. 38)? For if the sentence of judgment hath gone forth from before Thee against me in this matter, destroy me utterly, I pray, and let me see no longer my exceeding trouble and my great reproach."

11. *she prayed toward the window*] *i.e.* looking towards Jerusalem. Cp. Dan. vi. 10, note. The opening the prayer with blessing God finds its parallel in the Song (prayer) of the Three Children. In the depths of woe and in the furnace of adversity, ascription of praise to Him Who permits the trial is recognized as a solace and strength.

13. *And say, Take &c.*] It is better with many Versions to put a full stop at "Thee" (*v.* 12), omit "and," and begin this verse, "Speak (Thou)! Take me" &c.; *i.e.* Issue against me the sentence of death (see Heb. text of *v.* 10, note). The Vulg. puts the prayer in the form of an alternative, *Peto, Domine, ut de vinculo improperii hujus absolvas me, aut certe desuper terram eripias me.*

15. *and pity . . . no more reproach*] The usual Greek text, by placing the words "no more" before "pity," has exactly inverted the evident meaning. The Chald., Heb., and Itala support the English text.

According to the Vulgate, this prayer (*v.* 11 *seq.*) was spoken at the end of a fast of three days and three nights. In this same Version the prayer is expanded at some length and with much beauty. Sara dwells upon the purity and innocence of her life; the fear of God was in her heart when she accepted a husband from her parents, and not lust or levity. She continues: *Aut ego indigna fui illis, aut illi forsitan me non fuerunt digni, quia forsitan viro alii conservasti me. Non est enim in hominis potestate consilium tuum* (cp. Wisd. ix. 13). *Hoc autem pro certo habet omnis qui te colit, quod vita ejus, si in probatione fuerit, coronabitur* (cp. Jas. i. 12); *si autem in tribulatione fuerit, liberabitur; etsi in correptione fuerit, ad misericordiam tuam venire licebit. Non enim delectaris in perditionibus nostris; quia post tempestatem, tranquillum facis; et post lacrymationem et fletum, exsultationem infundis. Sit nomen tuum, Deus Israel, benedictum in sæcula.*

16. For "majesty" the Chald. and Heb. texts have "throne of glory," a later Jewish mode of expressing not only the seat of the

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17 And Raphael was sent to heal them both, that is, to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes, and to give Sara the daughter of Raguel for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit; and to bind Asmodeus the evil spirit; [c] because she belonged to Tobias by right of inheritance. The selfsame time came Tobit home, and entered into his house, and Sara the daughter of Raguel came down from her upper chamber.

[c] ch. 6. 11.

CHAPTER IV.

3 *Tobit giveth instructions to his son Tobias,* 20 *and telleth him of money left with Gabael in Media.*

IN that day Tobit remembered [a] the money which he had committed to Gabael in Rages of Media,

[a] ch. 1. 14.

2 And said with himself, I have wished for death; wherefore do I not call for my son Tobias, that I may signify to him *of the money* before I die?

3 And when he had called him, he said, My son, when I am dead, bury me; and [b] despise not thy mother, [c] but honour her all the days of thy life, and do that which shall please her, and grieve her not.

[b] Prov. 23. 22.
[c] Exod. 20. 12. Ecclus. 7. 27

4 Remember, my son, that she

Shechinah "that dwelleth between the Cherubims," but the Glory Himself (cp. Weber, 'Altsynagog. Paläst. Theologie,' p. 160). Cp. Ecclus. xlix. 8; 2 Macc. ii. 8. The Itala, *ab ipsa claritate* (*in conspectu gloriæ*, Vulg.) *Summi Dei*, presents the same thought in another form.

17. *Raphael was sent to heal them*] In the Heb. text Raphael is described, in accordance with the etymology of his name, as "the prince who is appointed over healing." The name, like Michael (Dan. x. 13) and Gabriel (Luke i. 26), terminates in the name of God (EL), Whose "ministering spirit" he was (Heb. i. 14). He was "one of the Seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One" (xii. 15), and Rabbinic affection selected him as the third of the three messengers to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 2), Michael and Gabriel being the others (Weber, 164). See Excursus II. on Angelology, § 1.

He who presented "the prayer of Tobit on account of his blindness, and the prayer of Sara on account of the humiliation of her parents" (Heb.), was now sent forth to heal the physical woe of the one, and the mental distress of the other. So also, says Bede, our Lord "was sent to heal;" as He said of Himself, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. ix. 12). He came to heal the Jews of the darkness of perfidy, and the Gentiles from the bondage of idolatry. Of Him said the prophet, "Vocabitur nomen ejus magni consilii angelus" (cp. the Vulg. of Isa. ix. 6).

to bind Asmodeus] Heb. and Chald. less definitely, "to take away." To "bind" the demons was to restrain them from exercising their evil power (Rev. xx. 2); to "loose" them (cp. Rev. ix. 14, 18) was to restore them to power and opportunities. The Jews claimed this power (cp. Matt. xii. 27; Josephus, 'Antiq.' viii. 2, 5; 'Bell. Jud.' vii. 6. 3) as late as the time of Justin Martyr ('Dial. c. Tryph.' ch. lxxxv.).

she belonged to Tobias by right of inheritance] Cp. Num. xxxvi. 6–9. She could only marry into the family of the tribe of her fathers, and she thought (*v.* 14) that no marriageable husband existed for her.

CHAPTER IV.

1. For the money to which allusion is made, see marg. ref.

The first verse of the Vulgate here is, "Now, because Tobit thought that his prayer was heard (see iii. 6) that he should die, he called his son Tobias to him" &c.: leaving all mention of the money and Gabael to the end of his advice.

Tobit's words are presented as the words of a dying man, and their seriousness would be proportionately increased: *Ea in corde tuo quasi fundamentum construe* (Vulg.). The advice contained in them deals with the duties of Tobias as a son (*vv.* 3, 4), and as an Israelite worthy of the name in respect to his duty towards God (*vv.* 5, 6, 19), towards his nation, specially with reference to marriage (*vv.* 12, 13), and towards men generally (*vv.* 7–11, 14–18).

3. *bury me*] The Hebrew adds, "with honour" here and after "bury her" in *v.* 4; partly as a protest against the dishonour from which Tobit had himself rescued the bodies of those of his own nation (i. 17, ii. 3, 7), but chiefly as a devout act conformable to the practice of his people. The duty of giving to the body of the dead honourable burial would fall to Tobias as nearest of kin, while the sacred precedents of the burial of Sarah

saw many dangers for thee, *when thou wast* in her womb; and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave.

5 My son, be mindful of the Lord our God all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin, or to transgress his commandments: do uprightly all thy life long, and follow not the ways of unrighteousness.

6 For if thou deal truly, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee, and to all them that live justly.

7 [d] Give alms of thy substance; and when thou givest alms, let not thine eye be envious, neither turn thy face from any poor, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee.

8 If thou hast abundance, [e] give

[d] Deut. 15. 7, 8. Prov. 3. 9. Ecclus. 4. 1, 4, 5. & 14. 13. ver. 16. Luke 11. 41. & 14. 13.

[e] Ecclus 35. 10.

with Abraham, of Rebekah with Isaac, of Leah with Jacob (Gen. xlix. 31), would commend to him his father's wish that Anna (i. 9) and he should be buried "in one grave." "Quos conjunxit unum conjugium, conjungat et unum sepulcrum, quia una ciro sunt, et quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet" ('Corpus jur. canon.' quoted in Reusch).

The Vulg. reads the opening words of this verse, *Cum acceperit Deus animam meam, corpus meum sepeli* (cp. Eccl. xii. 7; 2 Macc. vii. 29), words full of belief in a life beyond the grave.

despise not thy mother &c.) Whatever differences may have existed between Tobit and Anna (see iii. 14, note), all was forgiven and forgotten in the thought of death. The duties here enjoined on Tobias are those founded on a true understanding of the Fifth Commandment of the Decalogue. See also marg. ref. The wording of the injunction is slightly varied in the Hebrew and Chaldee texts: "Honour thy mother and forsake her not all the days of her life (and do for her all that is right in her eyes, Chald.), and oppose not her desire (the word of her mouth, Chald.). And make not her life bitter (cp. Ruth i. 20; and see the Itala here); for remember" &c.

4. *she saw many dangers*] *i.e.* "saw" in the sense of "experienced" (Vulg. *passa sit*). The dangers (*κίνδυνοι*) specified by the Gk. text were not only the pains of travail (*ὠδῖνες*; cp. Vulg. *quae et quanta pericula passa sit propter te in utero suo*), but also those due to the time and condition of affairs immediately before Tobias was born (i. 9, 10, note).

5. Cp. Tobit's own rule of life (i. 3, 12; ii. 14); what had been his own habit, he enjoins upon his son. The Hebrew text opens with the words of Eccles. xii. 1: "Remember thy Creator" &c.

let not thy will be set to sin] A striking phrase, also preserved in the Chald. Tobias is warned against sin deliberately and of set purpose willed (*θέλειν*, cp. 1 Tim. v. 11; Vulg. *consentias* here), not against a mere willingness (*βούλεσθαι*) or inclination to sin. Resistance to the former, the ability to stop the sinful thought from passing into sinful act, is always in man's power (James i. 13–15); resistance to the latter can only be acquired as St. Paul acquired strength in his weakness (2 Cor. xii. 7–10).

A full stop should be placed after "commandments." "Doing," or the kind of actions founded upon the principle inculcated in the previous words, is described to the end of *v.* 11.; "do righteousness . . . do truth . . . do alms."

the ways of unrighteousness] The Heb. and Chald. prefer the sense "unrighteous men."

6. *if thou deal truly*] Lit. "If thou practise the truth (*ex veritate*, Itala; cp. i. 3, note), prosperous journeys (see 1 Esdr. viii. 6, 50; *i.e.* prosperous courses) shall there be to thee and to all them that practise righteousness." The Chald. reads, "If thou deal truly, it will be well with thee in all that thou possessest; and all who do uprightly, happy are they."

7. *Give alms of thy substance*] Cp. marg. reff. and Ecclus. xxxiv. 12. The "substance" is defined by the Heb. text to be "all which the Lord giveth thee," in true recognition of the profound truth endorsed by St. Paul (1 Cor. iv. 7).

The verse-division adopted by some which connects these words with those of the previous verse, *e.g.* "And to all them that live justly give alms of thy substance," is entirely unsupported and unnecessary. The restriction sought to be enforced is sufficiently emphasized in *v.* 17.

let not thine eye be envious] The grudging, "evil" eye is meant (cp. Matt. xx. 15; Ecclus. xiv. 9, 10). The man who gives grudgingly is no true follower of Him Who gives ungrudgingly. This maxim, repeated in *v.* 16, is absent in some Versions both here and there, but Fritzsche argues rightly that the sentence is required in both places by the parallelism.

neither turn thy face from any poor] The Heb. "Hide not thine eyes from the poor of Israel," advances a restriction not supported

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alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little:

9 For thou [f] layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity.

10 [g] Because that alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness.

11 For alms is a good gift unto all that give it in the sight of the most High.

12 Beware of all [h] whoredom, my son, and chiefly take a wife of the

[f] 1 Tim. 6. 19.

[g] Ecclus. 29. 12, 13.

[h] 1 Thes 4. 3.

by any other Version (cp. i. 3, note); but the words which follow, "So shall the Lord not hide His eyes from thee in the time of thy trouble," absolve the sentiment from any *odium humani generis*, and suggest a reference to poverty or want of burial coming upon Tobias as they had come upon others of their own nation (i. 16, 17). Cp. Ps. xxxvii. 25, 26. The Chald. text escapes by paraphrase the anthropomorphism of the expression "God's face," and renders the last sentence of the verse, "God will not hide His majesty (cp. iii. 16) from thee."

8 &c. The Heb. and Chald. texts are sufficiently characteristic as well as independent of the Gk. text to bear separate reproduction. Heb.: "And if thou art not able to make riches, cease not to give alms of that which is found in thine hand, so shalt thou acquire for thyself riches and treasures of silver and gold by almsgiving, for the treasures of the wicked shall not profit, and alms doth deliver from death; and every one who occupieth himself in alms shall behold the face of God, as it is written, 'I will behold Thy face by almsgiving' (Ps. xvii. 15: an interpretation of the word in the original—lit. 'righteousness'—which, like a similar interpretation of δικαιοσύνη, marks a late date), and in heaven they pay special regard to him." Chald.: "My son, as far as it is in the power of thine hand to give alms, give, even if riches are far from thee. Give alms, and thou shalt acquire a good treasure for the day of wrath, for it doth deliver from death, and suffereth not him that giveth it to descend into darkness. [Almsgiving] is good, and whoso exerciseth it shall subsist by it. Is it not that our fathers were praised only for almsgiving? Of Abraham our father Scripture declares, 'For I know him that he will command his children . . . to do justice (or, to give alms) and judgment' (Gen. xviii. 19); of Isaac it is written, 'Then Isaac sowed in that land' (Gen. xxvi. 12); of Jacob it is written, 'And of all that Thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto Thee'" (Gen. xxviii. 22).

Some punctuate and give the sense as follows: *Quomodo potueris, ita esto misericors* (Vulg.); or *Quomodo habueris, sic fac eleemosynam* (Itala). "If thou hast much . . . if thou hast little" &c. The rendering in the Offertory sentences of the Communion Service is nearer to the Vulg. than to the E. V. (and Itala) here. The teaching, however, remains the same. The spirit which prompts any and every offering or almsgiving gives them value or makes them worthless (cp. Luke xxi. 3, 4; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 12).

9. *treasure*] Θέμα, not a mere *præmium* (Vulg., Itala) or reward, but (see the Heb. and Chald., which uses a corrupt form of ὑποθήκη) a savings, a deposit. "Beneficia in pauperes collata quasi apud Deum deponuntur."

day of necessity] Not only such as may come upon men in this life (Zeph. i. 15), but also that day when account must be rendered of "stewardship" here (Luke xvi. 1). Cp. marg. ref., and the language of *v.* 10.

10. The "death" is, as in xii. 9 (note), that from which his kindness in almsgiving &c. had been the means of delivering him (i. 20, note) and others like him.

The "darkness" is the darkness not of nature but of death, when "the treasures of the wicked shall not profit" (Heb.). The Vulg. is stronger than the Greek: *Quoniam eleemosyna ab omni peccato et a morte liberat, et non patietur* (*patitur*, Itala) *animam ire in tenebras.* Almsgiving, being a feature of righteousness, is acceptable to Him Who, seeing what is done in secret, will reward openly (Matt. vi. 4). As Christ taught (Matt. xxv. 46) that the neglect of this and other works of mercy was to be punished with "eternal punishment," so also He taught that the fulfilment of them would bring to men "eternal life." See xii. 9, note.

11. *gift*] Gk. δῶρον; "corban" (Matt. xv. 5), the sacredness of an offering to God being attached to it; yet to be offered not as in the sight of men, but "in the sight of the Most High" (Matt. vi. 1–4). The Vulg. *Fiducia magna erit coram summo Deo eleemosyna, omnibus facientibus eam*, loses sight of this necessity; its word *fiducia* is probably to be taken in the juridical sense of "deposit," "security" (see Dutripon, Concordance, *s. v.*).

12. God's people were a people "holy unto the Lord." Therefore not only was illicit connexion forbidden as "whoredom"

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seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange woman to wife, which is not of thy father's tribe: for we are the children of the prophets, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: remember, my son, that our fathers from the beginning, even that they all married wives of their own kindred, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land.

13 Now therefore, my son, love thy brethren, and despise not in thy heart thy brethren, the sons and daughters of thy people, in *not* taking a wife of them: for in pride is destruction and much trouble, and in lewdness is decay and great want: for lewdness is the mother of famine.

14 Let not the [i] wages of any man, which hath wrought for thee, tarry

[i] Lev. 19. 13. Deut. 24. 14, 15.

(cp. Num. xxv. 1–8; the term soon became equivalent to spiritual unfaithfulness to God), but matrimonial alliance with any "not of the father's tribe" became the rule (cp. Tobit's own practice, i. 9). The "strange woman" is here a woman "from the children of the Gentiles" (Chald.), "not of the seed of thy fathers" (Heb.) (cp. Ezra x. 2; Neh. xiii. 27): in the Book of Proverbs (especially) the expression is applied to one who is immoral and leads others to immorality (*e.g.* Prov. v. 20; vi. 24). The Vulg. paraphrase of this verse is: *Attende tibi . . . ab omni fornicatione; et, præter uxorem tuam, nunquam patiaris crimen scire* (cp. 1 Thess. iv. 6); *i.e.* "ab omni Venere extra conjugem abstine" (Grotius).

for we are the children of the prophets] This—the imitation of the examples of the patriarchs — is put forward as a special reason for uncontaminated marriage. Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called "prophets," not in the narrower and later sense of the word, but in the broadest sense of men inspired by God, in communion with God, "friends of God," instruments in presenting the prayers of men to God, and preachers of righteousness (cp. Gen. xx. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 5). They are called "our fathers from the beginning" (ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος; Itala, *a principio sæculi*); for they were they by whose mouth God had spoken "since the world began" (Acts ii. 21). Cp. Acts iii. 25, note and reff.

they all married wives of their own kindred] As regards Noah this verse preserves the current tradition, no record of relationship previous to marriage being noted in Scripture. Sarah was Abraham's half-sister (Gen. xx. 12); Rebekah was grandchild to Nahor, Abraham's brother (Gen. xxii. 20; xxv. 20); Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, were the daughters of Laban, Rebekah's brother.

shall inherit the land] A beautiful expression of the hope and confident belief fixed in the minds of the exiles. See Gen. xiii. 15, xvii. 8; and cp. Rom. iv. 13, Gal. iii. 16, and especially Matt. v. 5.

13. Connect this with the previous verse. Marriage with the "stranger" would engender "despising" and "pride" (in the Gk. text the same word) towards "the sons and daughters" of God's people. The past had proved the truth of this: cp. 1 Kings xi. 1 &c., xvi. 31. *Superbiam nunquam in tuo sensu, aut in tuo verbo, dominari permittas* (is the paraphrase of the Vulgate); *in ipsa enim initium sumpsit omnis perditio*, referring not only to the fall of Eve (Gen. iii. 5), but according to the Roman Catholic interpreters, to the fall of the Angels (Gutberlet). Cp. Ecclus. x. 12, 13. "Pride" not only "removeth from God" (Chald.), but contains in itself as a root that which brings forth fruit in "destruction and much trouble." "Trouble" (ἀκαταστασία, *inconstantia*, Itala) is rather the "confusion" (Jas. iii. 16; 1 Cor. xiv. 33; marg. rend. in both places *tumult* or *unquietness*) or "tumult" (2 Cor. vi. 5; xii. 20) which is subversive of all peace and stability (study especially the reff. in 2 Cor.).

lewdness] Gk. ἀχρειότης (cp. Luke xvii. 10); not "lasciviousness" or "licentiousness," but the uselessness, unprofitableness (cp. the variant reading ἀχρηστότης, a more common word) which is here portrayed as born of pride, and in its turn giving birth to "famine" (cp. Prov. xiii. 4). This sense leads on to the thought in *v.* 14. The usual sense of lewdness, viz. "dissoluteness" (adopted by Bissell here), "immorality," leads not less truly to the same result (cp. Prov. ii. 18; vii. 27); and if the sister-vice of drunkenness be implied, this sense connects the word with the warning in the latter part of *v.* 15. The Itala renders the word *luxuria*, and introduces a new and profound truth: *Luxuria, diminutio et impietas magna est.*

14, 15. The Heb. and Chald. texts both begin this clause as follows: "My son, give thine heart to all thy work, and what is hateful to thee do not thou to others. Let not the wages" &c. On the injunction in *v.* 14 see marg. reff.; wrong-doing to others is thus connected with a breach of the negative form of the positive commandment,

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with thee, but give him it out of hand: for if thou serve God, he will also repay thee: [k] be circumspect, my son, in all things thou doest, and be wise in all thy conversation.

15 [l] Do that to no man which thou hatest: drink not wine to make thee drunken: neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey.

16 [m] Give of thy bread to the hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked; and according to thine abundance [n] give alms; and [o] let not thine eye be envious, when thou givest alms.

17 Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.

[k] Exod. 23. 13. Eph. 5. 15.
[l] Matt. 7. 12. Luke 6. 31.
[m] ch. 1. 16, 17. Luke 14. 13.
[n] ver. 8. Matt. 6. 1.
[o] ver. 7.

"Love thy neighbour as thyself" (Matt. vii. 12). This negative form is characteristic of Jewish teaching, and is much older than the positive. It is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (Sabb. 30 *b*) that a heathen desired Shammai to teach him the whole Law while he stood on one foot. Being repulsed, he went to Hillel. Putting the same question to him, he received this answer: "What to thyself is hateful, to thy neighbour thou shalt not do. This is the whole Law, and the rest is commentary." Assuming that the Book of Tobit is older than Hillel, is Tobit's form of this saying older than Hillel's? Yes, if the shorter form be older than the longer; no, if it be an abbreviation. It is easy to see how both forms sprang out of the teaching of the Decalogue; and Dr. Taylor has ingeniously indicated ('The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' p. 10) that the answer to the question "What are the things not to be done to one's neighbour?" is to be found in two (Rabbinic?) words, "what-to-thyself is-hateful." His own opinion is that the form of Hillel's saying is older than Tobit's.

This negative form survived long after the positive was known and circulated. It occurs in the interesting work, 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (pub. 1883), in the following terms: "And all things whatsoever thou wouldest should not happen to thee, neither do thou to another;" and is rightly referred to as evidence of the antiquity of that document, of its independence in its original form of the written Gospels, and of its Jewish character (Taylor, p. 11). The sentence will be found recurring in Christian times in the Clementine Homilies, in the Apostolical Constitutions and Ecclesiastical Canons (see Harnack, 'Lehre der Zwölf Apostel,' vol. ii. Hft. 1, pp. 3, 4 of the 'Texte u. Untersuchungen z. Geschichte d. Altchristlichen Literatur'); and in a remoter antiquity in the teaching of the 'Confucian Dialects' (c. B.C. 400. See Taylor, p. 10, note), in Philo, and in Isocrates (Hilgenfeld, 'Zeitschr. f. w. Th., 1886, p. 150).

14. *tarry with thee*] The Chald. and Heb. "abide with thee all night" are nearer to the original precept (marg. reff.); and "out of hand" is explained by the Itala *eadem die*. The principle asserted is: Let those who are masters remember that they are servants to *the* Master, God: therefore must they deal with their servants as they would be dealt with by God (cp. Eph. vi. 9).

be circumspect] More lit. *adtende tibi* (Itala), "take heed to thyself" (Deut. xii. 13). Ἴσθι πεπαιδευμένος is something more than "be wise;" it refers to that experience which is a training and education and begets wisdom: it is serviceable to a man in all his "conversation" (ἀναστροφὴ) or mode of behaviour in life (Gal. i. 13): πεπαιδευμένος occurs frequently in Ecclesiasticus (see Trommius, Lex. *s. n.*), and is there rendered by the E. V. "a nurtured man," "a travelled man."

15. *drink not &c.*] Cp. Ecclus. xxxi. 27: "Wine is as good as life to a man if it be drunk moderately" &c. It is against excess that the warning is directed (cp. Ezek. xxxix. 19; Joel i. 5; Hagg. i. 6).

neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey] A direction applicaole in the first instance to the special journey Tobit had in view for his son (*v.* 20, v. 2), but having also a much wider sense if the journey be extended (Fritzsche; see Itala, below) to the journey or "way" of life. The repetition of a clause warning against drunkenness is avoided by the Heb. and Itala, which read, instead of these words, "and there shall no evil happen unto thee;" *et non comitetur tecum ulla nequitia in omni vita tua.*

16. The Vulg. brings out here beautifully the spirit of true fellowship with the deserving poor: *Panem tuam cum esurientibus comede* &c. The Gk. πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν περισσεύσῃ σοι, ποίει ἐλεημοσύνην is better rendered by the Ita.a, *Ex omnibus quæcunque tibi abundaverint, fac eleemosynam,* than in E. V.

The words following, "let not thine eye be envious" (see *v.* 7), are in the same Version, *non videat oculus tuus;* a rendering which may bear the same meaning (cp. "let it not be hard in thine eyes," Heb. and Chald.), but which may also be interpreted in the spirit of St. Matt. vi. 3, 4.

17. *Pour out . . . the burial of the just*] The explanation of the Gk. ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων

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18 Ask counsel of all that are wise, and despise not any counsel that is profitable.

19 Bless the Lord thy God alway, and desire of him that thy ways may be directed, and that all thy paths and counsels may prosper: for every nation hath not counsel; ℣ but the Lord himself giveth all good things, and he humbleth whom he will, as he will; now therefore, my son, remember my commandments, ℣ James i. 17.

depends upon the reading adopted. Accepting literally the E. V. "pour out," allusion is thought to be intended to one of two practices. It was a custom among some nations to carry food to the tombs as libations (χοαὶ) to the dead, and possibly the custom existed in Babylonia. This custom is thought to have been in some degree adopted by the Jews; and support for this view is found in the language of the Itala, "*Funde* vinum tuum et panem tuum super sepulcra justorum" (cp. the corresponding verb in the Heb. and Chald. texts). It seems, however, very questionable if such a practice prevailed at all among the Jews (see Grotius *in loco*); or, if at all, in the manner here specified (see Grätz, 'Monatschrift u.s.w.' p. 163, n. 1). It is very improbable that the religious-minded Tobit would have advised his son to follow a heathen practice. Other critics, therefore, give to the word "pour out" (ἔκχεον) the sense of "give freely" (Neubauer renders the Heb. and Chald. word "spend freely"), and find in the passage an allusion to the pious custom of carrying food, either (*a*) to the house of mourners —such a house being considered defiled by the presence of a corpse, and its inmates for a while deprived of their usual means for obtaining food—or (*b*) to the tomb itself (cp. the Vulg., *super sepulturam justi constitue;* and Ecclus. xxx. 18), where it was distributed among the poor. "Solebant (?) olim epulas sepulchris imponere, ut pauperes et mendici illa erogatione sustentarentur et ad preces pro mortuis fundendas moverentur." (Menochius in Reusch; so Calmet.) The latter practice (*b*) does not appear to be so certain as the former (*a*), which survives among modern Jews in "the meal of the mourners" after burial. The point of Tobit's advice would then be: When a just person dies, give bountifully to the survivors and comfort them (cp. Jer. xvi. 7). Another reading has, however, been adopted and defended by Grätz ('Gesch. der Juden,' iv. p. 466; 'Monatschrift,' p. 161) and Ginsburg (Kitto's 'Encyclop.' *s. n.* TOBIT), by which the original words would have been, "Send forth thy bread *amongst* the just" (cp. Itala *b*, *distribue cum justis*). This reading certainly avoids the difficulties connected with the usually accepted text (see Additional Note). The advice remains practically the same. The language of the Sibyl (Bk. viii.) is quoted (in 'Critici Sacri') as expressing the same counsel:—

"Effigies mea Homo est, rectæ rationis alumna.
Huic tu pone volens puram sine sanguine mensam,
Repletamque bonis panem potumque famenti,
Et sitienti da: nudum tege corpus amictu:
De proprio castis manibus largire labore:
Oppressum recrea: fessi solare labores.
Hæc à te detur viventi victima vivens.
Sparge piè semen, Dominus tibi donet ut ista."

give nothing to the wicked] This is usually taken to mean: "Give nothing at the burial of the wicked"—let the godless and their descendants remain uncared-for (the Heb. and Chald. texts omit the words); but this interpretation is harsh and unnecessary. The sentence is simply antithetical: "It is better to feast with the righteous dead than with the living wicked." *Noli ex eo manducare et bibere cum peccatoribus* (Vulg.). The true meaning is expressed by Gregory the Great ('Regulæ Pastoralis,' iii. 20, p. 252, ed. Bramley): "Panem suum et vinum peccatoribus præbet, qui iniquis subsidia pro eo quod iniqui sunt impendit. Qui vero indigenti etiam peccatori panem suum, non quia peccator sed quia homo est, tribuit; nimirum non peccatorem sed justum pauperem nutrit; quia in illo non culpam sed naturam diligit."

18. *counsel . . . wise*] To ask counsel is not of itself sufficient; it must be sought (Vulg., *perquire*) of the "wise." All such counsel is "good counsel" (Heb. and Chald.) and "profitable."

19. Man's wisdom is fallible (Wisd. ix. 6), and "every nation hath not counsel;" hence the appeal in this verse to the wisdom and counsel which is from above. Thus the Heb. paraphrases, "At all times ask of the Lord, and He shall direct (lit. 'make straight' or 'upright': cp. the Gk. here, ὅπως αἱ ὁδοί σου εὐθεῖαι γένωνται) thy paths and thy counsel, for there is no counsel in the power of man, but in the hands of the Holy One (blessed is He!) alone (cp. Chald., 'for there is no good counsellor to man but God;' cp. St. Matt. xix. 17); for He doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him: one He bringeth low and another He lifteth up" (cp. 1 Sam. ii. 7; Ps. lxxv. 8; Dan. v. 19; Wisd. vii. 11). This is higher teaching than that of Isocrates, ἡ μεν εὐβουλία παρ' ἀνθρώ-

neither let them be put out of thy mind.

20 And now I signify this to thee, that I committed ten talents to Gabael [q] the *son* of Gabrias at Rages in Media.

[q] ch. 1. 14. *the brother.*

21 And fear not, my son, that we are made poor: [r] for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.

[r] 1 Tim. 6. 6.

πων, ἡ δὲ εὐτυχία παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (quoted in 'Crit. Sacr.' *in loco*).

neither let them be put out] Gk. μὴ ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου: lit. "blotted out" as out of a book (Exod. xxxii. 32, 33; Ps. lxix. 28; Rev. iii. 5). The idea of writing upon the heart as upon a tablet is thoroughly Scriptural (Prov. iii. 3; Jer. xvii. 1, xxxi. 33); but the Heb. and Chald. "let them (the commandments) not depart from thine eyes" (cp. Prov. iii. 21) introduce the thought that Tobit's commandments should be to his son as something so dear and desirable as to be ever before him; or, like the frontlet of their race, "a memorial between the eyes, that the Lord's Law may be in thy mouth" (Exod. xiii. 9 and marg. reff.). The Heb. text adds to this verse: "Be strong and of good courage, for the Lord will be with thee a help and a profit, if thou seek Him with all thy heart and all thy soul:" a cento of such texts as Josh. i. 9; Deut. iv. 29.

20. *Gabael the son of Gabrias*] See marg. The Itala agrees with the E.V. here: the Vulg. and Chald. leave the relationship undefined; the Heb. is, "Gabael, my brother and kinsman." The Heb. and Chald. both repeat here (cp. *v.* 1) the reason for Tobit's speaking now: "for I know not the day of my death."

21. *fear not &c.*] More literally: "fear not . . . that we have become impoverished (Bissell; Gk. ἐπτωχήσαμεν); thou hast much wealth" &c. The Itala looks to the past, *quia pauperem vitam gessimus;* the Vulg. to the future, *pauperem quidem vitam gerimus.* In the past, present, and future poverty has not only no bitterness, but it is "much wealth" where there is the triple union with God described in this verse. For the precept, cp. the marg. ref. and 1 Tim. iv. 8; Eccles. xii. 13, 14. "Much wealth" is also the promise of the Saviour (Matt. v. 3, 5).

do that which is pleasing in his sight] This is, in the paraphrase of the Chald., "to walk with Him in humbleness."

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VERSE 17.

17. *Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just*] Gk. ἔκχεον τοὺς ἄρτους σου ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων. The Heb. text (in Neubauer, p. 24, l. 9) is לחמיך ויינך שפוך על קברי צדיקים, and the Chaldee (Ibid. p. 8, l. 10), לחכיך וחכרך אשוד על קברי זכאין. To produce the alteration named in the note to *v.* 17, the Hebrew is read: שלח לי בקרב הצדיקים. The great merit of this alteration is that it clears up an otherwise obscure sentence; the great difficulty connected with it is that it is too drastic. It explains the difficulty by explaining it away. It is difficult to suppose that שפוך became שלח, and still more that קברי על became בקבר, without leaving positive traces upon any of the other Versions.

Another alteration of a much simpler character has been adopted by Hitzig, Hilgenfeld ('Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie,' 1860, p. 251; 1862, p. 189), Grimm (ibid., 1881, p. 49), and Rosenthal (p. 145); viz. to read רחמיך (thy mercies) instead of לחכיך: and a parallel thought has been found in Ecclus. xviii. 11, (God) "poureth forth His mercy upon them." But here, again, no support for such a reading is found in any other text; and the real difficulty of the verse does not consist in לחכיך, but in על קברי צדיקים. It is no solution of this difficulty to read "Pour out thy mercies on the burial of the just" instead of "pour out thy bread" &c., when the meaning of the act itself remains unexplained. The "bread" may be but one form of the "mercy." Consequently Hilgenfeld makes a still bolder alteration in the Heb. of these latter words, and reads לבר הצדיקים, *i.e.* "for the son of the just," comparing "the children of the just" in xiii. 13. But he is not satisfied with his own conjecture (see further suggestions in his note 3 to p. 189 *op. cit.*), and no one has repeated it (see against it, Grimm, p. 49, n. 27). Cp. Introduction, p. 161.

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CHAPTER V.

4 *Young Tobias seeketh a guide into Media.* 6 *The angel will go with him,* 12 *and saith he is his kinsman.* 16 *Tobias and the angel depart together.* 17 *But his mother is grieved for her son's departing.*

TOBIAS then answered and said, Father, I will do all things which thou hast commanded me:

2 But how can I receive the money, seeing I know him not?

3 Then he gave him the handwriting, and said unto him, Seek thee a man which may go with thee, whiles I yet live, and I will give him wages: and go and receive the money.

4 Therefore when he went to seek a man, he found Raphael that was an angel.

5 But he knew not; and he said unto him, Canst thou go with me

CHAPTER V.

2. The Versions expand the greater abruptness of the Greek text. Thus the Hebrew: "My father, give me counsel. How can I receive the money from the hand of Gabael, for he will not know me, and I shall not know him? And what sign shall I give him so that he may give me the money? and, moreover, I know not the ways by which men go to Media." Cp. also the Chald. and Vulgate; the Itala agrees mostly with the Hebrew.

3. *the handwriting*] Gk. τὸ χειρόγραφον, the bond by which Gabael acknowledged himself to be in possession of Tobit's money. Among the documents called the Egibi tablets, found at Borsippa (the site of the Birs Nimroud), are many agreements with reference to money-lending. It was evidently considered both usual and imperative to have a duplicate or "copy" of any contract (cp. 'Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology,' viii. pt. 2, p. 271 &c.).

The existence of this bond is accounted for by the Itala thus: *Chirographum suum dedit mihi, et meum similiter accepit, et divisit in duas partes: unum accepi ego, et alium posui cum ipsa pecunia.* The Vulgate, which mentions the bond in i. 17 (see i. 14, note), and also in iv. 21 (E. V. iv. 20), here explains the use of it: *Chirographum quidem illius penes me habeo; quod dum illi ostenderis, statim restituet.* The Chald. and Heb. have a different reading: "This is the sign that thou shalt give him. He gave me his bag and took from my hand mine, when I put the money in his hand this day twenty years ago" (Heb. The Itala has also the date: *jam anni sunt viginti, ex quo penes illum deposui hanc pecuniam*). It happened, says the Vulg. (of iv. 21), when Tobias was yet *infantulus.*

The word rendered "bag" is, in the Heb. text, the same as the word "sack," in the mouth of which the brothers of Joseph found their money restored (Gen. xlii. 27). It is apparently impossible to recover the word in the original text which supplied to the Semitic texts "bag," and to the Gk. text and its dependencies "bond" (see p. 170, and cp. some conjectures in Neubauer, p. xiv. note 4).

whiles I yet live, and I will give him wages &c.] The punctuation of the Latin, Heb., and Chald. Versions seems preferable: *e.g.* Chald., "I will give him his wages. And go, my son, while I yet live, and receive the money." The Heb. adds, "and may the Lord God of Israel keep thee in all thy journey and grant thee favour, kindness, and mercy in the man's eyes and in the eyes of all that see thee, and may He send thee away in honour and peace, and bring thee back to us in peace before I die." Cp. here the language and thoughts of Jacob when sending Benjamin to (the unknown) Joseph (Gen. xliii. 13, 14).

4. *Raphael*] Cp. iii. 16, note; on his other name, Azarias, see *v.* 12, note; and on the mission of this healer-helper, cp. vi. 7, 8. Tobias "knew not that Raphael was an angel of the Lord of Hosts" (Heb.): he saw before him simply *juvenem splendidum, stantem precinctum, et quasi paratum ad ambulandum* (Vulg.). The conversation which followed began, according to the Chald., Vulg., and Itala, thus: "He (Tobias) asked him (the Angel), From whence art thou? He (the Angel) answered him (Tobias), From the children of Israel, one of thy brethren." (Chald. Cp. the Itala, *ex filiis Israel fratrum tuorum veni huc, ut operer*). The Heb. is apparently alone in making the Angel first address Tobias: "Then the Angel said to Tobias, From whence art thou, young man? And Tobias answered, I am of the children of Israel. Then Tobias said, My lord, knowest thou how to go with me to Media?" &c. Devout men have seen in this meeting an illustration of the guiding hand of Providence. No sooner had Tobias gone out on his difficult search, than he met one who combined in himself the necessary qualifications of trustworthiness, familiarity with the road to be travelled, and "brotherly" affinity.

The application of the words "(I am) one of thy brethren" (*e.g.* by Chald., above) to an Angel (applied by the Greek text, E. V., &c.,

to Rages? and knowest thou those places well?

6 To whom the angel said, I will go with thee, and I know the way well: for I have lodged with our brother Gabael.

7 Then Tobias said unto him, Tarry for me, till I tell my father.

8 Then he said unto him, Go, and tarry not. So he went in and said to his father, Behold, I have found one which will go with me. Then he said, Call him unto me, that I may know of what tribe he is, and whether he be a trusty man to go with thee.

9 So he called him, and he came in, and they saluted one another.

10 Then Tobit said unto him,

to Azarias in *v.* 12) has been treasured as conveying the beautiful belief that the Angels, as "sons of God," are the brethren of men, and "of the sons of Israel." The description of Raphael in the Vulg. as *juvenis splendidus* (cp. the *splendor* noticed in Judith x. 4) is further taken as an allusion to that something more than mere human beauty which irradiates the countenance of those in close communion with the Most Holy (cp. Acts vi. 15). The feeling of Tobit on hearing of the success of Tobias, *super quæ admiratus pater* (Vulg., *v.* 10), expresses not only "wonder," but that holy awe which bows the heart in worship.

6. This is much expanded in some of the Versions; *e.g.* cp. the Heb., "And the Angel said, Yea, I know all the ways, and in Media I have been a guest in the house of our brother Gabael, who dwelleth at Rages, a city of Media, and it is a two days' journey from Agbatanis (Ecbatane, cp. ii. 7) to Rages, and Rages is built on a mountain, but Agbatanis is built on the plain." The army of Alexander the Great took ten days to compass the distance here named as a two days' journey (Arrian, iii. 20); and the difference is scarcely explained when the movements of unimpeded travellers are contrasted with those of an enormous and fully equipped army (see ix. 1, note).

The statement, "I have lodged with Gabael" (cp. i. 14), has been treated as containing a truth which Heb. xiii. 2 emphasizes: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained Angels unawares." Cp. Gen. xix. 2.

7, 8. Cp. the Heb. (with which the Chald. and Itala agree): "Then Tobias said to him, Stay of thy kindness a moment, and I will go and declare the matter to my father, for I desire greatly that thou shouldest go with me, and I will give thee the wages of the journey. And he said to him, Go in haste, for behold I wait until thou comest back to me, and tarry not. Then Tobias came and told his father, saying, I have found a good man of our brethren (cp. *v.* 4) to go with me. And Tobi said, Call him to me, that I may know of what place (Chald. and Itala, 'tribe') he is, and whether he be trusty (Gk. *πιστός*; Itala, *fidelis*) to go with thee."

9. *they saluted one another*] The terms of the "salutation," absent from the Gk. and E. V., may be supplied from the Heb. and Chald., with which the Vulg. and Itala substantially agree, if differing in individual expressions: "And Raphael went to Tobi and said to him, Peace (*gaudium*, Vulg. and Itala) be to thee (cp. Gen. xliii. 23; Judg. vi. 23), thou man of God. But Tobi said, If it is peace with me, why then hath all this befallen me? for I see not the light of heaven. The sound of words I hear, but the man I see not; I sit blind in darkness (*sicut mortuus inter vivos*, Itala). Then the Angel said, He Who hath deprived thee of light, the same shall heal thee (Chald., 'God is able to heal thine eyes'), for thou art a righteous man. And Tobi answered and said, Let the Lord say so. (The Vulg. and Itala give the Angel's answer thus: *Forti animo esto; in proximo est ut a Deo cureris.*) Then Tobi said to him, My brother; my son Tobias seeketh to go to Media. Canst thou go to Media (the Vulg. specifies, 'to Gabael at Rages')? Canst thou go with him? and I will give (thee) thy wages (or, according to the Itala, with greater worldly wisdom on Tobit's part [cp. E. V. *v.* 14], *Si poteris ire cum illo et deducere illum, dabi tibi mercedem tuam.* Cp. the Vulg.). And the Angel said, Yea, I can; for I know all the ways, and have traversed all the boundaries, and know the mountains."

The Venerable Bede, commenting upon the contrast between the "peace" of the angelic salutation and the "darkness" of Tobit's actual life, finds here a type of Christ's work: "Our Lord by the miracles which He wrought in the flesh shewed to the Jews, from whom He was descended according to the flesh, how He Himself is the Son of God and the Angel (the Messenger) of the will of His Father. To one He proclaimed the joy (*gaudium*, cp. the Vulg.) of everlasting salvation, saying, 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;' and to those who despaired of obtaining heavenly light He said, 'I am the Light

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Brother, shew me of what tribe and family thou art.

11 To whom he said, Dost thou seek for a tribe or family, or an hired man to go with thy son? Then Tobit said unto him, I would know, brother, thy kindred and name.

12 Then he said, I am Azarias, the son of Ananias the great, and of thy brethren.

13 Then Tobit said, Thou art welcome, brother; be not now angry with me, because I have enquired to know thy tribe and thy family; for thou art my brother, of an honest and good stock: for I know Ananias and

of the world. He who followeth Me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'"

11. *Dost thou seek &c.*] The meaning is: "Is it a question of tribe or family? Is it not rather a question of finding some hired person to go with thy son?" Thus, *Quid necesse est te scire genus meum, vel tribam meam? Mercenarium desideras; genus et tribam meam cur quæris?* (Itala;) or, more tersely, *Genus quæris mercenarii, an ipsum mercenarium?* (Vulg.) The Heb. rendering is, "Dost thou still enquire, when thou hast a hired man to go with thy son according to thy wish?" These Versions, together with the Chald., "Raphael said to him, If I am not right in thine eyes, go and seek another man who may go with thy son," sufficiently explain the sense of the Greek text. The petulance attributed to Raphael in the Chald. is sought to be mollified by Tobit, who says to him, "My brother, be not provoked with me that I wish to know of a certainty thy name," &c. (see also E. V., *v.* 13). The conversation recalls, and is perhaps suggested by such passages as Gen. xxxii. 29; Judg. xiii. 18. Later on the Angel discovers himself (xii. 15).

Some commentators inveigh against the fraud and falsehood which they discover in this section. A truer explanation of its peculiarities is that which notes how "the concealment of a name is one of the features of the writings called Apocrypha. In this kind of literature, not only did the authors assume feigned names, but fanciful names and circumstances were introduced into the narratives, strict accuracy being accounted immaterial, so long as the abstract principles inculcated were true. Thus the Angel may be supposed to express the views of the author of the Book of Tobit, 'Do not enquire closely into my name, or the strict truth of the details of my story. Let it be enough that my purpose is your moral and spiritual edification, and that I am sent to do you good.'" (Churton.) St. Augustine has the following comment ('Serm. de Tobia'): "Azarias sum inquit (Angelus, see *v.* 12) . . ., non dixit, Ego sum Raphael Angelus. Celavit in primo nomine dignitatem, ne faceret locatori terrorem . . . Servata est nominis dignitas, ut postremò magnitudo claresceret dignitatis."

12. The name Azarias means "the help of the Lord," and Ananias "the grace of the Lord;" and these names symbolize the purpose of the Angel's mission. Bede characteristically sees combined in the Lord Jesus the attributes of these names. He quotes the Psalmist, "Thou art my helper and liberator, Make no long tarrying" (Ps. xl. 17), and the Evangelist, "We beheld His glory . . . full of grace and truth" (St. John i. 14), in illustration of his position.

The Angel, in the likeness of a man named Azarias, accompanied Tobias (Athanasius). In the assignment to him of the name and character of the son of one known to and esteemed by Tobit (*v.* 13), there has been thought to be a recognition on the part of the author of the dignity and holiness possible to the human race. Thus Bede sees in the Angel the representation of the Divinity of our Saviour, and in Tobias, His humanity; just as in the history of the sacrifice of Isaac, patristic exposition discerned in the ram the humanity of Christ, and in Isaac himself the Deity of Christ. The Angelological teaching of the passage is, however, a development upon that of the canonical Books which narrates the appearance of name-bearing Angels to men, but does not assign to angelic beings the names or persons of men.

The Heb. here, and in *v.* 13, adds after Ananias (whom it calls Hananel), "of the family of the great Shelomith" (Chald., Salmiyah), a name to be connected with the Salmon, or Salma, the descendant of Judah (Ruth iv. 20; 2 Chron. ii. 11). Instead of "Shelomith" the Gk. has (*v.* 13) Σεμεΐ, E. V. and Itala "Samaias" (no such name is given in the Vulgate), a name common among the Priests and Levites (*e.g.* 1 Chron. xv. 8, 11; Ezra x. 21, 31; Nehem. x. 8, xi. 15). In either case "Shelomith" or "Samaias" would connect Azarias with a recognized family and tribe; a no small matter when so many family or tribal registers had been lost in exile (cp. Ezra ii. 62). Tobit's mind was satisfied: "Thou art of a good and honourable family" (Heb.).

13. *as we went together*] Cp. marg. ref. note. The "error of our brethren" is ex-

Jonathas, sons of that great Samaias,
[a] ch. 1. 6, 7. [a]as we went together to Jerusalem to worship, and offered the firstborn, and the tenths of the fruits; and they
[b] ch. 1. 4, 5. were not seduced with [b]the error of our brethren: my brother, thou art of a good stock.

14 But tell me, what wages shall I give thee? *wilt thou* a drachm a day, and things necessary, as to mine own son?

15 Yea, moreover, if ye return safe, I will add something to thy wages.

16 So they were well pleased. Then said he to Tobias, Prepare thyself for the journey, and God send you a good journey. And when his son had prepared all things for the journey, his father said, Go thou with this man, and God, which dwelleth in heaven, prosper your journey, and the angel of God keep you company. So they went forth both, and the young man's dog with them.

17 But Anna his mother wept, and said to Tobit, Why hast thou

plained by the Heb.: "These did not stray after the strange gods of the land (Babylon) like our brethren."

14. The "drachm" mentioned in the Apocrypha (cp. also 2 Macc. iv. 19; x. 20; xii. 43) was that of the Attic talent which came into almost universal use in the time of Alexander (B.C. 338), and weighed about 67·2 grains; its value was a fraction more than 9½*d.* The later Attic drachm (B.C. 27) weighed less, and its value was about 8*d.* The Heb. text uses a word which expresses the fourth part of the sacred shekel (silver), and in money value equal to the later Attic drachm: the Chald. word is one found in the Talmud, and equivalent to half the Heb. coin (see Buxtorf's Lex. *s. v.*; Schürer,[2] pp. 34, 35). Tobit's proposal may be taken, like that of the master in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 2, 13), to be an offer of a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

and things necessary, as to mine own son] Cp. Chald. "and thy food the same as for my son."

15. *if ye return safe*] The Gk. ὑγιαίνοντες implies "health" as well as mere safety. The Heb. and Chald. have a phrase more Scriptural and Oriental: *e.g.* (Heb.) "if the Holy One (blessed is He!) bring you back in peace." This thought, as well as language, is taken up by the Angel, who replies [acc. to these texts, the Vulg., and Itala (with minor differences)]: "Fear not, for I will go with thy son, and we shall go in peace, and we shall return in peace;" to which the Itala adds, *quoniam via tuta est. Et Thobis dixit, Bene iter age, frater, et contingat tibi.* The Gk. and E.V. are alone in their reading (*v.* 16), "So they were well pleased," *i.e.* with their mutual agreement as well as with each other.

16. *God send you a good journey*] Gk. εὐοδωθείητε; lit. "May you have a good journey." The E.V. piously introduces the name of God from the next sentence.

The prayer of Tobit is thus given by the Chald. (cp. Itala): "My son, prepare thyself, and go on the journey with thy brother; may the God of heaven lead you there in peace, and send His Angel (cf. Gen. xxiv. 7), and prosper your journey, and bring you back in peace." This Version and the Heb. lay stress on the belief in guardian Angels (cp. Ps. xci. 11).

So they went &c.] The other Versions (Heb., Chald., Itala; cp. Vulg.) preface the departure with such words as—"And Tobias kissed his father and his mother; and they said to him, Go in peace. And they set out to go." In these Versions there is no mention here of the dog (see xi. 4, note); it may have been inserted by an editor who, finding in his text that the dog was with them at the return, wished to account for his existence. The Vulg. of vi. 1 reads *canis secutus est eum* (*i.e.* Tobit), words absent from the other texts, yet upon which Bede founds a characteristic comment. After our Lord had come to save men, holy preachers followed His steps in pursuance of His injunction, "Go ye, teach all nations." *Canes vocant doctores*, he remarks, because they defend the home, substance, and spiritual work of their Founder from the thieves and the wild beasts, *i.e.* from unclean spirits and heretical men. Mediæval ages saw this purpose supplied in the foundation and aims of the Dominican (*Domini canes*) order.

This history furnishes one of the few instances in which to the dog is assigned among Easterns that position of fidelity and companionship so readily accorded to the animal by Westerns. In Scripture the dog is usually despised: he is unclean and a mere scavenger (cp. 1 Kings xiv. 11, xxi. 24; 2 Kings ix. 36; Ps. lix. 6, 14; Isa. lxvi. 3; Jer. xv. 3); he is the type of an enemy or of abject humility (Ps. xxii. 16, 20; 2 Sam. ix. 8; 2 Kings viii. 13). Yet are there good qualities attributed to him, as guardian of flocks (Job xxx. 1), and as the watcher over homes (Isa.

sent away our son? is he not the staff of our hand, in going in and out before us?

‖ *Let not money be added, but be the offscouring of our son.*

18 ‖Be not greedy to add money to money: but let it be as refuse in respect of our child.

‖ Or, *So long as God hath granted us to live, this is sufficient.*

19 ‖For that which the Lord hath given us to live with doth suffice us.

20 Then said Tobit to her, Take no care, my sister; he shall return in safety, and thine eyes shall see him.

21 For the good angel will keep him company, and his journey shall be prosperous, and he shall return safe.

22 Then she made an end of weeping.

CHAPTER VI.

4 *The angel biddeth Tobias to take the liver, heart, and gall out of a fish,* 10 *and to marry Sara the daughter of Raguel:* 16 *and teacheth how to drive the wicked spirit away.*

lvi. 10); and this watchful instinct is not out of place here, where the history places the commencement of a perilous journey.

17. *is he not the staff?*] *i.e.* our support (2 Kings xviii. 21; Isa. xxxvi. 6; Heb. xi. 21); "in going in and out before us," *i.e.* in living with us and in attending to our affairs (cp. 1 Sam. xxix. 6; Acts i. 21, ix. 28). The Vulg. stands alone in its rendering of these last words: *Baculum senectutis nostræ tulisti et transmisisti a nobis.* The Itala agrees with the Gk. and E. V. The Heb. ("How didst thou not fear to send away the young man, for he is the son of our old age," &c.; cp. the Chald., "for he is our only son") paraphrases the thought that the staff for the aged parents was that son who would be to them what a Joseph and a Benjamin had been to Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 3; xliv. 20).

18. *Be not greedy &c.*] The meaning of the E. V. is, "What is your gold with Gabael (iv. 20) in comparison with our son? Suppose that you get the money, will that compensate for the loss of the staff of our hand?" Cp. the vigorous paraphrase of the Vulgate: *Nunquam fuisset ista pecunia, pro qua misisti eum! Sufficiebat enim nobis paupertas nostra, ut divitias computaremus hoc quod videbamus filium nostrum.* Commentators are, however, disagreed as to the text and the interpretation of individual expressions. The teaching of *vv.* 18 and 19 is condensed by the Chald. and Heb. texts into a few words. "God hath kept us without the money," "without that money our God will keep us alive." But there is no ground for disputing the integrity of the Gk. text.

The expression "let it be as refuse" (περίψημα) is of some difficulty. The same word is rendered "offscouring" in 1 Cor. iv. 13, where the Vulg. has the same word *purgamenta* as is used by the Itala here (*Nunquam esset pecunia illa, sed purgamento sit*). The phrase, taken in this sense, would mean, "Count money as refuse—as something utterly to be rejected—in comparison with your son's life." Other critics give to περίψημα a sense equivalent to περικάθαρμα, a word used by the LXX. in Prov. xxi. 18 as a translation for "ransom;" and render the phrase, "Add not money to money; but let it be a ransom for our child," *i.e.* Consider the money lent to Gabael to be gold you will not reclaim. Count it like a ransom paid for the preservation of the life of the lad. The sense of "ransom" is thought to be supported by the following practice. It was the custom at Athens to reserve certain worthless persons; and, in case of plague, famine, or other visitation from heaven, cast them into the sea, in the belief that the sacrifice would cleanse away or wipe off the guilt of the nation. The act was accompanied by the invocation, περίψημα ἡμῶν γενοῦ. These persons were called καθάρματα, περικαθάρματα, περιψήματα, κ.τ.λ. (See Lidd. and Scott, Lex. *s. v.* καθαρμα.) This sense is not, however, supported by any Versions (cp. Itala and Syriac), and would seem unnecessary when the usual sense "refuse" gives an intelligible meaning to the passage.

20. Tobit and Raguel call their wives Anna and Edna (cp. vii. 16) "sisters," in accordance with the Hebrew mode of speech which used such terms as "brother," "sister" for all close relationships; because all, being "children of Abraham," were brothers and sisters in that family of which he was the founder and head. It will be remembered that "sister" was the title given by Abraham to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2, 12; cp. Additions to Esther xv. 9). Grotius adds, "Sic Christiani (vocant conjuges suas) quod eodem lavacro regenitæ sunt (1 Cor. ix. 5)."

The other Versions read "he will go in peace" (*salvus*, Vulg. and Itala) as well as "he will return in safety" (or "peace:" *salvus*).

21. *the good angel*] Not simply "the good messenger," but the angelic being whom yet "he knew not" (to be an Angel, *v.* 5). Cp. the Heb. "The Lord our God will send His Angel with him," &c., and the beautiful words of the Vulgate: *Credo enim quod Angelus Dei bonus comitetur ei, et bene disponet omnia quæ circum eum geruntur, ita ut cum gaudio* (*sanus*, Itala) *revertatur ad nos.*

AND as they went on their journey, they came in the evening to the river Tigris, and they lodged there.

2 And when the young man went down to wash himself, a fish leaped out of the river, and would have devoured him.

3 Then the angel said unto him, Take the fish. And the young man laid hold of the fish, and ‖drew it to land.

‖ Or, *cast it upon the land.*

4 To whom the angel said, Open the fish, and take the heart and the liver and the gall, and put them up safely.

5 So the young man did as the angel commanded him; and when they had roasted the fish, they did eat it: then they both went on their way, till they drew near to Ecbatane.

6 Then the young man said to the angel, Brother Azarias, to what use is the heart and the liver and the gall of the fish?

7 And he said unto him, Touching the heart and the liver, if a devil or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed.

8 As for the gall, *it is good* to

CHAPTER VI.

1. *they came . . . to the river Tigris*] *i.e.* not to the Tigris proper, but to one of its branches. Tobit lived at Nineveh (i. 22), which was situate on the east bank of the Tigris. The road to Ecbatana (Hamadan) ran eastwards across the upper Zab (*Zab Ala*) and the lower Zab (*Zab Asfal*), both of which tributaries bore also the name of the Tigris (cp. Herod. v. 52). The name "Nineveh" may be taken in this Book to include not only what is now known as Kouyunjik, but also Nimrud (Calah, Gen. x. 11) and Sargon's (i. 15, note) great city Dur-Sarrukin (completed B.C. 706; mod. Khorsabad). As described in the Book of Jonah (iii. 3), "Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey" (*i.e.* in a circuit of 90 miles, according to some, see Schrader, 'Die Keilinschriften u. das A.T.'[2] pp. 96, 448; according to others, from end to end). The distance traversed by Tobias and the Angel before they reached the Zab may thus well have been a Jew's day's journey of twenty miles.

2. Various conjectures have been put forward with reference to the species of the fish. With some it was a sea-fish of the shark tribe; with others, a fresh-water fish, such as the pike or shad (see Fritzsche). Grotius conjectured the hippopotamus, Nöldeke the crocodile. Critics have further chosen a large fish (Vulg. *piscis immanis*) or a small one according as they have followed the E. V., Gk., Vulg. and Itala, or the very different reading of the newly-discovered Chaldee and some Heb. texts. According to the E. V. &c., the fish attacked Tobias; the mode of attack being described by the Itala, *circumplexus est pedes ejus; pene puerum devoraverat*: but according to the Chaldee a very different thing happened: "Tobiyyah (Tobias) ran to the river to wash his feet, and a fish came suddenly out of the river and devoured the young man's bread." A Hebrew text known to Bochart ('Hierozoicon.' iii. ch. xiv.) and that adopted by Neubauer agree with this reading. It has certainly the merit of explaining naturally an otherwise difficult passage, though Bochart cites passages which assign to the *silurus* sufficient boldness to attack animals and men.

The Chald., Heb., Vulg., and Itala add that "the young man cried out:" *expavescens, clamavit voce magna, dicens: Domine, invadit me* (Vulg.).

4. *the heart and the liver and the gall*] The Heb. and Chald. mention the heart and the gall only. The object of the advice "put them up safely"—explained more fully in *vv.* 7, 8 (the substance of which is given here by the Chaldee)—may be given in the words of the Itala, *sunt enim necessaria hæc ad medicamenta utilia* (cp. the Vulg. and Heb.).

5. *they did eat it*] The Chald. adds, "he left the remainder on the road" (cp. the Heb.). This presents one rendering of an original text which the Vulg. and Itala understood differently. These texts make no mention of the meal, but state that after roasting part of the fish, *secum tulerunt in via.* The Vulg. continues, *Cætera salierunt, quæ sufficerent eis quousque pervenirent in Rages.*

6. *to what use*] Cp. the Heb. "what healing wilt thou perform?" and Itala, *quod remedium est.*

7. *trouble . . . vexed*] In the Gk. the same word, ὀχλῇ . . . ὀχληθῇ. The E. V. and Gk. are alone in referring the last words of this verse to "the party vexed." The other Versions apply them to the evil spirits: *e.g.* Chald. "they will flee from him;" Vulg. *ultra non accedat ad eos.* The Heb. and Chald. omit all mention of the woman.

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anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes, and he shall be healed.

9 And when they were come near to Rages,

10 The angel said to the young man, Brother, to day we shall lodge with Raguel, who is thy cousin; he also hath one only daughter, named Sara; I will speak for her, that she may be given thee for a wife.

‖ Or, *inheritance.*

11 For to thee doth the ‖[a]right of her appertain, seeing thou only art of her kindred.

[a] Numb. 27. 8. & 36. 8.

12 And the maid is fair and wise: now therefore hear me, and I will speak to her father; and when we return from Rages we will celebrate the marriage: for I know that Raguel cannot marry her to another according to the law of Moses, but he shall be guilty of death, because the right of inheritance doth rather appertain to thee than to any other.

13 Then the young man answered the angel, I have heard, brother

8. *whiteness*] See ii. 10, note. The Itala explains the use of the gall, *ad flandum in ipsis oculorum maculis*. The effect of the gall upon the eye would be that of a stimulant. Until recent times in Persia one cure for blindness caused by inflammation of the eyes was found in the use of this means (see Bissell's note *in loco*). No such application would, however, be used now by the skilled European physician in the case of Europeans, and leucoma of several years' standing is said to be incurable by any known remedy (cp. Gutberlet, p. 197). The healing of Tobit after eight years' blindness (xiv. 2) is viewed as a miracle, towards which God was pleased to bless the fish's gall as a means (see xi. 12, note): and as a miracle it will compare with the use of moistened clay in another case of blindness (John ix. 6).

In moralizing the story, commentators have seen a truth implied in the use of the bitter but stimulating and curative properties of the gall, which may be stated in the words of Estius, "Corporalis afflictio et correptio divina, quamvis amara sint homini carnali, tamen aperiunt oculos mentis." Similarly the smoke from the entrails of the fish (*v.* 7) has been taken to be typical of the incense of prayer which, when Tobias prayed, drove away the "vexing" evil spirit; or symbolical of that death unto lustful desire in the case of Tobias, which, present in the hearts of Sara's former husbands, had given Asmodeus power over them. Lastly, the fish, by whose death Tobit and Sara were delivered from their several ills, has been presented as mystically foreshadowing the Christ Who "through his death on the cross hath destroyed him that had the power of death, even the devil, and hath delivered them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage" (cp. Heb. ii. 14, 15). Bede (see 'Dict. of Christ. Antiq.,' *s. v.* FISH) expressed this mystery in the rhyme:

"Piscis assus
Christus est passus."

9. *to Rages*] Rather, Ecbatane (cp. *vv.* 5, 12); so the Gk. B, Heb., Chald., and Itala. Ecbatane was the city in which Raguel lived (*v.* 10; iii. 7).

Raguel, says Bede, stands for the Gentiles whom the Lord visited by His preachers. From his race He would take His spouse, the Church of the Gentiles. The name of Sarah is fitting for His Church; for was not Sarah the wife of the patriarch Abraham, and bore him the son of promise, *i.e.* the free people of the Church?

10. *thy cousin*] Gk. *συγγενής σου*; better, "thy kinsman:" cp. the Vulg. and Itala, *vir propinquus*. The Heb. and Chald. read, instead of relationship, "for he is an old man."

one only daughter] Cp. Vulg. and Itala, *neque masculum neque feminam ullam habet aliam præter eam*. The Versions lay stress upon Sara's beauty, both of body and of character. She is *filia speciosa* (Itala); "fair of form" (Heb.). "Her father loveth her much" (Chald.); *et quæcunque possedit illi tradet* (Itala). "She is a good woman and feareth Heaven" (Chald.); *fortis et bona valde et constabilita* (Itala): cp. *v.* 12.

11. *the right*] Cp. the Vulg. *tibi debetur omnis substantia ejus, et opportet eam te accipere conjugem.*

12. *guilty of death*] The law of Num. xxxvi. 6, &c., prescribed that Sara should be married to one of her kindred, but it says nothing of the punishment of death falling upon a father or guardian in case of disobedience to the Law. The words "guilty of death" are absent from the Heb., Chald., and Vulg. They are considered by some an interpolation; by others, an illustration of the rigorism of later Judaism; and by others, as the legal punishment for "presumptuous disobedience" to the Law laid down by priest or judge (Deut. xvii. 12). The limitation as regards "matters of controversy," imposed in

Azarias, that this maid hath been given to seven men, who all died in the marriage chamber.

14 And now I am the only son of my father, and I am afraid, lest, if I go in unto her, I die, as the other before: for a wicked spirit loveth her, which hurteth no body, but those which come unto her: wherefore I also fear lest I die, and bring my father's and my mother's life because of me to the grave with sorrow: for they have no other son to bury them.

15 Then the angel said unto him, Dost thou not remember the precepts which thy father gave thee, that thou shouldest marry a wife of thine own kindred? wherefore hear me, O my brother; for she shall be given thee to wife; and make thou no reckoning of the evil spirit; for this same night shall she be given thee in marriage.

16 And when thou shalt come into the marriage chamber, thou shalt take the ‖ ashes of perfume, and shalt lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish, and shalt make a smoke with it:

‖ Or, *embers*.

17 And the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never come again any more: but when thou shalt come to her, rise up both of you, and pray to God which is merciful, who will have pity on you, and save you: fear not, for she is appointed unto thee from the beginning; and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee. Moreover I suppose

Deut. xvii. 8, seems fatal to this last interpretation. Num. xv. 30, 31, is more to the point.

13. *died*] *Quia dæmonium occidit illos* (Vulg.).

14. *a wicked spirit*] Heb. and Chald. more definitely, "Asmodeus, the king of the demons." Commentators quote the following passage from St. Augustine ('De civitate Dei,' xv. 23) in illustration of this belief: "Creberrima fama est . . . Silvanos et Panes . . . improbos sæpe exstitisse mulieribus, et earum appetisse ac peregisse concubitum; et quosdam dæmones . . . assidue hanc immunditiam et tentare et efficere, plures talesque asseverant, ut hoc negare impudentiæ videatur."

to bury them] Cp. iv. 3, 4. Itala adds, *et possideat hæreditatem illorum.*

15. *remember the precepts &c.*] Cp. iv. 12, 13. The objection, "how the Angel, who was not present at the time these words were spoken, came to the knowledge of them," is rather too prosaic. Apart from any supposition that supernatural knowledge was granted to God's Angel, the matter may well have been discussed between Raphael and Tobias "as they went on their journey" (*v.* 1). It was Tobit's wish that his only son should marry, beget sons (see Heb. text below), and perpetuate their family; he imposed upon him one restriction only (iv. 13). Tobias must have felt that no impediment to carry out his father's wish existed in the case of Sara (*v.* 11); and therefore it was the Angel's object to remove what impediment did exist (*v.* 14). He began (according to the Hebrew) by urging him to do his duty to God and man: "Fear the Lord, and remember Him (cp. Vulg., in Additional Note): and remember the commandments of thy father" &c.; and then described the means to be employed for exorcising the evil spirit (*v.* 17. See note at the end of the chapter).

17. *pray &c.*] The language and order of the Greek is slightly different; *βοήσατε πρὸς τὸν ἐλεήμονα Θεὸν, καὶ σώσει ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐλεήσει.* The Itala, Heb., and Chald. agree with the E. V.: thus, "pray and ask for mercy from God, Who hath commanded upon you His kindness and Who will give you healing" (Chald.); "pray and supplicate the Lord that He would command His kindness and healing upon you (both), and heal her" (Hebrew).

appointed unto thee] Gk. *ἡτοιμασμένη*; rather "prepared" (cp. Matt. xxv. 34); Itala, *destinata.* The Heb. "meet for thee" is a word used in Esther ii. 9, for the "looked out," selected maidens of the future queen.

thou shalt preserve (*σώσεις*) *her*] This (cp. the Vulg. *tu illam sanabis*) is explained by the Chald. "thou shalt deliver her from the demon;" and still further modified by the Heb., "by thine hand the Lord shall save her from the hand of the demon."

children] Heb. "sons:" so Itala, which adds, *et erant tibi sicut fratres*, an addition expressive (after the Hebrew manner) of the closest kinship, or perhaps depicting the

that she shall bear thee children. Now when Tobias had heard these things, he loved her, and his heart was ‖effectually joined to her.

‖ Or. *vehemently.*

happy brotherly life which should be the blessing of the boys.

heard these things] The Itala reads, *Et cum audisset Thobias sermones Raphahel angeli, quoniam soror est illius et de domo seminis patris illius, hæsit cordi ejus*, where *soror* is again a term of the closest relationship (cp. Gen. xx. 5, 12).

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO VERSES 12, 15, AND 16.

12. Rosenthal (p. 116, n. 2) refers to the Talmudical Baba Bathra (pp. 120^{b}, 121^{a}) as testifying that in later times the law of Num. xxxvi. 8 was not considered obligatory. If so, the words "guilty of death" are in strong contradiction to such later opinion; and he finds the origin of the sterner code in the efforts made by Herod to bring about greater strictness of family life. The Amoreans, on the other hand, appealed to two accepted decisions, (*a*) that the injunction of Moses to the daughters of Zelophehad was never, not even at the time, considered as law, but only as good advice; and (*b*) that that injunction applied to the tribes during the Wanderings only, and not to later times. Nevertheless the Mosaic rule was by many families strictly observed, and more especially—as was to be expected—in Palestine.

15. The Vulgate presents an entirely different report of the Angel's conversation with Tobias (*v.* 15, &c.); a report sufficiently interesting to bear quotation and separate comment:—16. *Tunc angelus Raphael dixit ei: Audi me, et ostendam tibi qui sunt quibus prævalere potest dæmonium.* 17. *Hi namque qui conjugium ita suscipiunt, ut Deum a se et a sua mente excludant et suæ libidini ita vacent, sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus* (cp. Ps. xxxii. 9), *habet potestatem dæmonium super eos.* 18. *Tu autem, cum acceperis eam, ingressus cubiculum, per tres dies continens esto ab ea, et nihil aliud nisi in orationibus vacabis cum ea.* 19. *Ipsa autem nocte, incenso jecore piscis, fugabitur dæmonium.* 20. *Secunda vero nocte, in copulatione sanctorum patriarcharum admitteris.* 21. *Tertia autem nocte, benedictionem consequeris, ut filii ex vobis procreentur incolumes.* 22. *Transacta autem tertia nocte, accipies virginem cum timore Domini, amore filiorum magis quam libidine ductus, ut in semine Abrahæ benedictionem in filiis consequaris.*

This gloss illustrates forcibly a characteristic of the Vulgate in dwelling more than the other Versions upon the religious rather than the physical elements of the deliverance foreshadowed. Emphasis is laid upon the right intention with which marriage should be undertaken, and three nights' continence is enjoined, accompanied by prayer. With some the passage is an echo of the saying of Christ: "This kind (*i.e.* of demoniacal possession) can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting" (Mark ix. 29). The false estimate of marriage (*v.* 17) entertained by those "who live without God in the world," and "whose God is their belly," is rebuked in language which will recall that of the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer: "Matrimony . . . an holy estate . . . is not by any to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites like brute beasts that have no understanding." Provincial and Diocesan edicts have endeavoured, but naturally in vain, to make binding the three days' continence of which this passage set the example (*v.* 18). Men found it easier to appreciate the lifelong abstinence of Alexius or that of the saintly Kunigunde and her husband (see Gutberlet, p. 211).

More practical was the advice of a canon of the third Council of Carthage: "Cum acceperint benedictionem, eadem nocte pro reverentia ipsius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant" (cp. Reusch *i. l.*); but this restraint, founded on respect for the Sacrament, may be said to have been withdrawn by the Council of Trent in favour of another rule, which suggested confession and reception before and not after marriage: "Sancta Synodus conjuges hortatur, ut antequam contrahant vel saltem *triduo* ante matrimonii consummationem sua peccata diligenter confiteantur et ad SS. Eucharistiæ sacramentum pie accedant." The number *triduo* may well have been suggested by the number named by the Angel here. The Book of Common Prayer (1549–1604) indirectly supported a similar view of receiving before marriage: "The new-married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the Holy Communion." The Edition of 1662 both removed the compulsoriness and modified the time of reception: "It is convenient that the new-married persons should receive the Holy Communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage."

Much difference of opinion exists as to what is meant by the "copulatio sanctorum

patriarcharum" (*v.* 20). From the context, continence of special kind is thought to be meant, and some have found this in the waiting of Jacob for Rachel (Gen. xxix. 20). Others consider the language to be merely a mode of expressing the parallel between the communication to Tobit by an Angel of happy married life and the communications by Angels to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of fruitfulness in their wedded life (cp. *v.* 22 and Gen. xxii. 17, 18 &c.). His marriage, like theirs, would be pleasing to God, and blessed by Him (Reusch). Cp. 1 Pet. iii. 5, 7.

16. After the words, "when thou shalt come into the marriage chamber" (with her), the Chaldee adds סיב ליבא דנונא ואקטר מינה תחות לבושה, the last two words of which some (cp. Kaulen, 'Einleitung,' u. s. w., p. 215) would alter into תחת לבונה, "instead of incense." The alteration is practically disbarred by the Hebrew תחת בגדיה here (cp. viii. 2, Heb.) and the Chaldee of viii. 2, תחת גליסת. These sufficiently attest the correctness of the reading. Cp. p. 182; Nöldeke, 'Monatsbericht,' u. s. w., p. 50, n.

CHAPTER VII.

11 *Raguel telleth Tobias what had happened to his daughter:* 12 *and giveth her in marriage unto him.* 17 *She is conveyed to her chamber, and weepeth.* 18 *Her mother comforteth her.*

AND when they were come to Ecbatane, they came to the house of Raguel, and Sara met them: and after they had saluted one another, she brought them into the house.

2 Then said Raguel to Edna his wife, How like is this young man to Tobit my cousin!

3 And Raguel asked them, From whence are ye, brethren? To whom they said, We are of the sons of Nephthalim, which are captives in Nineve.

4 Then he said to them, Do ye know Tobit our kinsman? And they said, We know him. Then said he, Is he in good health?

5 And they said, He is both alive, and in good health: and Tobias said, He is my father.

6 Then Raguel leaped up, and kissed him, and wept,

CHAPTER VII.

1. The Itala expands the first sentence: *Et cum venissent in civitatem Ecbatanan, dicit Thobias angelo: Azarias frater, duc me viam rectam ad Raguhaelem.*

Sara met them] A meeting like to that recorded of Eliezer and Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 15 *sq.*), or of Jacob and Rachel (Gen. xxix. 9). The Gk. text and E. V. are alone in this definite mention of Sara. The other versions mention only the meeting with Raguel. Thus the Chald. (cp. the Heb.): "And they came to the house of Reuel at Agbatanis, and they found him by the door of his house (*sedentem in atrio, circa ostium domus suæ*, Itala), and they saluted him (lit. 'asked after his peace or welfare')." The plural, "he (*i.e.* Tobias) saluted *them*," in the E. V. and Gk. texts, implies, however, the presence of others besides Sara, viz. Raguel and Edna. The Heb. continues, "And he (Reuel) saluted them again. And he said to them, Go into the house in peace. And they went into the house;" the courtesy accompanying the last-named act being specially noted by the Itala, *Et dixit Ragubel: Bene valetis, frates, intrate salvi et sani; et induxit illos in domum suam.* The Vulg. here is at once briefer, and in the second clause supplementary to the other texts: *Ingressi sunt autem ad Raguelem, et suscepit eos Raguel cum gaudio.*

2. *Edna*] The name signifies "Delight." For this less familiar name the Vulg. and Itala have "Anna;" possibly from a misreading of a variant text, Adnah.

my cousin] Gk. τῷ ἀνεψιῷ μου. Itala and Vulg. *consobrinus;* defined more generally by the Chald. and Heb. as "my brother." In *v.* 4 the E. V. "kinsman" represents the "brother" of the other Versions.

3, 4. According to the Chald., Heb., and Itala, it is Edna who asks these questions, not Raguel. The difference is no difficulty. The answer in *v.* 3, "*We* are" &c., has been variously understood as regards the Angel: according to some, he was not included, and the plural was merely a figure of speech; according to others, the language of v. 12 permits one described as "of thy brethren," *i.e.* of the children of Israel, to be here described as "of the sons of Nephthalim."

5. Cp. the Itala, *Et illa dixit, Fortis est? Et illi dixerunt: Fortis est et vivit. Tunc Thobias dixit: Pater meus est de quo quæris.* The Vulg. reads: *Cumque multa bona loqueretur de eo, dixit angelus ad Raguelem: Tobias de quo interrogas, pater istius est.*

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7 And blessed him, and said unto him, Thou art the son of an honest and good man. But when he had heard that Tobit was blind, he was sorrowful, and wept.

8 And likewise Edna his wife and Sara his daughter wept. Moreover they entertained them cheerfully; and after that they had killed ‖a ram of the flock, they set store of meat on the table. Then said Tobias to Raphael, Brother Azarias, speak of those things of which thou didst talk in the way, and let this business be dispatched.

‖ *a sucking ram,* or, *lamb,* Junius.

9 So he communicated the matter with Raguel: and Raguel said to Tobias, Eat and drink, and make merry:

10 For it is meet that thou shouldest marry my daughter: nevertheless I will declare unto thee the truth.

11 I have given my daughter in marriage to seven men, who died that night they came in unto her: nevertheless for the present be merry. But Tobias said, I will eat nothing here, till we agree and swear one to another.

12 Raguel said, Then take her

6. *leaped up*] Cp. the Itala of *v.* 1, note. The Chald. adds, "Reuel ran towards him" (see the Heb.).

7. *the son of an honest and good man*] Gk. ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου υἱός—the character of the perfect man. The Heb., Vulg., and Itala vary slightly the opening words of this verse: *e.g.* Itala, *et dixit: Benedictio tibi sit, fili, quoniam boni et optimi viri filius es tu;* while the Chald. applies the blessing to the father, "Blessed be Tobi, thou art the son of a righteous and honest man."

The Chaldee and Itala have an interesting addition to the last words of this verse: "The hands of pious men are weakened when a righteous man who hath done almsdeeds and many commandments is stricken blind" (Chald.): *O infelicitas malorum, quia excæcatus est vir justus et faciens eleemosynas* (Itala).

8. The hospitality described is patriarchal in character (cp. Gen. xviii. 1–8), and such as is still practised among the Bedouins. It was preceded, according to the Itala, by the usual ablutions (cp. Mark vii. 2–5; John xiii. 10), *et postquam laverunt* (var. *loti sunt*), *discubuerunt ad cænandum*, the variant rendering of which, *loti*, is supposed by Gutberlet to have been taken by the Vulgate as an abbreviation for *locuti*, the rendering of that Version being *postquam autem locuti sunt.*

Then said Tobias to Raphael] The Vulgate omits this preliminary conversation (to *v.* 11 *a*), and goes straight to the point (*v.* 11 *b*): *Cumque hortaretur* (*Raguel*) *eos discumbere ad prandium, Tobias dixit: Hic ego hodie non manducabo neque bibam, nisi prius petitionem meam confirmes, et promittas mihi dare Saram, filiam tuam;* but it is unsupported, and the mediation of Raphael is, in such matters, according to precedent (cp. Gen. xxi. 21, xxiv.; 1 Kings ii. 17).

those things of which thou didst talk] *i.e.* "concerning the matter of Sarah his (Raguel's) daughter, that he give her to me to wife" (Heb., so Chald.).

10. *it is meet*] Or "It is better that I give her to thee than that I give her to another husband" (Heb.).

I will declare . . . the truth] The comment of St. Ambrose (see Reusch *i. l.*) is to the point: "Raguel præcipue formam honestatis expressit, qui contemplatione honestatis, cum rogaretur, ut filiam suam in conjugium daret, vitia quoque filiæ non tacebat, ne circumvenire petitorem tacendo videretur. Justus vir plus alienis timebat, et malebat sibi innuptam manere filiam, quam propter nuptias ejus extraneos periclitari."

11. *that night*] As the time when it was believed that demons attacked bride and bridegroom (see p. 181; Weber, p. 246).

for the present be merry] Cp. Itala of *v.* 9, *suaviter tibi sit hac nocte.* The Heb. reads here: "eat and drink, and leave the matter alone;" *i.e.* let the matter rest, lay aside anxiety.

But Tobias said &c.] After this, the Vulg. (see on *v.* 8) introduces a conversation between Raguel and Raphael: *Quo audito verbo, Raguel expavit, sciens quid evenerit illis septem viris qui ingressi sunt ad eam; et timere cœpit ne forte et huic similiter contingeret. Et cum nutaret, et non daret petenti ullum responsum, dixit ei angelus: Noli timere dare eam isti, quoniam huic timenti Deum debetur conjux filia tua: propterea alius non potuit habere illam. Tunc dixit Raguel: Non dubito quod Deus preces et lacrymas meas in conspectu suo admiserit. Et credo quoniam ideo fecit vos venire ad me, ut ista conjungeretur cognationi suæ secundum legem Moysi; et nunc noli dubium gerere quod tibi eam tradam. Et apprehendens dexteram filiæ suæ* &c. (as in E. V., *v.* 13).

till we agree and swear one to another] Cp. the conduct of Eliezer (Gen. xxiv. 33, 49,

from henceforth according to the
Or, *law.* ‖manner, for thou art her cousin,
and she is thine, and the merciful
God give you good success in all
things.

13 Then he called his daughter Sara, and she came to her father, and he took her by the hand, and gave her to be wife to Tobias, saying, Behold, take her after [a]the law of Moses, and lead her away to thy father. And he blessed them;

[a] Numb. 36. 6.

54). The E. V. gives the sense rather than a translation of the Gk. ἕως ἂν στήσητε καὶ σταθῆτε πρὸς μέ; for the corresponding rendering in the Vulgate, see under *v.* 8. For the former sense of ἵστημι, reference is usually made to 1 Macc. xiii. 38; Ecclus. xliv. 21.

12. The Itala gives Raguel's answer thus: *Ne dubites, fili, facio quod vis. Et his dictis adjecit, dicens; Tibi Sarra destinata est secundum judicium libri Moysi, et de cælo judicatum est tibi illam dari. Accipe sororem tuam, a modo tu illius frater es, et hæc tua soror est: datur tibi ex hodierno et in æternum. Et Dominus cæli bene disponat vobis hanc noctem, et faciat vobis misericordiam et pacem* &c. (as in E. V. *v.* 13). The Heb. and Chald. correspond with the Itala in the terms of this blessing, as also in the application to Tobias and Sarah of the words "brother" (LXX. ἀδελφὸς), "sister," as designations of the near relationship more accurately defined as "cousin" by E. V.

give you good success in all things] The Gk. εὐοδώσει ὑμῖν τὰ κάλλιστα is more positive, "shall (lead and) give you" &c.; but the precative form of the E. V. is supported by the other Versions—Itala (see above), Chald., and Heb.: τὰ κάλλιστα aptly represents the highest good or prosperity.

13–15. The details of the marriage-contract are interesting, this being the oldest recorded instance among the Jews of a written "instrument of covenants." Previous to the Babylonian period the espousal was simply confirmed by oaths, and accompanied with presents to the bride (Gen. xxiv. 22, 53; xxxiv. 12). The instrument of covenants (v. 14) or "deed of marriage" (Chald., Heb.) here mentioned (συγγραφὴ) has in the Chald. and Heb. Versions the name *Ketubah* (lit. "a writing"). This term, rightly defined by Gk. B βιβλίον συνοικήσεως and by the Itala and Vulg. *conscriptio conjugii*, is used by the Talmudists for the "settlement" which secures property to the wife (see Levy, 'Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,' *s. v.*). This more business-like transaction may have been a lesson learned from the Babylonians during the exile. In a tablet, dated the ninth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon (B.C. 555–38), allusion is made by a wife to her dowry in the following terms: "My dowry was with Bin-addu-natan, my husband. I asked for it, and he, in the kindness of his heart, sealed and entrusted it to me for future days." Presently a daughter is married: "I and my husband took Bin-addu-amara to sonship, and wrote a tablet of his sonship, and made known that the dowry of my daughter was 2 mana 10 shekels of silver and the furniture of a house" ('Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' viii. pt. 275). The amount of the settlement is not given in Tobit's case (cp. Ex. xxii. 17 with Deut. xxii. 29), but the importance attached to the question in later times is evidenced by the minute directions laid down in a treatise of the Mishnah specially devoted to the subject. It will be sufficient here to note that it was a definite sum, varying not according to the circumstances of the parties, but according to the state of the bride, whether she were a spinster, a widow, or a divorced woman (see article "Marriage" in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible'). In modern times this settlement is accompanied by a "deed of penalty," in which a certain sum is named as forfeited to the other should either fail to perform the agreement. The *Ketubah* is still written in Chaldee, and is, as a rule, unintelligible to both parties (see Mills, 'The British Jews,' pp. 25–28).

13. *he took her by the hand*] Vulg. *apprehendens dexteram filiæ suæ, dextræ Tobiæ tradidit.*

take her after the law of Moses] See marg. ref. The use of the word κομίζου for "take" (here and in *v.* 12) is opposed to the view sometimes entertained that the removal was literally or figuratively effected with a show of violence.

lead her away to thy father] Words absent from the Heb. and Vulg. Versions, but found in the Chald. and Itala. The essence of the marriage ceremony consisted in the removal of the bride from her father's house to that of the bridegroom (cp. Matt. xxv. 10) or of his father.

he blessed them] The benediction was given among the Jews, not necessarily by the priest, but, as here, by the eldest relative present. The Vulg. gives the words of blessing: *Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob vobiscum sit, et ipse conjungat vos, impleatque benedictionem suam in vobis.* The blessing now given by the Chazan, or minister of the synagogue (see Mills *l. c.*, or under article "Marriage" in Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities'), is a thanksgiving

14 And called Edna his wife, and took paper, and did write an instrument *of covenants*, and sealed it.

15 Then they began to eat.

16 After Raguel called his wife Edna, and said unto her, Sister, prepare another chamber, and bring her in thither.

17 Which when she had done as he had bidden her, she brought her thither: and she wept, and she ‖received the tears of her daughter, and said unto her,

18 Be of good comfort, my daughter; the Lord of heaven and earth give thee joy for this thy sorrow; be of good comfort, my daughter.

‖ Or, *licked.*

CHAPTER VIII.

3 Tobias driveth the wicked spirit away, as he was taught. 4 He and his wife rise up to pray. 10 Raguel thought he was dead: 15 but finding him alive, praiseth God, 19 and maketh a wedding feast.

to God rather than a blessing on the newly-married pair. In the solemnization of marriage in the Church of England, the benediction—framed upon an old model (see 'Dict. of Christian Antiquities,' *l. c.*)—reverts to the type here specified. One of the collects used opens with the same words: "O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, bless these Thy servants" &c.; while the blessing which follows is christianized by the invocation of the Trinity: "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you" &c.

14. (*he*) *sealed it*] So Itala. The Heb. adds, "before witnesses." Witnesses would certainly be present; hence the Chald. (cp. the Vulg.), "and witnesses signed it," is literally correct. The deed of marriage was read and handed over in their presence. The number was in old times (Ruth iv. 2), in the time of St. Ambrose ('De lapsu Virginis,' v.), and in modern days (Mills, p. 26), ten. Between the betrothal and the actual marriage a period of time was usually allowed to lapse. In the patriarchal age this was a few days (Gen. xxiv. 55); in later times a full year for virgins and a month for widows; in modern times, six or twelve months. With the early Christians the period might be any between the next forty days, or at furthest two succeeding years.

15. *Then they began to eat*] The feast was regarded as so essential a part of the marriage ceremony, that ποιεῖν γάμον acquired the specific meaning "to celebrate the marriage feast." To the feast friends and neighbours were usually invited (Gen. xxix. 22; Matt. xxii. 1–10; Luke xiv. 8; John ii. 2), and the festivities lasted seven (Judg. xiv. 12) or even fourteen days (viii. 19). In the present case the invitation to neighbours seems to have been withheld (cp. viii. 12) till the actual result made it possible to summon them. They "were merry," adds the Heb. Version. The Vulgate touches the fact more spiritually: *epulati sunt, benedicentes Deum.*

16. *Sister*] For this title for a wife, cp. v. 20.

another chamber] Gk. "the other chamber" (τὸ ἕτερον ταμεῖον), either as being different from that usually occupied by Sarah, or different from that marriage chamber which had been the chamber of death (*v.* 11): "nempe ne funesti loci conspectus Saram angeret" (Grotius).

bring her in thither] It was the custom among the Hebrews that the bride should be first introduced to the marriage-chamber (cp. Gen. xxix. 23). The same custom prevailed among the Romans:

> "Jam licet venias, marite:
> Uxor in thalamo tibi est."—CATULLUS.

17. *she received the tears of her daughter*] The curious rendering of E. V. marg. is due to the translation of a reading ἀπεμάξατο, instead of that usually adopted, ἀπεδέξατο. The Itala sympathizes with the marg. rendering, *extersit lacrymas.* The other Versions have nothing corresponding to the sentence.

18. *Be of good comfort*] Words twice repeated, as if to bring double comfort. They are quoted but once in the Latin Versions, and are absent from the Chald. and Heb.

give thee joy] Gk. δώη σοι χάριν. The E. V. follows the MSS. which read χαράν. A similar variation occurs in Philemon 7, where the A. V. and the Rev. V. both adopt χαράν. In the present case the Chald. and Heb. texts are divided; the Itala and Vulg. are in favour of χαράν. Thus the Vulg. reads, *Dominus cæli det tibi gaudium pro tædio quod perpessa es:* the Chald. rendering is, "May the God of heaven (the Lord God of Israel, Heb.) shew kindness to thee this night, and watch over thee, and give thee joy for the sorrow thou hast had in time past;" the latter words of which are in the Heb., "grant thee mercy, and have pity on thee because of the sorrow which hath passed over thee unto this day."

The Itala closes the verse with the words, *Et exiit inde.*

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AND when they had supped, they brought Tobias in unto her.

2 And as he went, he remembered the words of Raphael, and took the ‖ ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and the liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke *therewith*.

‖ Or, *embers*.

3 The which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him.

CHAPTER VIII.

2. Cp. with the instructions in vi. 16. The Gk. and E. Versions alone mention "the ashes of the perfumes." In the Chald. and Heb. the heart only is "put upon a pan," or, according to the Itala and Vulg., *super carbones vivos*. The Itala mentions that Tobit *sustulit de sacculo quem habebat cor et jecor piscis;* according to the Vulg., Tobit used only *partem jecoris*. This Version has in the place of *sacculo* the word *cassidili*—a late Latin diminutive, understood by the Glossaries in the same sense (cp. Reusch *i.l.*).

and made a smoke therewith] The fumigating or disinfecting process was, according to the Chald. and Heb., applied also to Sara's garments (cp. pp. 170, 182). The act is taken by many (cp. the R. C. commentators here) to signify the employment of means divinely appointed to counteract influences found fatal to Sara's previous husbands.

Bede finds in the various stages of preparation here enumerated a type of what the Heavenly Bridegroom required of His Bride. When about to accept the Church of the Gentiles, He bids her first renounce the Devil, all his works and all his powers, and then confess her faith in the Holy Trinity.

3. Itala: *Et odor piscis prohibuit dæmonium.* Fritzsche and Bissell suppose that the foul smell created by the burning of a half-decayed fish's liver was appropriate for the expulsion of a foul spirit, in contrast with that sweet smell which propitiates the beneficent Deity. Munster ('Crit. Sacr.' *i.l.*) anticipates and answers such a view, otherwise unsupported by anything in the text: "Quomodo potuit odor corporalis fugare spiritum? Sicut enim ignis non comburit spiritum, nec frigus lædit ipsum, ita nec fœtor neque odor possunt illum recreare aut nauseam illi facere." He would find in this smoke and smell the symbol of prayer, "quæ instar vaporis cœlum penetrat" (cp. Ps. cxli. 2), and the efficacy of which to "cast out devils" Christ Himself has asserted (Matt. xvii. 19, 21). "Virtute ergo orationis Tobiæ et Saræ fugatus est Asmodæus, et non efficaciâ aliquâ odoris corporalis. Unde et cor piscis et non caput jubetur accendi. Oratio enim cordis et non labiorum placet Deo." Cp. on this subject Excursus II., p. 182.

he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt] So Chald. and Heb. Gk. τὰ ἀνώτατα Αἰγύπτου; rather "Upper Egypt" (cp. Itala), the type of a waste and desolate land (cp. Isa. xiii. 21, xix. 5–7; Ezek. xxx. 7–12; Matt. xii. 43). The wilderness was the home of the demons, says the Talmud (see Weber, p. 245), and the place of uncleanness. Their howlings rang throughout it.

The rendering of the Vulgate, *Tunc Raphael angelus apprehendit dæmonium, et religavit illud in deserto superioris Ægypti*, emphasizes the superior power of the good Angel over the evil spirit. The source of this power is described by Thomas Aquinas (quoted by Gutberlet): "Totus ordo prælationis primo et originaliter est in Deo, et participatur a creaturis, secundum quod Deo magis appropinquantur. Illæ enim creaturæ super alias influentiam habent, quæ sunt perfectiores et Deo propinquiores. Maxima autem perfectio et per quam maxime Deo appropinquantur est creaturarum fruentium Deo, sicut sunt sancti Angeli. Angelus, qui est inferior ordine naturæ, præest dæmonibus quamvis superioribus ordine naturæ, quia virtus divinæ justitiæ, cui inhærent boni angeli, potior est quam virtus naturalis angelorum."

the angel bound him] The evil spirit "vexed no more" Tobit and Sara (vi. 7). "Alligavit, *i.e.* potestatem ejus cohibuit et frenavit" (Augustine, 'De Civ. Dei,' xx. 7). Cp. Thomas Aquinas (in Gutberlet): "Quidam dicunt, quod dæmon superatus nullum hominem potest de cetero tentare nec de eodem nec de alio peccato. Quidam autem dicunt, quod potest alios tentare sed non eundem: et hoc probabilius dicitur, si tamen intelligatur usque ad aliquod tempus (Luke iv. 13). Et hujus ratio est duplex: una est ex parte divinæ clementiæ, quia ut Chrysostomus dicit, non tamdiu diabolus homines tentat quamdiu vult, sed quamdiu Deus permittit. Alia ratio sumitur ex astutia diaboli. Unde Ambrosius dicit quod diabolus instare formidat, quia frequentius refugit triumphari. Quod tamen aliquando diabolus redeat ad eum, quem dimisit, patet per illud quod dicitur Matt. xii. 44."

He "bound him," says Bede, to restrain him from hurting the faithful. Though the evil spirit is permitted sometimes to tempt men, that they may be proved, yet is he hindered from so overcoming them that they should fall from the faith. It is in keeping with this opinion that some have found in the

4 And after that they were both shut in together, Tobias rose out of the bed, and said, Sister, arise, and let us pray that God would have pity on us.

5 Then began Tobias to say, Blessed art thou, O God of our fathers, and blessed *is* thy holy and glorious name for ever; let the heavens bless thee, and all thy creatures.

[a] Gen. 2. 7, 18, 22.

6 [a]Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for an helper and stay: of them came mankind: thou hast said, It is not good that man should be alone; let us make unto him an aid like unto himself.

7 And now, O Lord, I take not this my sister for lust, but uprightly: *therefore* mercifully ordain that we may become aged together.

8 And she said with him, Amen.

9 So they slept both that night. And Raguel arose, and went and made a grave,

frequent, secret or open, sensual temptations to which the monks of the Thebaïs in Upper Egypt were subjected (cp. "St. Antony" in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography'), a proof that Raphael did not deprive Asmodeus of power for ever.

The Heb. closes this verse, "And he went out of the chamber, and they shut the door on them twain;" to which the Itala adds, (*Raphael*) *reversus est continuo;* i.e. from Egypt to the house of Raguel.

4. *let us pray that God would have pity on us*] A comparison of the other Versions lends countenance to the opinion that Tobit and Sara were not then fully aware of the complete deliverance vouchsafed to them. The Vulg. has an interesting variation and expansion here: *Tunc hortatus est virginem Tobias, dixitque ei: Sara, exsurge et deprecemur Deum hodie, et cras, et secundum cras, quia his tribus noctibus Deo jungimur; tertia autem transacta nocte, in nostro erimus conjugio; filii quippe sanctorum* (see ii. 5, note, Itala) *sumus, et non possumus ita conjungi, sicut gentes quæ ignorant Dei* (see xi. 17, note). *Surgentes autem pariter, instanter orabant ambo simul, ut sanitas daretur eis.* See Additional Note to vi. 15.

5. *let the heavens bless thee &c.*] The Vulg. expands this thought: *benedicant Te cæli et terræ, mareque, et fontes, et flumina, et omnes creaturæ tuæ, quæ in eis sunt.* "How," asks St. Chrysostom, "can the heavens bless God? They have no mouth, they have no voice. How can they declare the glory of God? (Ps. xix. 1)"; and he answers: "Gaze at them. In their beauty, greatness, height, order, place, in their everlasting duration, is there not a voice, a speech proclaiming His greatness Who hath created so wonderful and so beautiful a thing? Heaven is silent, but its very aspect gives utterance to a voice louder than blast of trumpet, a voice which teaches through the eyes, not through the ears" (Gutberlet).

6. *an helper and stay*] Cp. the beautiful description of the true wife in Ecclus. xxxvi. 24. Passages such as Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 11, are more familiarly known.

7. *not . . . for lust, but uprightly*] Gk. οὐ διὰ πορνείαν . . . ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας. The Heb. (cp. Chald.) adds, "according to the law of Moses and Aaron." Cp. the language of the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer: "(Marriage) is not to be taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, . . . but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God."

The ethics and end of marriage are beautifully and tersely stated in the Vulg. rendering here: *Tu scis quia non luxuriæ causa* (so Itala) *accipio sororem meam conjugem, sed sola posteritatis dilectione in qua benedicatur nomen tuum in secula seculorum* (cp. the Heb. in next verse). The "uprightness of heart" (Heb.), the purity, the continence (cp. Vulg. on *v.* 4), with which Tobias and Sara entered upon their marriage, is, according to some commentators, further indicated by the preference shewn by Tobias for the term "sister."

therefore *mercifully . . . together*] Omit "therefore." The Gk. text has a different punctuation as well as reading: ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπίταξον ἐλεῆσαί με, καὶ αὐτῇ συγκατα-γηρᾶσαι. The Heb. reading is, "And Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, and have compassion on us, and join us together in peace, and give us sons who may be a blessing, occupying themselves in Thy Law." To the Jew the birth of sons carried with it the possibility of giving birth to the expected Messiah. The Itala contains thoughts from both these Versions: *Ut misereris nostri, Domine, et consenescamus pariter sani cum pace; et da nobis filios in benedictione.* (Chald. "good children.") The Vulg. rather makes these words the special request of Sarah: *Dixit quoque Sara: Miserere nobis, Domine, miserere nobis; et consenescamus ambo pariter sani.*

9. *And Raguel arose*] Vulg. *circa pullorum cantum;* Chald. "in the middle of the night." If the Roman division of the night into four watches (evening, midnight, cock-crowing,

10 Saying, *I fear* lest he also be dead.

11 But when Raguel was come into his house,

12 He said unto his wife Edna, Send one of the maids, and let her see whether he be alive: if *he be* not, that we may bury him, and no man know it.

13 So the maid opened the door, and went in, and found them both asleep,

14 And came forth, and told them that he was alive.

15 Then Raguel praised God, and said, O God, thou art worthy to be praised with all pure and holy praise; therefore let thy saints praise thee with all thy creatures; and let all thine angels and thine elect praise thee for ever.

16 Thou art to be praised, for thou hast made me joyful; and that is not come to me which I suspected; but thou hast dealt with us according to thy great mercy.

17 Thou art to be praised, because thou hast had mercy of two that were the only begotten children of their fathers: grant them mercy, O Lord, and finish their life in health with joy and mercy.

18 Then Raguel bade his servants to fill the grave.

19 And he kept the wedding feast fourteen days.

20 For before the days of the mar-

morning), be intended, the cock-crowing would be somewhere about one or two in the morning (see Mark xiv. 30, note). According to the other Versions, Raguel's servants dug the grave at their master's bidding.

10. *I fear*] Omit. Raguel's words are variously given. The Vulg. expands the Gk.: *Ne forte simili modo evenerit ei, quo et ceteris illis septem viris qui sunt ingressi ad eam.* The Chald. and Heb. practically agree, "If the young man die, we will bury him in the night, so that no man know it (cp. E. V., *v.* 12), and there will be no reproach to us;" words which the Itala renders, *Dicebat enim; Ne forte moriatur Thobias, et omnibus fiam derisio et opprobrium. Et consummaverunt fossam.*

12. Chald.: "Send one of the maids to the chamber with a light in her hand" (cp. Itala in *v.* 13, note).

that we may bury him] Heb. adds, "before the light of morning;" Vulg. *antequam illucescat dies.*

13. Itala reads, *Et accensa lucerna, aperuit ostium*, &c. The mention of the "light" is evidently intended to impress upon the reader the time—viz. night—of the occurrences specified.

14. *told them &c.*] Chald.: "Bless ye the Master of the world, for he is alive." *Nuntiavit bonum nuntium*, says the Vulg.; which the Itala explains, *et nihil mali passum.*

15. The Vulg. unites the parents in this thanksgiving: *Et benedixerunt Dominum, Raguel videlicet et Anna uxor ejus, et dixerunt* &c. The thanksgiving is given by the Chald., Heb., Itala, and Vulgate Versions, but with considerable variations of language, if also with many approximations of thought; *e.g.* Chald.: "Then Reuel said, Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of heaven and earth, Thou dost strike and Thou dost heal, and Thy blessing is holy and pure. Let Thy saints bless Thee, and all the creatures of Thine hand, and let Thine Angels praise Thee for ever, and blessed be Thy glorious Name, for Thou hast given us joy with Thy great bounty, and not as we suspected. Blessed art Thou, O God, because Thou hast had pity on them both. Grant them peace and mercy and joy in their lives for ever." Vulg.: *Benedicimus Te, Domine, Deus Israel, quia non contigit quomodo putabamus. Fecisti enim nobiscum misericordiam tuam, et exclusisti à nobis inimicum persequentem eos. Misertus es autem duobus unicis* (*e.g.* iii. 15, v. 17). *Fac eos, Domine, plenius benedicere te, et sacrificium tibi laudis tuæ et suæ sanitatis offerre ut cognoscat universitas gentium, quia Tu es Deus solus in universa terra.*

18. The Vulg. and Itala enjoin the filling of the grave *priusquam elucesceret;* cp. Heb. "before the morning, so that no man know it."

19. The usual period for the marriage festivities was seven days (cp. xi. 19; Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 12). The circumstances in this case were exceptional and fully explain the extension of time. The other Versions are more full in the description of the feast; *e.g.* Vulg.: *Uxori autem suæ dixit ut instrueret convivium, et præpararet omnia quæ in cibos erant iter agentibus necessaria* (an additional reason for more than the usual seven days' stay). *Duas quoque pingues vaccas et quatuor arietes occidi fecit* (cp. *v.* 8; and the similar division of labour in Gen. xviii. 6, 7), *et*

riage were finished, Raguel had said unto him by an oath, that he should not depart till the fourteen days of the marriage were expired;

21 And then he should take the half of his goods, and go in safety to his father; and should have the rest when I and my wife be dead.

parari epulas omnibus vicinis suis, cunctisque amicis (see vii. 15, note). The Heb. adds a reason for this "great feast with joy;" viz. "for God hath made them glad with the abundance of His mercy and kindness."

20. *should not depart . . . expired*] The Itala reads, *hic eris manducans et bibens mecum, et lætificabis animam filiæ meæ, multis adflictam doloribus* (cp. vii. 17, note); a description of Sarah which is rendered by Chald. and Heb. "my forsaken daughter."

21. For a similar alteration in the mode of address, cp. Acts i. 4. The Chald., Heb., and Itala preserve the direct mode of address throughout; *e.g.* Chald.: "Take half of my goods now ('and thou shalt go to thy father with joy,' Heb.); and when I and my wife are dead, thou shalt take all. Thou shalt be to me a dear son, and I will be to thee a father, and Ednah my wife a mother for ever." The last words are thus given by the Itala: *Forti animo esto, fili, ego pater tuus sum, et Anna mater tua; tui sumus nos, et sororis tuæ, a modo et in perpetuo.* The Vulg. drops the colloquial form and presents the matter as an historical fact: *De omnibus autem quæ possidebat Raguel, dimidiam partem dedit Tobiæ, et fecit scripturam ut pars dimidia quæ supererat, post obitum eorum Tobiæ dominio deveniret.*

A Babylonian tablet of the date of Nabonidus, containing a marriage settlement, lays down as a precedent that if a marriage contract be concluded, and the dowry of the wife and the property of the husband given by his father be to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, the children take, on the death of their parents, a third of the property. What became of the rest does not appear ('Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.' viii. pt. 2, p. 277).

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAP. VIII.

Among the Midrashim or Commentaries of the Jewish Church is one known as the Midrash Tanchuma. Compiled by one Tanchuma ben Abba, who is said by most scholars to have lived in the 5th century A.D., in Palestine (Strack and Zunz place the compiler of this Midrash in the 9th century, and his home in Greece or Italy; see Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] *s. v.* "Midrash"), the work is the first of the Haggadic or Homiletic Midrashim which deals with the Pentateuch as a whole. In the Mantua edition (1563) of this Midrash there is an interesting addition bearing upon the events of this chapter, which occurs as a comment on the section beginning "Give ear" (Deut. xxxii. 1). It is given here according to Neubauer's translation:—

"It is found in the book of Rabbi Moses had-Darshan (11th cent. A.D.), 'He kept him as the apple of his eye' (Deut. xxxii. 10). The Holy One (blessed is He!) keeps those whom He tries, like a man who keeps the apple of his eye. We have an example in the following history. There was a certain man, rich, of high station, and learned in the oral law; the same had a daughter, of exceeding beauty, and moreover pious, who had been married three times to three men, but each time on the morning after the first night of the marriage they found her husband dead. She said, 'Men shall die no more for me; I will dwell in widowhood and seclusion, until God shall look upon me, and take compassion.' And so she remained many days. Now that rich man had in another city a very poor brother, who had ten sons; and every day he and his eldest son brought in bundles of sticks from the wood, and sold them, and by this means he and his wife and his children supported themselves. Once they did not sell any, and they had no money to buy bread, and that day they ate nothing. On the morrow it came to pass, when they went into the wood, that the father fainted away. The son's eyes ran with tears because of their poverty, and he lifted his eyes to heaven. The son considered in his heart, and, having taken leave of his father and mother, went to the city where his uncle dwelt. And when he entered his house, his uncle and likewise his wife and daughter were exceedingly glad, and asked him after his father and his mother and the children. He abode with him seven days, and at the end of the seven days the young man went to his uncle, and said to him, 'I have one request to ask of thee; deny me not.' His uncle said to him, 'Say, my son, what it is that thou desirest.' He replied, 'Swear to me.' And so he did. Then he said, 'This is the request that I ask of thee: Give me thy daughter to wife.' When the man heard it, he wept. 'Nay, my son,' said he, 'nay, for such is her way, unfortunately' [alluding to the death of her husbands]. He

replied, 'Even on these terms.' He said to him, 'If for the sake of my riches thou art eager for her, marry her not, for I will give thee silver and gold in abundance, for thou art a handsome and wise young man; but take my advice, and endanger not thyself with her.' He answered, 'Thou hast already sworn concerning this matter.' The rich man saw how the matter stood, and consented. So he went to his daughter, and told her what had passed between them. When she heard this, she wept and cried out in the bitterness of her soul, and lifted her eyes to heaven, and said, 'Lord of the worlds, let Thine hand be upon me, and let not all these die for my sake.' What did he do? He betrothed her, and prepared a banquet, and invited the elders of the city, and made a canopy, and the bridegroom sat inside it. And a certain elder met him—it was Elijah of blessed memory—and he called him out privately, and said to him, 'My son, I will give thee right counsel, and depart not from my counsel. When thou sittest down to eat, a poor man will come in unto thee clad in black and tattered garments, barefooted, and his hair standing up like nails (cp. Job iv. 15); he is so poor that there is none like him in all the world. When thou seest him, thou shalt arise from thy seat, and seat him beside thee, and make him eat and drink; wait on him with all thy ability, and pay him honour, and let not a word of all which I have said to thee fall to the ground; so shalt thou be left in peace; and now I go my way.' So the old man went away, and the bridegroom went in to his place. They sat down to the banquet, and when they began to eat that poor man came in, and when the bridegroom saw him he stood up from his place, and behaved to him in every respect as the old man had told him. After the banquet that poor man called the bridegroom, who took him to a chamber. He said to him, 'My son, I am a messenger of God, and am come hither to take away thy life.' He replied, 'My lord, give me time; a year or half a year.' He said, 'I will not do so.' Then he said, 'If it be so, give me thirty days or the seven days of the banquet.' He said to him, 'I will not give thee even a single day, for thy time is already come.' He replied, 'I pray thee, wait for me whilst I go and take leave of my wife.' 'In this respect,' said he, 'I will agree to thy request. Go therefore and come back quickly.' He went to the chamber where she was sitting alone and weeping and praying to her Creator; and at the door of the chamber the young man called out to her, and she came to open to him; then she brought him into the chamber beside her, and caught hold of him and kissed him. She said to him, 'My brother, why art thou come?' He answered, 'To take leave of thee, for my time is come to depart after the way of all the earth, for the angel is come, and hath informed me that he is come to demand my life.' She said, 'Thou shalt not go, but thou shalt abide here, and I will go to him and speak with him.' She went and found him and asked him, 'Art thou the angel who is come to demand my husband's life?' He said to her, 'I am.' She replied, 'He shall not die now: it is written in the Law, "When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken" (Deut. xxiv. 5); and the Holy One (blessed is He!) is truth, and His law is truth. Now, if thou take his life, thou wilt make the Law a lie; if thou accept my words, well; but if not, thou shalt come with me to the great tribunal before the Holy One (blessed is He!).' The Holy One (blessed is He!) immediately rebuked the angel, and he went his way. That night the bride and bridegroom slept together; and the bride's father and her mother were weeping in their chamber; and when midnight came, the man and the woman arose to prepare a grave for their son-in-law before the break of dawn. When they arose, they heard the bride and bridegroom sporting and merry together; so they went into the room to see whether it were so: they saw, and were glad, and published it to the congregation, and gave praise to God. And this is an example how the Holy One (blessed is He!) keeps those who trust in Him."

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Tobias sendeth the angel unto Gabael for the money.* 6 *The angel bringeth it and Gabael to the wedding.*

THEN Tobias called Raphael, and said unto him,

2 Brother Azarias, take with thee a servant, and two camels, and go to

CHAPTER IX.

1. The Vulgate begins this chapter as follows: *Tunc vocavit Tobias angelum ad se, quem quidem hominem existamabat, dixitque ei: Azaria frater, peto ut ausculles verba mea. Si meipsum tradam tibi servum, non ero condignus providentiæ tuæ. Tamen obsecro te ut assumas tibi animalia et servitia, et vadas ad Gabelum* &c. The *animalia et servitia* are in the Gk. and E. V. defined to be "a servant and two camels:" the other Versions (Chald.,

Rages of Media to Gabael, and bring me the money, and bring him to the wedding.

3 For Raguel hath sworn that I shall not depart.

4 But my father counteth the days; and if I tarry long, he will be very sorry.

5 So Raphael went out, and lodged with Gabael, and gave him the handwriting: who brought forth bags which were sealed up, and gave them to him.

6 And early in the morning they went forth both together, and came to the wedding: and ‖Tobias blessed his wife.

‖ Or, *Gabael blessed Tobias and his wife,* Junius

Heb., and Itala) read "four servants and two camels" (and so *v.* 6 in the Vulg.).

2. *go to Rages*] Cp. i. 14, v. 6, notes. Reusch quotes here the distance as determined by Sainte-Croix ('Hist. de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions,' &c., xlvii. p. 63); from which it would appear that a traveller on a dromedary might perform the journey from Ecbatana to Rages and back in five or six days. On the other hand, more modern travellers quoted by Nöldeke (p. 49, n. 1) and Krall ('Zeitschr. f. d. Oesterr. Gymnasien,' 1882, p. 215) required six to eight days to go from Rages to Ecbatana alone.

bring me the money &c.] The other Versions (except the Gk.) preface these words by "give him his bag" (Chald. and Heb. The Itala and Vulgate have *chirographum:* see v. 3, note). Without this the money would not have been given up (see *v.* 5).

3. This verse gives the reason why Tobias could not himself go to Rages, and *v.* 4 a reason for no delay. Thus the Chaldee: "I cannot go thither, since Reuel hath sworn that I shall not depart from his house before fourteen days;" *cujus jusjurandum,* adds the Itala (cp. also the Vulgate), *spernere non possumus.*

4. *if I tarry long*] Gk. ἐὰν χρονίσω μέγα: more definitely stated by the other Heb. Versions: *e.g.* "if one day exceed the time" (Heb.), in true appreciation of Tobias' filial thought for both father and mother (Heb.). Cp. 1 Sam. ix. 5.

5. *bags which were sealed up*] Gk. τὰ θυλάκια ἐν ταῖς σφραγίσι (cp. 2 Kings v. 23, LXX.). "When Gabael," explains the Chaldee, "heard that (Tobiyah had invited him to the wedding), he laded the camels with the money and came to the wedding" (so Itala and Heb.).

6. *and Tobias blessed his wife*] The expression may be taken to mean that Tobias asked God's blessing upon his wife, or (with Fritzsche) as summarizing the conclusion of the marriage festivities. Tobias was happy with, and blessed in, his young wife, and expressed his happiness (cp. Judith xv. 9, 12).

The other Versions (Chald., Heb., Itala, and Vulg.) either followed a reading "Gabael blessed Tobias and his wife" (so Ilgen, De Wette, Grimm, and others; see Additional Note), or have inserted such a blessing in the place of the words of the Gk. and E. Versions. The Vulg. gives the most detailed account: *Cumque ingressus esset domum Raguelis, invenit Tobiam discumbentem* (Chald. and Heb. "sitting at the table"); *et exsiliens, osculati sunt se invicem; et flevit Gabelus* (Chald. and Heb. "from exceeding joy"), *benedixitque Deum et dixit: Benedicat te Deus Israel, quia filius es optimi viri, et justi, et timentis Deum, et eleemosynas facientis! Et dicatur benedictio super uxorem tuam et super parentes vestros. Et videatis filios vestros, et filios filiorum vestrorum, usque in tertiam et quartam generationem! Et sit semen vestrum benedictum a Deo Israel, qui regnat in sæcula sæculorum.* The "blessing" is given differently by the Versions, each bringing out some new and happy feature. In the Chaldee the blessing is, "The God of heaven bless a good and honest man who giveth much alms: and blessed be the God of my kinsman Tobi, who hath given thee and thy father and thy mother this good wife." In the Itala the first part of the blessing is very like the Vulgate, differing from it in the opening words: *Benedictus Dominus qui dedit tibi pacem, bone et optime vir, . . . et benedictus tui fili.* It then continues, *Det tibi benedictionem, Dominus cæli, et uxori tuæ, et patri et matri uxoris tuæ; et benedictus Deus, quoniam video Thobi consobrini mei similem.* Lastly, the Hebrew expresses the blessing thus: "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, Who hath joined thee in joy to the woman, and may He in His mercy give thee sons by her, who occupy themselves in the law of the Lord."

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VERSE 6.

The Hebrew equivalent of the words in the text would be ויברך טביה את אשתו. Ilgen, De Wette, Grimm, and others, to give them the meaning they desire, viz. "He (Gabael) blessed Tobias and his wife," take את="with." Rosenthal (p. 148), acquiescing

in the suggestion that Gabael gave the blessing, would take the Hebrew to have been ויברך טביה ואת אשתו, from which the ו was drawn away from before את to the end of the proper name Tobias, *e.g.* ויב' טביהו, and hence the misreading of the Greek. Other conjectures may be seen in Grimm ('Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie,' 1881, Hft. 1, pp. 50–1).

CHAPTER X.

1 *Tobit and his wife long for their son.* 7 *She will not be comforted by her husband.* 10 *Raguel sendeth Tobias and his wife away, with half their goods,* 12 *and blesseth them.*

NOW Tobit his father counted every day: and when the days of the journey were expired, and they came not,

2 Then Tobit said, Are they detained? or is Gabael dead, and there is no man to give him the money?

3 Therefore he was very sorry.

4 Then his wife said unto him, My son is dead, seeing he stayeth long; and she began to bewail him, and said,

5 *Now I care for nothing,* my son, *since I have let thee go,* the light of mine eyes.

6 To whom Tobit said, Hold thy peace, take no care, for he is safe.

7 But she said, Hold thy peace, and deceive me not; my son is dead. And she went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat on the daytime, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son Tobias,

CHAPTER X.

1. "Tobi counted," says the Chaldee, "how many days he (his son) needed to go to receive the money, and how many days to return" (cp. the Itala).

they came not] The Vulg. explains, *causa nuptiarum.*

2. *Then Tobit said*] Chald. adds "to himself;" as if the doubts which he felt were not to be spoken to his wife.

Are they detained?] The usual Gk. reading is *μήποτε κατήσχυνται, i.e.* "Are they ashamed (or 'disappointed;' cp. the LXXtal use of the word in 'Trommii Concord.' *s. n.*) because they have not got the money?" Cp. Grotius, "an elusa ejus spes per Gabeli hæredes" ('Crit. Sacr.' *i. l.*); but this reading is—in accord with the other Versions—usually corrected into *κατέσχηνται* (Ilgen) or *κατίσχονται* (Drusius): thus, *Putas quare moratur filius meus? aut quare detentus est ibi?* (Vulg. So Itala.) The Chald. supports this: "They perhaps detain him there."

is Gabael dead] Tobit had not seen him for twenty years.

4. The Vulg. reads: *Flebat igitur mater ejus irremediabilibus lacrymis, atque dicebat: Heu, heu me, fili mi! ut quid te misimus peregrinari, lumen oculorum nostrorum, baculum senectutis nostræ, solatium vitæ nostræ, spem posteritatis nostræ* (see v. 17, note). *Omnia simul in te uno habentes, te non debuimus dimittere a nobis.* The lamentation is touchingly expressed by the Chald.: "Woe is me, my son, that I sent thee to go to a distant land; the light of mine eyes, why did I let thee go?" Cp. David's lament for Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 33).

5. *I care for nothing*] Gk. *οὐ μέλει μοι.* Some commentators take this to be an expression of comparison between herself and Tobit: "It was not my doing, but thy father's that thou, my son, didst go away. Therefore I do not blame myself" &c.; but such a sense is invested with unnatural bitterness. Either the words are to be taken as an agonized expression of grief, or the conjectural reading may be adopted, *ὤ* (= *οὐαὶ*) *μέλει μοι*, which the Vulg. and Chald. (see previous note) *heu*, "woe," indicate. Other conjectural readings are *ὡς μέλει μοι*, or *σὺ μέλει μοι* (Fritzsche), or *οὐ μέλει σοι* (Tischendorf).

the light of mine eyes] A personification of the Psalmist's expression (Ps. xxxviii. 10). For similar terms of endearment, cp. Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8; Zech. ii. 8.

6. *for he is safe*] Some of the Versions add reasons for this opinion; that of the Chald. being by no means calculated to reassure an anxious mother: "He has met only with an accident." The Itala is more comforting: *Salvus est filius noster; sed aliqua forsitan mora detinet illos; homo enim qui cum illo ivit fidelis est, et ex fratribus nostris* (cp. the Vulg.). The Hebrew Version corresponding to *vv.* 1–6 is singularly condensed and barren of details.

7. *And she went out* &c.] The Chald. reading is: "And she went out into the cross-way by day and by night to the place where her son should arrive, and she ate nothing but tears in the night, and her heart had no

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until the fourteen days of the wedding were expired, which Raguel had sworn that he should spend there. Then Tobias said to Raguel, Let me go, for my father and my mother look no more to see me.

8 But his father in law said unto him, Tarry with me, and I will send to thy father, and they shall declare unto him how things go with thee.

9 But Tobias said, No; but let me go to my father.

10 Then Raguel arose, and gave him Sara his wife, and half his goods, servants, and cattle, and money:

11 And he blessed them, and sent them away, saying, The God of heaven give you a prosperous journey, my children.

12 And he said to his daughter, Honour thy father and thy mother in law, which are now thy parents, that I may hear good report of thee. And he kissed her. Edna also said to Tobias, The Lord of heaven restore thee, my dear brother, and grant that I may see thy children of my daughter Sara before I die, that I may rejoice before the Lord: behold, I commit my daughter unto thee ‖ of special trust; wherefore do not entreat her evil.

‖ Or, *to be safely kept.*

rest." (Heb.: "and she tasted nothing but tears for days and nights.") The Vulg. thus depicts the daily life of Anna, *quotidie exsiliens circumspiciebat, et circuibat vias omnes per quas spes remeandi videbatur, ut procul videret eum, si fieri posset, venientem.* This Version has nothing corresponding to the E. V.: "and did eat . . . to see me" (end of *v.* 7).

until the fourteen days &c.] The Chald., Heb., and Itala begin a new paragraph here; *e.g.* Chald.: "And when the fourteen days were expired" &c.

9. Cp. the Chald.: ". . . I will send to declare to thy father all that thou hast done. Tobiyah answered him, Give me leave to return to my father." The Vulg. words it: *. . . ego mittam nuntium salutis de te . . . Cui Tobias ait: Ego novi quia pater meus et mater mea modo dies computant, et cruciatur spiritus eorum in ipsis.*

10. *servants*] Gk. σώματα; cp. Gen. xxxvi. 6 (LXX.); 2 Macc. viii. 11; Rev. xviii. 13. The word (plur.) is not infrequent in classical Greek for human beings, and is specially applied to slaves (see Liddell and Scott, 'Lex.' *s. n.*). The meaning here is that adopted by the E. V. (cp. Chald.), and expanded by the Heb. into "servants (male) and maid-servants" (cp. Vulg. and Itala, *pueros et puellas*).

cattle and money] Expanded by most of the other Versions: *e.g.* Chald., "asses, and camels, sheep, and oxen, and garments (of fine linen and purple, Heb.), and vessels of silver and gold."

11. The blessing is differently given by the other Versions, which contain the same thought as the Greek, εὐοδώσει ὑμᾶς τέκνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸ τοῦ με ἀποθανεῖν. Thus the Vulgate: *Angelus Domini sanctus sit in itinere vestro, perducatque vos incolumes, et inveniatis omnia recte circa parentes vestros, et videant oculi mei filios vestros priusquam moriar.* The Heb. has the often-recurring thought (cp. ix. 6, note), "May God, the Lord God of your fathers, bless you, and let me see of you sons who occupy themselves in the Law of the Lord."

12. *Honour thy father and thy mother in law*] Note this application of the Fifth Commandment. The father-in-law and mother-in-law were to be to her "parents," on the principle that her husband's kindred became also her kindred. Enmity between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was one of the signs of a corrupt and demoralised state of society: see Micah vii. 6 (Churton).

The Vulgate drops the form of a personal address, and closes this chapter with some sterling advice to a newly-married couple, consisting of five rules: *Et apprehendentes parentes filiam suam, osculati sunt eam, et dimiserunt ire, monentes eam* (1) *honorare soceros,* (2) *diligere maritum,* (3) *regere familiam,* (4) *gubernare domum et* (5) *seipsam irreprehensibilem exhibere* (cp. Tit. ii. 5). In the Chald. and Itala, as in the E. V., Raguel blesses Sara, and Edna Tobias; in the Hebrew, Anna's admonition is put in Raguel's mouth. The Chald. rendering of Anna's blessing is as follows (cp. also the Itala): "Thou art my son and my brother; may the God of heaven lead thee in peace, and let me see righteous children before me of Sara my daughter (Heb. 'children good in the sight of the Lord before I die'). Now behold Sara my daughter is in thy hand; entreat her not evil all the days of her life (cp. Col. iii. 19). Go in peace. I am thy mother, and Sara is thy wife. May God prosper your ways all the days of your lives." The last words are thus presented in the Itala: *Diligat te Dominus et illam, ut sitis in loco sanctitatis omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ.*

CHAPTER XI.

6 *Tobias' mother spieth her son coming.* 10 *His father meeteth him at the door, and recovereth his sight.* 14 *He praiseth God,* 17 *and welcometh his daughter in law.*

AFTER these things Tobias went his way, praising God that he had given him a prosperous journey, and blessed Raguel and Edna his wife, and went on his way till they drew near unto Nineve.

2 Then Raphael said to Tobias, Thou knowest, brother, how thou didst leave thy father:

3 Let us haste before thy wife, and prepare the house.

4 And take in thine hand the gall of the fish. So they went their way, and the dog went after them.

5 Now Anna sat looking about toward the way for her son.

6 And when she espied him com-

of special trust] Gk. ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ: Itala, *tanquam bonum depositum;* more precious than the money "entrusted to," "deposited with" Gabael (iv. 1). Cp. Prov. xxxi. 10 &c. The Itala adds: *Et osculata est utrosque, et dimisit illos sanos* (cp. the Heb.).

The Syriac closes the chapter with the reflection: "And Tobias rejoiced, and praised the God of heaven and earth, and said, My wife's parents shall be honoured by me like my own parents, all the days of my life."

The first verse of ch. xi. forms in the Chald. and Itala the concluding verse (with slight changes) of ch. x.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The Chald. amplifies the "praise" to God and the "blessing" upon Raguel and Edna as follows:—"He blessed the God of heaven and earth, Who had sent His Angel and prospered his journey, and blessed Reuel and Ednah his wife, saying, May God help me to honour you all the days of your lives." The last words assume a more positive form in the Itala, *Injunctum est mihi a Domino honorari vos* &c.

and went on his way till they drew near unto Nineve] The "near unto" is defined by the Itala, *donec venirent Charam* (Vulg. *Charan*, emended by Reusch into *Calach*) *quæ civitas est contra Ninevem* (Vulg. *quæ est in medio itinere contra Nineven, undecimo die*). The Chald. and Heb. call the place "Akris" (altered by the Persian translation of the Heb. into "Akdim"), and unite in placing it "over against Nineveh." The Syriac calls it Kosra (or Kasri, possibly the origin of the Καισαρεία of the Greek text B) or Bosra. Many conjectures as to this place are forthcoming, but no identification of it; the Vulg. reading being probably a misprint or an editorial emendation to the well-known city in Mesopotamia (Gen. xi. 31), however geographically inaccurate, rather than some imaginary place of that name on the route. According to the Vulg., the place was reached *undecimo die;* but this must be understood as the time taken by the caravan described in x. 10. The time required by travellers between Ecbatana and Nineveh is variously estimated by commentators from one to six weeks (see Gutberlet, p. 264). A mountain-range (the Zagros) had to be crossed, and the difference between the time required by two travellers (*v.* 3) mounted on dromedaries and "hasting," and that by women, attendants, and herds, would necessarily be great. The Vulg. implies (see above and on *v.* 15) that Sara's united company took eighteen days to reach Nineveh. The latter half of the journey was performed more rapidly than the former, viz. in seven days; and therefore by Tobias and the Angel alone in three to four days. The Vulg. is not, however, supported by the other Versions.

2. The interrogative form of the Gk. and Itala is dropped by the other Versions. The Heb., with a true apprehension of a son's affection, adds the words in Italics, "Thou knowest how thou didst leave thy father *and thy mother*" (cp. ix. 4, note).

3. The Vulg. reads: *Si placet itaque tibi, præcedamus, et lento gradu sequantur iter nostrum familiæ simul cum conjuge tua et cum animalibus* (cp. Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14). In blunter phrase the Chald. puts it, "let thy wife go behind us with our men, and I and thou will go to prepare the house."

4. *take . . . fish*] These words are found in all the Versions except the Chaldee; from which, as also from the Heb., all mention of the "dog" is absent.

5. The Chald. reads, "And they found his mother sitting on the cross-way looking about for her son" (cp. x. 6, note). The yearning, watching life of the mother is thus described by the Vulg.: *Anna autem sedebat secus viam quotidie in supercilio montis, unde respicere poterat de longinquo. Et dum ex eodem loco specularetur adventum ejus, vidit a longe et illico agnovit venientem filium ejus, currensque nuntiavit viro suo, dicens* &c. "She saw,"

ing, she said to his father, Behold, thy son cometh, and the man that went with him.

7 Then said Raphael, I know, Tobias, that thy father will open his eyes.

8 Therefore anoint thou his eyes with the gall, and being pricked therewith, he shall rub, and the whiteness shall fall away, and he shall see thee.

9 Then Anna ran forth, and fell upon the neck of her son, and said unto him, Seeing I have seen thee, my son, from henceforth I am content to die. And they wept both.

10 Tobit also went forth toward the door, and stumbled: but his son ran unto him,

11 And took hold of his father: and he strake of the gall on his father's eyes, saying, Be of good hope, my father.

12 And when his eyes began to smart, he rubbed them;

says the Syriac, "the dog coming at full speed."

6. *thy son cometh*] Gk. *ὁ υἱὸς μου*; so the Heb., but not the Lat. texts. This appropriation of him—"my son"—corresponding with the language and thoughts of x. 4, 5 (see notes)—is practically supported by the Chald., which omits to mention her return to Tobit, but reads: "And when she saw him, she ran to meet him" (not, *i.e.* to his father, as in the other Versions). "And she embraced and kissed him, saying, Blessed be God, Who hath brought thee back in peace, for I counted to see thy face never more. And now, my son, why didst thou delay to come? And he told her everything. And she was exceeding glad, and said to him, Go thou to thy father, and I will stay here until thy wife cometh." Contrast *v.* 9.

7. The words of Raphael as given by the Vulg. contain an injunction not mentioned by the other Versions: *At ubi introieris domum tuam, statim adora Dominum Deum tuum; et gratias agens Ei, accede ad patrem tuum et osculare eum* &c.

I know that thy father will open his eyes] In the effort to see the son restored to him. The Heb., Vulg., and Itala prefer the sense "I know that his eyes shall be opened;" *i.e.* with the gall (Heb.).

8 *and being pricked therewith, he shall rub &c.*] The Itala followed a different reading: *et insidet medicamentum; et decoriabis albugines ab oculis ejus,* &c. The share taken by Tobias in relieving his father is endorsed by the Vulg. (see *vv.* 10–12, notes).

he shall see thee] Cp. the Vulg. *videbit pater tuus lumen cœli, et in aspectu tuo gaudebit.*

After these words the Vulg. adds a verse of which no trace exists in the other Versions: *Tunc præcucurrit canis* ("memor veteris domini," explains Grotius, "ut Argus in Odyssea") *qui simul fuerat in via, et quasi nuntius adveniens, blandimento suæ caudæ gaudebat.* Bede, following up the thought noticed in v. 16, note, discovers in the gladness of the "dog" the type of the joy wherewith "doctores" (teachers) rejoice when they see Judæa by their ministry brought back to the Lord. "They rejoice at the perception of the reward of eternal life, and promise the immediate arrival of the grace of Christ."

9. "Anna," says the Syriac, "put on a vail and ran forth &c."

I am content to die] So Israel could say when he once again embraced his son Joseph (Gen. xlvi. 30).

10. Some words assigned by the Chald. to Tobit may fitly precede the account in this verse: "And when Tobi heard that his son was come, he was exceeding glad, and said to him, My son, come towards me that I may kiss thee, for I cannot go towards thee."

stumbled] "For he did not see," adds the Heb. The Vulg. has some interesting additions: *Et consurgens cæcus pater ejus, cœpit offendens pedibus currere; et data manu puero, occurrit obviam filio suo; et suscipiens, osculatus est eum cum uxore sua; et cœperunt ambo flere præ gaudio. Cumque adorassent Deum* (cp. *v.* 7, note), *et gratias egissent, consederunt. Tunc sumens Tobias de fellepiscis, linivit oculos patris sui.*

11. *Be of good hope*] Gk. *θάρσει*: rather as in Itala, *Forti animo esto* (cp. vii. 18). The underlying thought is an exhortation to courage. The other Versions, except the Syriac, have no remark corresponding to this: but one Gk. MS. makes Tobit exclaim, as he felt the smart from the gall, "What hast thou done to me, my son?" to which Tobias answers, "It is a medicine to heal thee" (so the Syriac).

12. *began to smart.*] Cp. the Vulgate, *Et sustinuit quasi dimidiam fere horam, et cœpit albugo ex oculis ejus, quasi membrana ovi, egredi.* The vehemence of his action is noted by the Itala, *Et decoriavit duabus manibus albugines* (see on ii. 10) *oculorum ejus.* One last

13 And the whiteness pilled away from the corners of his eyes: and when he saw his son, he fell upon his neck.

14 And he wept, and said, Blessed art thou, O God, and blessed is thy name for ever; and blessed are all thine holy angels:

15 For thou hast scourged, and hast taken pity *on me:* for, behold, I see my son Tobias. And his son went in rejoicing, and told his father the great things that had happened to him in Media.

16 Then Tobit went out to meet his daughter in law at the gate of

filial act of helpfulness to his father is recorded by the Vulgate: *Quam (scil. albuginem) apprehendens Tobias, traxit ab oculis ejus, statimque visum recepit.* "He saw the light and glorified God" (Syriac). "And God," says the Chald., "made his eyes whole as they were before. And Tobi rejoiced at the great goodness which God had shewn him." The rejoicing was taken up by others: *Et glorificabant Deum, ipse videlicet et uxor ejus, et omnes qui sciebant eum* (Vulg.). "So shall the Jews," says Bede, "after they shall have known the very bitter malice of their most hateful enemy, receive the lost light. They have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."

The question whether this was a miraculous cure or one due to natural means has been hotly debated. They who refuse credibility to narratives containing miracles find here one proof of the fictitious character of this Book. The upholders of its authenticity do not find it necessary to discuss this test. They rest content with the sober comment of the Chaldee and Heb. texts, and "rejoice" at this instance of the "great goodness" of God.

14. *blessed are all thine holy angels*] As members of God's "kingdom" (cp. xiii. 1), who minister His blessings to men (Heb. i. 14), and to whom honour and reverence are due, though the service of praise be given to God alone.

15. *thou hast scourged, and hast taken pity on me*] Cp. xiii. 2. The classical reference is Deut. xxxii. 39, the language of which is adopted by the Heb. and Chald. Versions here. These Versions (and the Vulg.) give Tobit's words without any reference to Angels, and are marked by sufficient variation to deserve separate quotation. The Chald. reads: "And Tobi blessed God, saying, Blessed be God, Who hath not withholden His bounty from me, and hath brought me out of darkness to light. It is Thou Who strikest and healest. There is none like Thee, Who healeth for no reward, and there is no god in heaven or on earth who doeth mighty deeds like Thine." The rendering of the Heb. is: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, Who openeth the eyes of the blind, for He hath opened mine eyes. Blessed is He, and blessed is His Name for ever and ever, Who hath shewn this great kindness to me, for He smiteth and healeth, and killeth and maketh alive; and blessed, yea blessed is He Who hath prospered thy journey, and Who hath brought thee back to us in peace and quietness."

The Versions supply some details which make the story more connected. Thus the Chald.: "Tobiyyah then related to his father all that he had done. And they prepared the house;" and the Vulg., *narravit parentibus suis omnia beneficia Dei, quæ fecisset circa eum per hominem qui eum duxerat:* expanded by the Itala, *et indicavit patri suo Thobias, quoniam perfecta est via illius bene a Domino Deo, et quia adtulit pecuniam; et quemadmodum accepit Sarram filiam Raguhelis uxorem, et quia venit et ipsa, et jam proximo est portæ Ninive.* According to *v.* 3, Tobias and the Angel had "hasted" on; and, as it would seem (*vv.* 1, 16), leaving Sara near "the gate of Nineve." The Vulgate, however, has a unique reading preceding the words above: *Ingressa est etiam post septem dies Sara, uxor filii ejus, et omnis familia sana, et pecora, et cameli, et pecunia multa uxoris, sed et illa pecunia quam receperat a Gabelo,*—apparently reckoning the *septem dies* onward from the *undecimo die* on which "Charan" was reached (see *v.* 1, note). The accounts are hardly to be reconciled.

The number "seven" (Vulg.) suggests an allegorical interpretation to Bede. The seven days typify the light of spiritual grace, which is septiform. Not till after seven days, when Tobit was restored to sight, did the wife of his son enter. So, not till after Judæa shall have been enlightened by faith and shall have received the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, shall the Church come to her, that there may be one fold and one Shepherd, one house of Christ founded upon one corner-stone.

16. Chald.: "Then Tobi went forth with his son Tobiyyah to meet his daughter-in-law, and Raphael with them;" making no mention of Anna (see *v.* 6, note). The Heb., Itala, and Syriac represent Tobit and Anna as going forth together to meet Sara. Anna would probably have returned to her home after

Nineve, rejoicing, and praising God: and they which saw him go marvelled, because he had received his sight.

17 But Tobit gave thanks before them, because God had mercy on him. And when he came near to Sara his daughter in law, he blessed her, saying, Thou art welcome, daughter: God be blessed, which hath brought thee unto us, and *blessed be* thy father and thy mother. And there was joy among all his brethren which were at Nineve.

‖ Junius, *who is also called Nasbas.*

18 And Achiacharus, ‖and Nasbas his brother's son, came:

19 And Tobias' wedding was kept seven days with great joy.

CHAPTER XII.

5 *Tobit offereth half to the angel for his pains.* 6 *But he calleth them both aside, and exhorteth them,* 15 *and telleth them that he was an angel,* 21 *and was seen no more.*

THEN Tobit called his son Tobias, and said unto him, My son, see that the man have his wages, which went with thee, and thou must give him more.

2 And Tobias said unto him, O father, it is no harm to me to give him half of those things which I have brought:

3 For he hath brought me again to thee in safety, and made whole my wife, and brought me the money, and likewise healed thee.

her first welcome to Sara, and now accompanied her husband.

they which saw him go marvelled] Cp. the Itala: *videbant Thobin, qui erat in porta Nineve, venientem, et ambulantem cum omni virtute sua, nemine dante ei manum; et mirabantur.*

17. *Thou art welcome, daughter*] Gk. ἔλθοις ὑγιαίνουσα θύγατερ; more literally reproduced in the Itala: *ut adpropinquavit Thobias, adducens Sarram uxorem suam, benedixit illi Thobis, dicens: Intra sana, Sarra filia. Benedictus Deus et benedictus Thobias filius meus, et benedicta tua filia; intra in domum tuam sana, in benedictione et gaudio.* "He brought her into his house," adds the Chald., "and blessed her, saying, May God give thee of this wife righteous children, and may mine eyes and the eyes of thy mother behold them."

18. *Achiacharus and Nasbas*] On the former, see i. 21, note. The second name is given as "Nabal" by the Itala, "Nabath" by the Vulgate (=Nabat, 1 Kings xi. 26), and "Laban" by the Syriac. The idea (see marg. rendering) that Nasbas was also a name given to Achiacharus is supported by Grotius, Bissell &c.; but rejected by Hilgenfeld and Gutberlet. The former considers Nasbas "brother's son" not to Tobit but to Achiacharus; and the latter argues for the existence of two separate individuals here, on the ground that in xiv. 10 the proper reading is "Nadab" (as given by the Itala and Sinait. Gk.) instead of "Aman," and that "Nadab" there and "Nabal" here are the same persons. The difference between "Nadab" and "Nabal" is not perhaps insuperable if regarded as an alteration due to a scribe, but the identification is precarious, and the existence of more than one person here is sufficiently supported by the plural of the Itala, Vulg., and Heb., though no names are given in the last-named text: "all the Jews who were in Nineveh rejoiced with great joy at this great kindness which the Lord had shewn to Tobi and his son. And they gave Tobiyyah many precious gifts." The paragraph is entirely absent from the Chald. text.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The Chald. version of this chapter is not only briefer, but in other points follows a unique reading (see Additional Note).

The events described took place, according to the Syriac, when the feast was ended and the guests were gone.

The Vulg. puts the language of Tobit in the form of a question: *Quid possumus dare viro isti sancto, qui venit tecum?* and expands the four benefits enumerated by Tobias (*v.* 4) into *me duxit et reduxit sanum, pecuniam a Gabelo ipse recepit, uxorem ipse me habere fecit, et dæmonium ab ea ipse compescuit, gaudium parentibus ejus fecit, meipsum a devoratione piscis eripuit, te quoque videre fecit lumen cæli, et bonis omnibus per eum repleti sumus. Quid illi ad hæc poterimus dignum dare?*

It was not only what all could do for one to whom all were indebted, but—according to the Syriac—Tobias, conscious of the great service rendered to himself individually, exclaims, "I also have enough wherewith to recompense him" (cp. Gen. xxxiii. 11). The Heb., on the contrary, is less lavish in donation. The "wages" (v. 14, 15) and "more" are assessed at "half the silver" which Tobias brought back.

4 Then the old man said, It is due unto him.

5 So he called the angel, and he said unto him, Take half of all that ye have brought, and go away in safety.

6 Then he took them both apart, and said unto them, Bless God, praise him, and magnify him, and praise him for the things which he hath done unto you in the sight of all that live. It is good to praise God, and exalt his name, and ‖honourably to shew forth the works of God; therefore be not slack to praise him.

‖ Or, *with honour.*

7 It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God. [a] Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you. [a] 1 Pet. 3. 13.

8 Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness. [b] A little with righteousness is better than much with unrighteousness. It is better to give alms than to lay up gold: [b] Ps. 37. 16.

9 [c] For alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin. Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life: [c] ch. 4. 10.

6. *apart*] Gk. κρυπτῶς; Itala, *abscondite;* Vulg. *occulte.*

praise him . . . in the sight of all that live] Connect, as in the Gk. and Lat. Versions, these last words with "praise Him": "Praise Him in the sight &c., for all" &c. Cp. Pss. xcii. 1; cxlvii. 1. The Vulg. specifies particularly, *quia fecit vobiscum misericordiam suam.*

7. The connexion of this verse with what precedes is this: "Be not slack to praise God"; μὴ ὀκνεῖτε,—"do not scruple or hesitate about this. There are matters with reference to which silence is golden; such as the good deeds of men, or the affairs of kings. Good men do not wish to be praised; kings may not wish their affairs made known. Be slack to praise or reveal such things; but praise aloud God's goodness and reveal the works of the King of kings. His mercy and greatness, His love and majesty, can never be praised enough." Note the antithesis "good" and "honourable," "keep close" and "reveal," "secret" and "works," "a king" and "God."

On the other hand, there are "secret things" of God which cannot be, and are not to be, revealed to those incapable of receiving them. Origen and St. Athanasius used this passage as a protest against irreverence, and as an authority for not discussing Divine mysteries before the profane and unbelieving (see Churton *i. l.*).

secret] Gk. μυστήριον; Itala and Vulg., *sacramentum*, the frequent Latin rendering of the Gk. word (cp. Wisd. vi. 24; Dan. ii. 30, 47; Rev. i. 20, xvii. 7).

Do that which is good . . . touch you] The words are absent from the Latin Versions, the Heb., and some Gk. MSS., though some critics have taken them to contain the leading thought of the Book (Rosenthal, p. 123). The translation "touch" hardly expresses the εὑρήσει of the Gk. "Evil" had "touched" Tobit, but never in such a way as to reach or find his deeper life. Cp. Ps. xci. 9, 10; Prov. xii. 21; Matt. x. 28; 1 Pet. iii. 13.

8. The language of Raphael to Tobit should be compared with that of Tobit to Tobias (iv. 7–11, 16). It is as if the Angel reminded Tobit of his own advice, and then pointed to the reward which obedience to that advice had brought to him and Tobias. The Itala renders the opening words, *Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna cum justitia.* On the three cardinal virtues here brought together—"prayer, fasting, and almsgiving"—cp. the language of Thomas Aquinas: "Dominus ponit tria opera (Matt. vi. 1–18), ad quæ omnia alia reducuntur. Nam omnia, quæ aliquis facit ad refrænandum seipsum in suis concupiscentiis reducuntur ad jejunium, quæcumque vero fiunt propter dilectionem proximi reducuntur ad eleemosynam, quæcumque vero propter cultum Dei fiunt, reducuntur ad orationem" (quoted by Gutberlet).

9. Cp. marg. ref. and xiv. 11. It will be observed that this passage dwells in very remarkable language on almsgiving. The expressions used are stronger than those of Dan. iv. 27 (cp. LXX. and Vulg.), and some commentators do not hesitate to describe the teaching as obviously in contradiction to the letter and spirit of the canonical Scriptures. Others, however, notice the proverbial character of the expressions used; the qualifications imposed on the first part of the verse by the second, and the condition attached to both fasting and almsgiving—the being accompanied with prayer. It may be urged that the parables of the rich fool (Luke xii. 16–21) and of the "rich glutton and Lazarus" (Luke xvi. 19), as also the comment of Christ upon one, "who should

10 But they that sin are enemies to their own life.

11 Surely I will keep close nothing from you. For I said, It was good to keep close the secret of a king, but that it was honourable to reveal the works of God.

12 Now therefore, when thou didst pray, and Sara thy daughter in law, I did bring the remembrance of your prayers before the Holy One: and when thou didst bury the dead, I was with thee likewise.

13 And when thou didst not delay to rise up, and leave thy dinner, ‖to go and cover the dead, thy good deed was not hid from me: but I was with thee.

‖ Gr. *to go and bury.*

14 And now God hath sent me to heal thee and Sara thy daughter in law.

15 I am Raphael, one of the seven

gain the whole world and yet lose his own soul" (Matt. xvi. 26, 27), inculcate a not less distinct warning against selfishness—the living death—a corrective of which is almsgiving. But the passage certainly reflects Rabbinic teaching on the subject (see Buxtorf's 'Rabb. Lex.' *s. v.*; Mill's 'British Jews,' p. 273; Edersheim's 'Life of Jesus,' i. 534).

The Lat. Versions explain the balder statement of the text, and indicate the truer line of interpretation (cp. iv. 10, note). Thus the Itala, endorsing the opening words of the verse, omits the word "*all*" (sin), and renders the words which follow, *Qui faciunt eleemosynam et miserationem et justitiam, saturabuntur vita eterna:* so the Vulgate, *eleemosyna a morte liberat; et ipsa est quæ purgat peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam æternam. Qui autem faciunt peccatum et iniquitatem, hostes sunt animæ suæ.*

The "death" of this verse has more than one meaning. From death did loving ones save and conceal the man whose deeds of kindness to the dead, and whose alms to the living, were known and remembered (i. 19, 20, notes). From a similar death Manasses escaped (xiv. 10). Again "death" is the death inflicted upon themselves by those "who are enemies to their own life" (*v.* 10; Ps. ix. 6; Prov. viii. 36; Wisd. i. 12), the contrast to which is "life" now and in the future.

The estimate of almsgiving formed by Thomas Aquinas is as follows: "Eleemosyna in se includit virtutem orationis et jejunii duplici ratione: 1°. quia eleemosyna eum constituit, cui datur, debitorem ad orandum et jejunandum et alia bona, quæ potest, faciendum pro eo, qui dedit. 2°. quia eleemosyna propter Deum data est quasi quædam oblatio Deo facta . . . oblatio autem ipsi Deo facta vim orationis habet. Et similiter in quantum bona exteriora ad corporis conservationem ordinantur, subtractio externorum bonorum per eleemosynam, quasi virtute continet jejunium, quo maceratur corpus." Cp. the Homily 'on Alms-deeds,' and Churton's excellent note here.

12. *when thou didst pray &c.*] The Heb. adds, "on account of the tribulation of your soul" (cp. iii. 1, 10, 11, 16).

I did bring the remembrance of your prayers &c.] Gk. προσήγαγον τὸ μνημόσυνον τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν. Cp. *v.* 15; Acts x. 4; Rev. viii. 3, 4. The language of the Heb. text, "I offered your prayer before the throne of God," and of the Lat. Versions (cp. the Itala, *obtuli memoriam orationis vestræ in conspectu claritatis Dei, et legi*), intimate that like the "sweet savour" (Lev. ii. 9) of a sacrifice their prayers were acceptable to God. Raphael and the other "holy Angels (*v.* 15) present the prayers not as mediators and intercessors, adding virtue to their prayers from their merits,—for this belongs to our Saviour Christ alone, the only meritorious Mediator between God and man,—but as messengers relating and reporting our prayers before God" (Bull, quoted by Churton).

For the events alluded to in the latter part of this verse and in *v.* 13, cp. i. 17; ii. 1–17.

13. *I was with thee*] As watcher and witness; as one of "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth" (Zech. iv. 10).

14. Previous to this declaration of God's goodness, some of the Versions insert in varying terms an explanation. The simplest is the Itala, which reads, *missus sum tentare te et Sarram nurum tuum:* this is enlarged by the Vulg., *quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse fuit ut tentatio probaret te* (cp. 2 Tim. iii. 12; James i. 2 &c.), and the Heb. "God hath tried thee by the blindness of thine eyes, for the Lord trieth the righteous." Cp. Ecclus. ii. 5; Wisd. iii. 5, 6.

15. *one of the seven holy angels*] Cp. Rev. viii. 2. The Heb. and Syriac omit the number "seven": "I am the Angel Raphael, one of the princes who minister before the throne of glory" (cp. the Heb. of Dan. x. 13). Raphael—true to his name (iii. 17)—describes himself not only as the "healer" (*v.* 14), but as companion of Tobit in his duties of love towards God and man (*vv.* 12, 13).

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holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.

16 Then they were both troubled, and fell upon their faces: for they feared.

17 But he said unto them, Fear not, for it shall go well with you; praise God therefore.

18 For not of any favour of mine, but by the will of our God I came; wherefore praise him for ever.

19 [d] All these days I did appear unto you; but I did neither eat nor drink, but ye did see a vision.

[d] Gen. 18. 8. & 19. 3. Judg. 13. 16.

20 Now therefore give God thanks: for I go up to him that sent me; but write all things which are done in a book.

The previous history has further brought him forward in the character of guardian-Angel to the travelling Tobias. As such he is twice figured in the Roman catacombs, and allusions to this story are frequent in the 'Vitri Antichi.' The Roman Catholic Church has given in her hymns a place to these features of his character. The Vesper Hymn for Oct. 24—

"Collaudamus venerantes omnes cœli principes,
Sed præcipue fidelem medicum et comitem
Raphaelem, in virtute alligantem dæmonem:
Quo custode procul pelle, Rex Christe piissime,
Omne nefas inimici. Mundo corde et corpore
Paradiso redde tuo nos sola clementia"—

and the prayer in the 'Itinerarium clericorum' ("Angelus Raphael comitetur nobiscum in via, ut cum pace, salute, et gaudio, revertamur ad propria"), are familiar instances of the hold which this feature of the Book of Tobit had acquired over the Liturgiologists of Rome. "When a good Angel," said Antony the Monk, "appears to a good man, he may well at first produce a feeling of fear on account of his unwonted appearance; but in the end he leaves peace and spiritual comfort."

On the question as to the origin of the number "seven," see Excursus II. § i. (2). Its frequency amongst the Jews as a sacred and perfect number is by many traced to the Scriptural record of the Creation and the thereon grounded sacred septennial divisions (the Sabbath, the Sabbatical year, the Jubilee) rather than to Babylonian or Persian influences.

16. Cp. Judg. vi. 22, xiii. 22; Dan. x. 7; Luke xxiv. 5; Rev. i. 17.

17. *for it shall go well with you*] Rather, "peace shall be with you." Cp. the Heb. and the *pax vobiscum* of the Latin Versions. The usual salutation is intended (cp. Matt. x. 13).

praise God therefore] Gk. εὐλογεῖτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, as in *v.* 18. Heb. "Bless the Lord for these great and wonderful things which He hath done unto you."

18. *not of any favour of mine*] The words are not to be understood as if the Angel had grudged what he had been permitted to do; but, as the words following indicate, that the motive at work had been simple and thorough obedience to "the will of *our*—his as well as Tobit's—God."

19. Study the contrast with the statements of the marg. reff. The Heb. and Vulg. here are explanatory. Thus the Heb. is: "Now as to myself, all the time I was with you ye saw me eat and drink, for so it appeared to your eyes; yet I did neither eat nor drink." The Vulg. reads: *Videbar quidem vobiscum manducare et bibere; sed ego cibo invisibili et potu, qui ab hominibus videri non potest, utor;* an interesting reproduction of which is found in the words of the Angel who addresses Joachim, the reputed father of the Virgin Mary, "Cibus meus invisibilis est, et potus meus ab hominibus mortalibus videri non potest" (Thilo, 'Cod. Apoc. N.T.,' i. 346). According to the later Jewish theology, the "heavenly glory" was the food of Angels. It was only in appearance, not in reality, that they seemed to eat like the mortals whom they visited (Weber, pp. 161, 162). The same interpretation is put upon the marg. reff. (Weber, p. 150).

For the general question raised by the words of the Angel, see Matt. xxii. 30; Luke xxiv. 39. Martensen's thought is worth quoting: "The essential and distinguishing marks in the conception of an Angel are not personality, but spirit and power, operating as instruments for the fulfilment of the holy designs of Providence in the lives of men." ('Dogmatics,' § 71.)

20. *give God thanks*] Words preceded in the Syriac by the injunction, "Arise from the earth." The Vulg. adds, *et narrate omnia mirabilia ejus.*

I go up to him that sent me] The resemblance of these words to John xvi. 5, and the record of the ascension of the Angel, may illustrate the familiarity of the writers of the Versions which contain them with the language and events of the New Testament, but nothing more. Evidence either of the canonical worth of the Apocrypha, or of the influence of Christian thought upon this Book, cannot be derived from them. Cp. the Heb. text here: "And now let me go, and I will go to the God Who sent me to

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21 And when they arose, they saw him no more.

22 Then they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and how the angel of the Lord had appeared unto them.

you. So they sent him away, and blessed the Lord for all this. And the Angel of the Lord went up to heaven (cp. Judg. vii. 21; xiii. 20), and appeared no more to Tobi and his son Tobiyyah."

write . . . in a book] That these events and their lessons might be preserved and handed down to posterity. Cp. Luke i. 3; John xxi. 25; Rev. i. 11, 19.

21, 22. The Vulg. reads: *Et cum hæc dixisset, ab aspectu eorum ablatus est, et ultra eum videre non potuerunt. Tunc prostrati per horas tres in faciem, benedixerunt Deum; et exsurgentes, narraverunt omnia mirabilia ejus.*

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Chald. Version of this chapter is as follows:—

"Now when they went into the house, Raphael did not enter with them, but went his way. After a time Tobi said to Tobiyyah, Go out into the market-place, and call our brother Azaryah, that I may give him his wages, and we will add to them, because he is a trusty and honest man. And Tobiyyah went out into the market-place, and sought, but found not Raphael, and he enquired about him of all the people of the town, but he did not find a man who had seen him. He returned to his father, and said to him, I have not found him. Then his father knew that it was the Angel Raphael, whom God had sent to deliver Sarah from the hands of the demon, and to heal his eyes. And he blessed God, saying, Blessed be God, Who sent His good Angel with my son, and Who prospered his journey, and hath healed two poor and sick people like ourselves. And from that day forward God prospered Tobi and Tobiyyah his son, and gave him children of his wife Sarah. And Reuel and Ednah his wife died, and Tobbiyyah inherited all their goods."

CHAPTER XIII.

The thanksgiving unto God, which Tobit wrote.

THEN Tobit wrote a prayer of rejoicing, and said, Blessed be God that liveth for ever, and blessed be his kingdom.

2 [a]For he doth scourge, and hath mercy: he leadeth down to hell, and

[a] Deut. 32. 39. 1 Sam. 2. 6. Wisd. 16. 13.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *a prayer of rejoicing*] Tobit's "Eucharistic prayer," as an old writer has called it, is something more than a mere cento of Scripture texts not very appositely strung together. If, as might be expected, largely composed of thoughts expressed in Scripture language (cp. Jonah ii.; Dan. ix. 3 &c.; St. Luke i. 46 &c.; the Prayer of Manasses; and contrast Additions to Esther xiii. 8 &c., xiv. 3 &c.), it is also the utterance of a heart discerning in mercy and healing vouchsafed to an individual the type of redemption and salvation offered to his nation (*v.* 6). It is not self-laudation but self-abnegation which traces in the rehabilitation of his own home and the perpetuation of his own family a type of the "rebuilding of the tabernacle of the Everlasting King" in the earthly Jerusalem (*vv.* 10, 16–18), and of the posterity of "the children of the just" (*v.* 13). As his own sorrow was a reflexion of the national sorrow (iii. 1–6), so his happiness was typical of national happiness. If before it was "profitable to die rather than to live" (iii. 6), now does he remind himself and his fellow-countrymen, "He leadeth down to hell, and bringeth up again" (*v.* 2).

There is no Chaldee text corresponding to this chapter, and the Hebrew presents it in a very abbreviated and different form (see Additional Note).

blessed be his kingdom] The Gk. and Lat. Versions detach the word "blessed" from "His kingdom," and confine it to the first clause. Thus the Itala: *Quoniam in omnia sæcula regnum est illius.* Some take "His kingdom" as an expression equivalent to the host of Angels (cp. xi. 14); others find in the phrase an anticipation of the Beatitudes pronounced over those who are in and of the kingdom of heaven (St. Matt. v. 3–12).

2. Cp. xi. 15 and marg. reff. here. In the Vulg. of *vv.* 1, 2, God is addressed personally, and not as by the other texts impersonally: *Magnus es Domine Tu flagellas et salvas et non est qui effugiat manum tuam.* This direct appeal gives point to the charge in

bringeth up again: neither is there any that can avoid his hand.

3 Confess him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel: for he hath scattered us among them.

4 There declare his greatness, and extol him before all the living: for he is our Lord, and he is the God our Father for ever.

5 And he will scourge us for our iniquities, and will have mercy again, [b] and will gather us out of all nations, among whom he hath scattered us.

[b] Deut. 30. 3.

6 If ye turn to him with your whole heart, and with your whole mind, and deal uprightly before him, then will he turn unto you, and will not hide his face from you. Therefore see what he will do with you, and confess him with your whole mouth, and praise the Lord of might, and extol the everlasting King. In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation. O ye sinners, turn and do justice before him: [c] who can tell if he will accept you, and have mercy on you?

[c] Jonah 3. 9.

7 I will extol my God, and my soul shall praise the King of heaven, and shall rejoice in his greatness.

8 Let all men speak, and let all praise him for *his* righteousness.

v. 3: "What I, Tobit, as an individual have done; you, Israel, as a nation also do."

4. *There declare his greatness*] Cp. Deut. xxxii. 3. For "greatness" the Itala has "mercy" (*misericordiam*); as it were defining "mercy" to be the highest declaration of God's "greatness" (Num. xiv. 19; Neh. xiii. 22. Cp. the Collect for the 11th Sunday after Trinity). The Vulg. connects *v.* 4 with *v.* 3, and defines how the event of the dispersion may be used to the propagation of the true religion: *Quoniam ideo dispersit vos inter gentes, quæ ignorant eum, ut vos enarretis mirabilia ejus, et faciatis scire eos quia non alius Deus omnipotens præter eum.*

5. *he will scourge us*] So the Gk. (lit. "in our iniquities"). The Lat. Versions have the past tense, *castigavit nos propter iniquitates nostras* (Vulg.); and the Itala changes the person throughout the verse as if drawing a distinction between Tobit and his people, *flagellavit vos colliget vos* &c.

The merciful "gathering out of all nations" (cp. Deut. xxx. 3) is to take effect, according to one Heb. text, "in the latter days."

6. Cp. Deut. xxx. 2–4. Words corresponding to "If ye turn from you" are wanting to the Vulgate.

confess him with your whole mouth] The Itala repeats the sentence of the previous clause: *confitemini illi ex toto corde vestro, ut faciatis coram illo veritatem.* The Vulg. has a different reading: *Aspicite ergo quæ fecit nobiscum, et cum timore et tremore confitemini illi.*

praise the Lord of might] Gk. τὸν Κύριον τῆς δικαιοσύνης, that "righteousness which exalteth a nation" (Prov. xiv. 34). The Lat. Versions vary the thought of the Greek: thus the Itala, *benedicite Domino in justitia;* and the Vulg., *exaltate in operibus vestris.*

the everlasting King] Gk. τὸν βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων (cp. Ps. cxlv. 13); Lat. Versions, *regem sæculorum.* This is preferable to the translation upheld by some, "king of the æons," in the sense of "worlds" (Heb. i. 2).

a sinful nation] ἔθνει ἁμαρτωλῶν. If the use of ἔθνος be pressed as against λαὸς—the term usually applied to the Jewish nation—the "sinful nation" and the "sinners" in the next clause will be the Assyrian (cp. Jonah iii.; Nah. iii. 1; Gal. ii. 15); but if the term ἁμαρτωλοὶ be applied to Tobit's own people in the next clause, "the sinful nation" intended is that of the Jews (cp. i. 5, 6). The whole context is in favour of this latter application.

who can tell if he will accept you] Gk. εἰ θελήσει ὑμᾶς: "find pleasure in you, and so accept you" (cp. Ps. xviii. 19, xli. 11; Matt. xxvii. 43; Jonah iii. 9); "For God," adds one Heb. text, "is full of compassion and gracious, longsuffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth" (cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 15).

7. *the King of heaven*] The phrase, repeated in *v.* 11, occurs in the canonical Scriptures in Dan. iv. 37 only. It corresponds to a well-known Babylonian formula (cp. Dan. iv. 19, note), and is appropriate in the mouth of one who, like Tobit, resident in the midst of Assyrian idolatry, could raise it to its only legitimate Object. "Honour and majesty," says a Heb. MS., "are before Him; strength and beauty are in His Sanctuary" (cp. Ps. xcvi. 6).

8. *let all praise him for his righteousness*] The Gk. has a curious rendering, ἐξομολογείσθωσαν αὐτῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, singling out "the home of God's elect" as "*the* place

9 O Jerusalem, the holy city, ‖he will scourge thee for thy children's works, and will have mercy again on the sons of the righteous.

‖ Or, *he will lay a scourge upon the works of thy children.*

10 Give praise to the Lord, *for he is* good: and praise the everlasting King, that his tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and ‖let him make joyful there in thee those that are captives, and love in thee for ever those that are miserable.

‖ Or, *to make.*

11 [d] Many nations shall come from far to the name of the Lord God with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of heaven; all generations shall praise thee with great joy.

[d] Ps. 72. 10, 11.

12 Cursed *are* all they which hate thee, and blessed shall all be which love thee for ever.

13 Rejoice and be glad for the children of the just: for they shall be gathered together, and shall bless the Lord of the just.

14 [e] O blessed *are* they which love thee, *for* they shall rejoice in thy ‖peace: blessed *are* [f] they which have been sorrowful for all thy scourges; for they shall rejoice for thee, when they have seen all thy glory, and shall be glad for ever.

[e] Ps. 122. 6.

‖ Or, *prosperity.*

[f] Isai. 66. 10.

15 Let my soul bless God the great King.

where men ought to worship" (John iv. 20), and suggesting the subject of the next verse; so also the Syriac. The Latin Versions render this verse differently, *e.g.* Vulg.: *Benedicite Dominum, omnes electi ejus; agite dies lætitiæ, et confitemini illi.*

9. *the holy city*] So the Itala. The Gk. is πόλις ἁγίου, and the Vulg. *civitas Dei*, but some prefer "city of the Holy Place or Temple" (cp. *v.* 9). The Lat. Versions omit "and will have mercy righteous;" important words, which distinguish the "sons of the righteous," *i.e.* the true children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from the rebellious and idolatrous "children" of Jerusalem. A Heb. text adds from Jer. xxxi. 17, "There is hope in thine end, saith the Lord, and thy children shall come again to their own border."

Commentators attach to this prophetic outburst (*vv.* 9–18) the widest allusions. Jerusalem is not only the material city the well-known capital of the Holy Land, but also the type of the Church of Christ (*v.* 11) and of the heavenly city (*v.* 16 &c.).

10. *for he is good*] The E. V. followed the reading τῷ ἀγαθῷ or ὅτι ἀγαθός; but the usually received Gk. text is ἀγαθῶς (Itala, *in bono*), the sense of which is expressed in the language of the General Thanksgiving of the Book of Common Prayer, "shew forth Thy praise not only with our lips, but in our lives" &c., or in the more special form apparently intended by the Vulg. *in bonis tuis*; viz. the giving to God of one's substance or property. A Heb. text inserts: "For it shall come to pass, that He shall return unto thee, and shall cause His Name to dwell in the midst of thee. He will build up all thy waste places, and will gather unto thee with joy all thy captivity. And He will plant all thy sons in the midst of thee for ever."

11. *to the name of the Lord God*] Either equivalent to the Vulg. *ad te*, or to the place where He is named, *i.e.* Jerusalem. Cp. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, xcvi. 7, 8; Isa. lx. 6; Micah iv. 2; Zech. viii. 22. The words of the Gk. and E. Versions are preceded in the Latin Versions by words reflecting the language and thought of Isa. lx. 1–3, *Luce splendida fulgebis, et omnes fines terræ adorabunt te* (. . . *fulgebunt in omnibus finibus terræ*, Itala), with evident allusion to Christ, the Messiah, the "Light of the world," the "Light to lighten the Gentiles." The Church has ever loved to see in the visit of the wise men of the East, the representatives of the heathen world, one fulfilment of words which shall be perfectly realized in the Church triumphant (cp. also Isa. xlix. 23). Cp. the Lat. Versions for other points of expansion in this verse.

12. *Cursed . . . hate thee*] Cp. Gen. xxvii. 29; Num. xxiv. 9. The Itala (cp. also Gk. B) enlarges this: *Maledicti omnes qui spernunt te, et omnes qui blasphemant te: maledicti erunt omnes qui odiunt te, et omnes qui dixerint verbum durum, et omnes qui deponunt te et destruunt muros tuos, et omnes qui subvertunt turres tuas, et omnes qui incendunt habitationes tuas* (cp. Deut. xxviii. 15 &c.).

blessed . . . love thee] For "love" the Itala and Vulg. have "build," dwelling rather upon the material restoration (*v.* 10) than the spiritual.

13. The beautiful alliteration, "the children of the just (or, 'the sons of the righteous,' *v.* 9) . . . the Lord of the just," is lost in the Lat. Versions. The yearning for the gathering together of the Dispersion to Jerusalem is of frequent occurrence. Cp. Dan. xii. 7; Orac. Sibyll. iii. 734; Enoch xc. 33; 4 Esdr. xiii. 39 &c.; 2 Macc. ii. 18.

15. The Itala expands this verse: *Anima mea, benedic Domino regi magno, quia liberavit*

16 For Jerusalem shall be built up with sapphires, and emeralds, and precious stone: thy walls and towers and battlements with pure gold.

17 And the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with beryl and carbuncle and stones of Ophir.

18 And all her streets shall say, Alleluia; and they shall praise him, saying, Blessed be God, which hath extolled it for ever.

(? *liberabit*, see Reusch *i. l.*) *Hierusalem, et ædificabit iterum domus illius in omnia sæcula sæculorum* (Vulg. *quoniam liberavit Jerusalem, civitatem suam, a cunctis tribulationibus*). *Felix* (Vulg. *Beatus*) *ero si fuerint reliquiæ de semine meo ad videndum claritatem tuam, et confitendum nomini regis cæli.*

16, 17. Cp. Isa. liv. 11, 12; Rev. xxi. 18 &c. The assignment of jewels &c. to various parts is more definite in the Itala: *Ostia Hierusalem sapphiro et smaragdo ædificabuntur: ex lapide pretioso omnes muri tui, et turres Hierusalem auro ædificabuntur, et propugnacula ejus auro mundo.* For these precious stones and the ingenious if fanciful conclusions which have been drawn from their colours or order, see notes to Rev. *l. c.* Their purity and lustre are, at least, a type of the heavenly treasure, of the incorruptible good things of God (Churton).

17. *shall be paved*] The Gk. ψηφολογηθήσονται embodies the idea of tesselated pavement, a mosaic arrangement common in the houses of the rich Romans. The pavement shall be, according to the Vulg., *ex lapide candido et mundo* (cp. Rev. ii. 17; xxi. 18), though Reusch conjectures *candido et mundo* to be a corruption for *carbunculo* (Itala).

stones of Ophir] Cp. 1 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. viii. 18. The numerous and different views as to the position of this much-disputed place may be reduced to four. Critics and geographers have found it in (1) Southern Arabia, (2) the east coast of Africa, (3) the eastern parts of India; or regarded it (4) as a collective name for distant southern lands. The most probable site would seem to be on one or other of the coasts of (1). Cp. Pressel in Herzog, 'R. E.²,' *s. n.*

18. *all her streets*] Gk. ῥύμαι. The usual meaning in the Bible of the narrower street or "lane" as distinguished from the broader streets, πλατεῖαι (*v.* 17: cp. Luke xiv. 21), is not perhaps to be pressed here. The *vici* of the Lat. Versions may point to the other use of ῥύμη, a city-quarter. The "streets" here personify those who in them raise the "endless Alleluia" (Isa. lx. 18; Rev. xix. 6). The Lat. Versions detach the words "Blessed" &c., from what precedes them, and make them the utterance, not of the singers in the streets, but of Tobit himself: *e.g.* Itala, *Benedictus Dominus, qui exaltat te, et benedictus in omnia sæcula sæculorum: quoniam in te benedicet nomen sanctum suum in æternum.*

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Hebrew has some interesting variations on the accepted texts. Neubauer gives the translation as follows: — "At that time Tobiyyah wrote down all these things with joy. And Tobi said, Blessed is the Lord, the great God, Who doeth marvellous things to His people and His servants. He smiteth and healeth, and killeth and maketh alive, and bringeth down to hell and lifteth up. Who hath dispersed us among the Gentiles; we are bound to publish all these marvellous works among the nations. And ye, O children of Israel, be strong and let your heart be of good courage, and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded, and He will wait that He may be gracious to you, and will be exalted that He may have mercy upon you. For the Lord is a God of judgment; blessed are all they that wait for Him. And ye, my children, continue in alms, prayer, and supplication before the Lord of all the world, for alms and prayer drive back the decree, for it is said, 'And alms do deliver from death.' And blessed is the Lord, Who hath shewn to me and my father and my forefathers, and every one who hath trusted in Him, wonders, and marvels, and great and terrible things. O Lord of the world, shew us in our days salvation and redemption by the coming of the Redeemer and the building of Ariel (*i.e.* Jerusalem; cp. Isa. xxix. 1, 2) before the eyes of all Israel, as it is said, 'In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely;' and it is written, 'And the ransomed of the Lord shall return;' and again, 'The Lord doth build up Jerusalem, He gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.' Blessed is the Lord for ever, Amen and Amen.

"End of the book of Tobi, the son of Tobiel. Praise to God."

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CHAPTER XIV.

3 *Tobit giveth instructions to his son,* 8 *specially to leave Nineve.* 11 *He and his wife die, and are buried.* 12 *Tobias removeth to Ecbatane,* 14 *and there died, after he had heard of the destruction of Nineve.*

SO Tobit made an end of praising God.

2 And he was eight and fifty years old when he lost his sight, which was restored to him after eight years: and he gave alms, and he [1]increased in the fear of the Lord God, and praised him.

[1] Or, *did more and more fear.*

3 And when he was very aged, he called his son, and the six sons of his son, and said to him, My son, take thy children; for, behold, I am aged, and am ready to depart out of this life.

4 Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which [a]Jonas the prophet spake of Nineve, that it shall be overthrown; and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media; and that our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that

[a] Jonah 3. 4.

CHAPTER XIV.

2. *eight and fifty years old*] The Versions and MSS. are hopelessly at variance here. Blindness came upon Tobit when he was 50, or 56, or 58, or 62, or 80, or 88 years of age (see Gutberlet, p. 343); 58 being the number approved by the best authorities. There is similar discrepancy as regards the duration of his life (see *v.* 11, note).

after eight years] Here also the Versions vary. The Syriac has the number 7; the Chald., Heb., Itala, and Vulg., the number 4 (see ii. 10, note).

and he gave alms &c.] That life of quiet good and of "daily increase more and more" in the service of God (*magis Deum colere*, Itala) is beautifully depicted, if in slightly different terms, by the Vulg.: *Reliquum vero vitæ suæ in gaudio fuit, et cum bono profectu timoris Dei perrexit in pace.* The comment of an old writer (Badwell in 'Crit. Sacri') sums it up thus: "Cursum pietatis ac religionis institutum non interrupit sed continuavit." Cp. Ps. lxxi. 14.

3. *when he was very aged*] *In hora mortis* (Vulg.). The number of his grandsons was seven, according to Itala and Vulg. The Syriac and a Heb. text read: "When I am dead, and thou hast buried me, see that after my death thou continuest no longer in Nineveh. Take thy children and all that thou hast and go into Media &c."

The forecast of the future here given by Tobit is based upon a belief in the fulfilment of God's word as declared by His Prophets; as such it is not unsuited to the clearness of spiritual vision sometimes vouchsafed to God's true servants as they approached their end (Gen. xxvii. 2, xlvii. 29). The time and occasion were appropriate: "Anima, quando appropinquat ad mortem, prægnoscit quædam futura subtilitate suæ naturæ" (Gregory the Great, quoted in Gutberlet, p. 349).

4. "So direct your hearts," allegorizes Bede, "that ye may leave the desires of this life and this world's 'conversation.' With all the heart seek heavenly things."

The Itala does not limit the prophecy of old to that of Jonah nor confine the destruction to Nineveh: *Omnia erunt, et venient super Assur et Nineven, quæ locuti sunt prophetæ Israel quos misit Dominus. Omnia evenient, nihilque minuetur ex omnibus verbis: sed omnia contingent temporibus suis, et in Media erit salus magis quam in Assyriis, et quam in Babylone: quia scio ego et credo quoniam omnia quæ dixit Dominus erunt et perficientur; et non excedet verbum de sermonibus Dei.* Jonah (iii. 3) had declared to Nineveh God's judgment that in forty days it should be overthrown. The Ninevites had "turned from their evil way, and God had repented of the evil, that He had said that He would do unto them; and He did it not" (Jon. iii. 10). When Tobit here declares his conviction that Nineveh should yet be overthrown, it is evident he felt that the repentance of Nineveh had been but short-lived (cp. his experience, ii. 18, note, and *v.* 10, note). Judgment might tarry, and he does not define too closely when it should come (*prope erit*, Vulg.); but come it would, and in the time of his sons. The fall of Nineveh took place in B.C. 608 (Delitzsch) or in B.C. 606 (Hommel), when Jehoiakim was king of Judah (2 Kings xxiv. 1). The Medes under Cyaxares and the Babylonians under the Crown-prince Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the city, and reduced Assyria to a Babylonian province. Media was then a safer country to live in than Assyria: so the Syriac here, "peace shall rather be in Media than in Nineveh and amongst the Assyrians and in Babylon." The "prophets" alluded to by the Itala may be Nahum (iii. 7. Grotius would read Ναοὺμ instead of Ἰωνᾶς), Zephaniah (ii. 13), Isaiah (x. 5, 12; xiv. 25), and Micah (v. 5).

our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that good land] Rather, "our brethren in the land" (*i.e.* the remnant of the ten tribes

good land: and Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time;

[b] Ezra 3. 8. & 6. 14.

5 [b]And that again God will have mercy on them, and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple, but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from *all* places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it [‖]for ever with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken thereof.

[‖] *for ever* is not in the Roman copy.

6 And all nations shall turn, and fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols.

7 So shall all nations praise the Lord, and his people shall confess God, and the Lord shall exalt his people; and all those which love the Lord God in truth and justice shall rejoice, shewing mercy to our brethren.

8 And now, my son, depart out of

left in the land and joined to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin) "shall be scattered" &c. The Syriac reads: "The rest of our brethren of Israel who dwell in Jerusalem shall lie scattered in the whole earth" &c. The "good land" is Palestine (Exod. iii. 8).

The Itala gives a different sense to the last words, *fratres nostri, qui habitant in terra Israel omnes dispergentur, et ex illis captivi ducentur ad terram optimam.* The Vulg. rendering is probably nearest to what may have been in the mind of the speaker: *fratres nostri, qui dispersi sunt a terra Israel, revertentur ad eam.*

for a time] Either an allusion to the termination of the full period of 70 years (Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10; Dan. ix. 2) or to the dawn of liberty announced by Cyrus (Ezra i. 1).

5. *not like to the first*] See Ezra iii. 12; Dan. ix. 25; Hagg. ii. 4. "Non ea magnificentia et gloria si structura spectetur, sed majore gloria si Regnum Christi spirituale consideretur" (Badwell in 'Crit. Sacr.'). It is to this ideal—the final fulfilment of the Messianic hopes—that the words ἕως πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος (cp. Dan. ix. 24 &c.) look onward. The rendering of the E. V. hardly does justice to the Gk., while the Itala has an altogether different rendering, *quoadusque repleatur tempus maledictionum* (Deut. xxviii. 15 &c.).

In this verse, a Heb. MS. makes several additions or amplifications: "There they shall build again the city and a temple . . ., and they shall continue there many days until . . . fulfilled." This is followed by a paragraph which foretells yet another captivity: "After this they shall go away into a very grievous captivity. But the holy and blessed God shall be mindful of them, and shall gather them from the four quarters of the world, and afterward they shall return . . . building; and all the land thereof that is desert shall be filled with people, and all that fear God shall return thither. And the temple shall be erected with an excellent building, which shall not be destroyed or overthrown for ever and ever."

6. *shall bury their idols*] κατορύξουσι. Cp. LXX. of Gen. xlviii. 7; Ezek. xxxix. 11; and for the words, Isa. ii. 20 and the Itala here, *relinquent omnia idola sua, quæ seducunt illos falso errore.* The Lat. Versions add to the rejection of idols a coming to Jerusalem and dwelling there, whence many commentators take Jerusalem to be typical of the Church of Christ, in which the union of Jew and Gentile is possible.

7. *and all those . . . shewing mercy to our brethren*] The Lat. Versions have interesting variations upon this thought. The Itala reads: *In die illa, cum diligentia et omnis justitia in illis erit, et gaudebunt qui diligunt Deum verum: qui autem faciunt iniquitatem et peccatum, deficient de terris omnibus:* the Vulg. is shorter and still more independent, *gaudebunt in ea* (Jerusalem) *omnes reges terræ adorantes regem Israel* (cp. xiii. 14, 15, Vulg.; Isa. xlix. 7, 23).

8. The address of Tobit now changes from general and prophetic remarks to what is personal to Tobias. From considering what shall be the future of his people, he passes on to consider what may bring happiness to his own son and his children, and the dominant idea in his mind is that contained in the last words of *v.* 7: upon this he enlarges in the verses following.

The Chaldee, which has but little resembling *vv.* 1–7, may be said to begin its last chapter here. It has a text differing much from that given in the E. V.: "After (some) days Tobi fell sick, and called his son Tobiyyah, and enjoined him the commandments of God, saying to him, My son, do goodness all thy days to the poor and the rich, and give alms all thy days, for the sake of which God will bless all the works of thine hands. The Lord blessed Abraham

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Nineve, because that those things which the prophet Jonas spake shall surely come to pass.

9 But keep thou the law and the commandments, and shew thyself merciful and just, that it may go well with thee.

10 And bury me decently, and thy mother with me; but tarry no longer at Nineve. Remember, my son, how Aman handled Achiacharus that brought him up, how out of light he brought him into darkness, and how he rewarded him again: yet Achiacharus was ‖saved, but the other had his reward: for he went down into darkness. ‖Manasses gave alms, and escaped the snares of death ‖which he had set.

‖ Or, *preserved.*
‖ Junius readeth, *Nitzba.*
‖ Rom. *which he had set.*

our father on account of the alms and tithes which he gave: and also Isaac, for that he gave tithe and did almsdeeds; and so when Jacob went to the house of Laban and prayed, he vowed only to give tithe and alms to the poor, and therefore God made him prosperous, and gave him all that he asked, and preserved him from Laban and his brother Esau. And if thou do like as they did, He will bless thee as He blessed them. And he enjoined them other commandments; and when he had made an end of doing so, he was gathered to his people."

Both the Itala and Vulg. give the address as spoken not only to Tobias, but to his sons. These Versions have nothing resembling *v.* 8, which seems a repetition of *v.* 4. *Et nunc, filii, vobis mando: Servite Domino in veritate, et facite coram illo quod ipsi placet; et filiis vestris mandate, ut faciant justitias et eleemosynas, et sint memores (Dei), et benedicant nomen ipsius in omni tempore, in veritate, in toto corde suo, et in tota virtute sua* (Itala).

9. *keep thou . . . commandments*] The sentence corresponding to this in the Lat. Versions is a comment upon it: thus the Vulg., *Servite Domino in veritate, et inquirite ut faciatis quæ placita sunt illi.*

shew thyself merciful] Gk. γενοῦ φιλελεήμων (ἁπ. λεγ.), the point of which is not brought out in "merciful." Stress is evidently laid on almsdeeds, and Tobias is bidden to be a "lover of almsgiving." In this sense both Itala and Vulg. take the thought (see above).

that it may go well with thee] The Vulg. intimates in what sense the exercise of justice and almsdeeds may bring good: *ut sint memores Dei, et benedicant eum in omni tempore in veritate, et in tota virtute sua.*

10. The reading of the Itala here (cp. also the Vulg.) is: *Nunc vero, fili, exi a Nivive, et noli manere hic: sed quacunque die sepelieris matrem tuam circa me, eodem die noli manere in finibus ejus; video enim quia multa iniquitas est in illa, et fictio multa perficitur* (cp. Wisd. xiv. 25), *et non confunduntur.*

Remember how Aman handled Achiacharus] This episode is mentioned only by the Gk. and Itala texts, and is differently rendered by the Syriac, "Remember how Ahab requited Akikar, who brought up Tobit." Critics have sought to identify Aman with the Haman and Achiacharus with the Mordecai mentioned in the Book of Esther (cp. Grätz, 'Monatschrift,' u.s.w., p. 401). The difficulties in the way of such identification are far greater than any resemblances (see a critical analysis of the matter in Fritzsche). It is perhaps more natural and simple to understand the passage as the record of an event in Tobit's own family, to which Achiacharus belonged (i. 21, 22), and as an illustration which would give point to the advice preceding it. Tobit had laid great stress upon the cultivation of obedience to God's law, justice, and almsdeeds, and the filial duty of paying the last sepulchral rites to a parent. There came to the dying man's memory the example which Achiacharus furnished of the good man and one Aman (or Ahab) of the bad. Simply to allude to this was enough; the details would be known to Tobias, and the application of the lesson an easy one. The Itala has Nadab instead of Aman; this and the Syriac Ahab are possible indications that the transcriber of the Greek text had before him some name other than Ἀμάν, but preferred it from his wish to identify the story with that of the Haman of the Book of Esther.

out of light . . . into darkness] Commentators usually understand this to mean that Aman reduced Achiacharus from prosperity to adversity. "He misguided him," explains the Syriac, "that he should not possess the land." But the Itala depicts it as an attempt upon the life of Achiacharus; *quem vivum deduxit in terram deorsum . . . quæsivit Nadab Achicarum occidere.* "He escaped," adds the Syriac, "into the light out of the snare which Ahab had laid for him, and entered into possession of the land." The Itala takes the "he" in "how he rewarded him again" not as referring to Achiacharus rewarding Aman with good for evil, but as referring to God, *reddidit Deus malitiam illius ante faciem ipsius.*

Manasses] The name is a *crux* to critics: naturally the name expected is Achiacharus, the reading here of the Itala and Syriac; but whence arose the reading Μανασσής? Some

they had set for him: but Aman fell into the snare, and perished.

11 Wherefore now, my son, consider what alms doeth, and how righteousness doth deliver. When he had said these things, he gave up the ghost in the bed, being an hundred and eight and fifty years old; and ‖ Or, *they.* ‖he buried him honourably.

12 And when Anna his mother was dead, he buried her with his father. But Tobias departed with his wife and children to Ecbatane to Raguel his father in law,

13 Where he became old with honour, and he buried his father and mother in law honourably, and he ‖inherited their substance, and his father Tobit's. ‖ Or, *possessed.*

14 And he died at Ecbatane in Media, being an hundred and seven and twenty years old.

15 But before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineve, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus: and before his death he rejoiced over Nineve.

have supposed it the Hebrew name of the Gk. Achiacharus; others, reading Amon instead of Aman, rectify Achiacharus by Manasseh, and refer to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20–23; others, again, count Manasses a misreading for Nasbas (xi. 18). It seems impossible at present to arrive at a satisfactory explanation. The name was common (cp. Judith viii. 2), and the act alluded to in the text may have been one known to Tobit's family.

gave alms and escaped the snares of death] Cp. iv. 10, xii. 9, of which this passage is intended to be a practical illustration (see *v.* 11).

11. *an hundred and eight and fifty*] Or 102, according to the Vulg. and Syriac; or 112, according to the Itala, Sinait. text &c.; or 150, according to some MSS.

At the end of *v.* 10 the concluding words of the Chald. version find their place: "And after his (Tobi's) death, God blessed Tobiyyah, because he fulfilled the commandments of his father, and He made him exceeding prosperous, and bestowed blessing on all the works of his hands.

"Behold we learn how great is the power of alms and tithes. Because Tobi gave alms and separated his tithes as is meet, how the Holy One (blessed is He!) rewarded him. And because the fathers of the world knew the power of alms, therefore they gave heed to them. Of Abraham it is written, 'And he gave him tithes of all' (Gen. xiv. 20); of Isaac it is written, 'Then Isaac sowed in that land' (Gen. xxvi. 12), and 'sowing' means nothing else than alms, as it is said, 'Sow to yourselves in alms' (Hos. x. 12); of Jacob it is written, 'And of all that Thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto Thee' (Gen. xxviii. 22). The end of the history of Tobiyyah. Praise to God."

12. *departed . . . to Ecbatane*] If Judith i. 14, 15 be historically correct, Tobias, while living at Nineveh, had escaped the troubles which fell upon Ecbatane; now by removing to Ecbatane he would escape the troubles coming upon Nineveh. "So from age to age the warnings of God's prophets have been a protection to God's people, and a means of their preservation. Cp. St. Matt. xxiv. 15–18." (Churton.)

13. *he buried . . . honourably*] "In Ecbatane" (Syriac). The Lat. Versions record a previous trait in Tobias' character: *invenit eos (soceros suos) incolumes in senectute bona; et curam eorum gessit (curam habebat senectutis eorum honorifice,* Itala), *et ipse clausit oculos eorum* (Vulg.).

14. The Vulg. adds: *vidit quintam generationem filios, filiorum suorum. Et . . . cum gaudio sepelierunt eum.* The age given in the E. V. and Gk. is variously given as 117 by the Itala, 107 in the Syriac, and 99 in the Vulg.

15. *taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus*] Rather by Nebuchadnezzar, the Crown-prince and general of his father's (Nabopalassar's) army, and Cyaxares (see *v.* 4, note). The Itala has the name *Achicar rex Medorum.* The Syriac adds that Tobias heard also "of the captivity into which it (the people of Nineveh) was carried into Media; and he praised the Lord for all the things that He had done."

The anachronism which introduces Assuerus here is only intelligible on the supposition that the scribe caught at another name connected with the time of Esther (cp. *v.* 10, note).

The Vulg. closes its text with the following record of the descendants of Tobias:—*Omnis autem cognatio ejus, et omnis generatio ejus in bona vita et in sancta conversatione permansit, ita ut accepti essent tam Deo quam hominibus, et cunctis habitantibus in terra.*

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JUDITH.

INTRODUCTION.

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על שלשה דברים העולם עומד על התורה ועל העבודה
ועל גמילות חסדים:

"Upon three things the world standeth: upon the Law, and upon the Liturgy, and upon the Showing of Mercies." (Simeon the Just: *Pirqê Âbôth*, i. 2.)

"Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium: postquam Macedones praepotuere, rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est, nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat."—Tac. *Hist.* v. 8.

Πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐνδυναμωθεῖσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπετελέσαντο πολλὰ ἀνδρεῖα. Ἰουδεὶθ ἡ μακαρία, ἐν συγκλεισμῷ οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, ᾐτήσατο παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐαθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων· παραδοῦσα οὖν ἑαυτὴν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐξῆλθεν δι' ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν συγκλεισμῷ, καὶ παρέδωκεν Κύριος Ὀλοφέρνην ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας.—S. Clem. Rom. i. 55; Lightfoot, p. 159.

"Item placuit ut praeter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicae scripturae Genesis, Exodus, . . . Judith."—*47th Canon of Third Council of Carthage*, A.D. 397.

§ I. General Relation of the Book to Ancient History.

THE Book of Judith professes to supply the historical narrative of a series of events which occurred in Palestine soon after the return of the Jews from Babylonia, and the restoration of the Temple (ch. iv. 3; v. 18, 19). On the other hand, it assumes that the Assyrian and Median monarchies were still existing at the epoch of the story. Thus at the outset we are met by a fundamental contradiction, which is inexplicable on the assumption that the book is a literal history. And when it is added that, on the most favourable construction,[1] the account of the campaigns of Holofernes bristles with political, geographical, and strategical impossibilities, we see at once that we have to do with a work of fiction, not a sober chronicle of bygone events.

[1] See O. Wolff, 'Das Buch Judith' (Leipzig, 1861). The profuse learning, much of it now antiquated, which Wolff has here amassed, only shews that the historical character of the book cannot be sustained.

§ II. Patristic Testimonies and original Language.

The first external testimony to the work is the reference in the Epistle of S. Clement of Rome (1 ad Cor. 55), written towards the close of the first century of our era. It is also cited by S. Clement of Alexandria,[1] Tertullian,[2] and Origen,[3] who observes: Περὶ Τωβία ἡμᾶς ἐχρῆν ἐγνωκέναι ὅτι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ

[1] 'Strom.' II., lib. iv. p. 617.
[2] 'De Monog.,' 17, *sub fin.*
[3] 'Hom. 9 in Judices;' 'Hom. 19 in Jerem.;' 'Epist. ad Africanum,' c. 13, cited in text.

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χρῶνται (οἱ Ἑβραῖοι) οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰουδίθ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις Ἑβραϊστὶ, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν. Origen, therefore, had ascertained from the Jews that a Hebrew text of Judith was unknown.[1] S. Jerome, however, used a *Chaldee* text in preparing his new Latin version. In his preface to the book, which should be compared with that to Tobit, he writes: "Apud Hebraeos liber Judith inter Hagiographa legitur: cujus auctoritas ad roboranda illa quae in contentionem veniunt, minus idonea judicatur. Chaldaeo tamen sermone conscriptus, inter historias computatur. Sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicaena in numero sanctarum scripturarum legitur computasse, acquievi postulationi vestrae immo exactioni: et sepositis occupationibus quibus vehementer arctabar, huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi: sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi." Volkmar, indeed, has put a grossly unfair construction upon this passage.[1] But, as regards the Nicene

[1] The Greek of the LXX. is the source of the Syriac and Old Latin versions.

The Greek MSS. present a great variety of readings, and have been grouped by Fritzsche thus: Cod. II. (Vatic.) gives the purest text; Codd. III. (Alex.), X. 23, 52, 55, an inferior state of it. The other cursives fall into two groups, as follows:—

(1.) Codd. 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 107, 236, and often 23. (2.) Codd. 64, 243, 248, 249; often supported by III., 52, 55.

The text of the Complutensian and Aldine editions (Co. Ald.) follows now the one, now the other group.

The text of each group, especially that of the former, varies greatly from the archetypal text.

Two other forms of the text are seen in Cod. 58, which is followed by the Old Latin and Syriac; and in Codd. 19, 108. Both are attempts to reconstruct the ordinary Greek text.

Nickes finds the common text in Cod. II., III. (23), 52, 55. The other MSS. fall into the two groups:—(1.) 64, 243, 248, 249; (2.) 44, 106, 71, 74, 76, 236. Codd. 58, 19, and 108 constitute an independent group, with which the Old Latin and Syriac accord. Volkmar writes: "The Greek version of the LXX. is preserved in two principal recensions: (1.) Cod. Vatic. or II. (4th cent.), and Cod. Alex. or III. (5th cent.), with numerous minor followers, especially 52, 55. (2.) Codd. 58 (19, 108), with the Old Latin (Reg. and San-Germ.a), and Walton's Syriac. The Vulgate consists of a new and very arbitrary account, after an Old Latin text, which was itself a somewhat free following of the second recension. Historically, this Vulgate version is worthless." (?)

Volkmar is right in his remarks upon the value of Cod. 58, which presents many acute emendations of the common text (see the Commentary). He adds that although we have but a single translation of the lost Hebrew original, and that in no single MS. quite pure, yet the true text may be restored from Tischendorf's ed. of Cod. Vatic. with the variants of Cod. Alex. (1850), and the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons, Sabatier, and Walton. The extreme literalness of the translation from the Hebrew is a material help.

[1] He thus paraphrases the plain statement that the book was written in Chaldee: "Diess Buch ist (wie schon die lateinische Uebersetzung vor mir klar zeigt) ursprünglich chaldäisch geschrieben" ('Einleit. in die Apokr.' p. 8). Continuing a kind of criticism by which an ancient writer may easily be made to contradict himself, and to say almost anything that a modern critic pleases, Volkmar writes (ibid. pp. 9, 10): "Wenn Hieronymus nun sofort das Nähere gesagt hat, 'sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaicis (*sic*) invenire potui, Latinis expressi,' so ist das denkbarer Weise eine übermässige Kürze des Ausdrückes, wo er hätte sagen sollen: 'in verbis codd. illorum variorum (Latinorum), qui ex Chaldaïco sermone provenerunt.' Denkbar bleibt aber auch, dass Hieronymus den Mund etwas zu voll genommen hat, wie ihm das auch sonst begegnet. Dass er hier jedenfalls zu viel oder, was diesmal dasselbe ist, zu wenig gesagt hat, das ergiebt sich bestimmt genug. (1.) Es besteht factisch seine ganze Arbeit nur in einer abkürzenden, aber auch umstellenden und Allerlei rathenden Wiedergabe des Vet. Lat., so zwar, dass er selbst den Ausdruck in ganz Willkürlichem wiedergegeben hat, selbst gegen seine Art Latein. . . . Nicht einmal den griechischen Text hat er bei dieser schnellfertigen lucubratiuncula verglichen. (2.) Es ist wohl möglich dass die Juden schon zu seiner Zeit eine chaldäische Bearbeitung des schönen, von der abendländischen Kirche so hoch gehaltenen Buches gemacht haben; eine solche Megillat mochte dem Hieronymus bei einem Juden zu Gesicht gekommen sein. Nur ist sie am wenigsten die Grundlage für seine lucubratiuncula geworden. Denn er hat, wie es scheint, gar kein Chaldäisch verstanden, oder doch viel zu mangelhaft, wie er Prol. in Tobiam selbst gesteht." Had Volkmar read the 'Prol. in Danielem,' where Jerome describes the pains he took to learn Chaldee, ending with the statement that he could read and understand that language better than he could speak it? ("Et ut verum fatear, usque ad praesentem diem magis possum sermonem Chaldaïcum legere et intelligere quam sonare.") In the same preface, he says of Daniel and Ezra, precisely as of Judith, that they were "Chaldaeo sermone conscriptos." Volkmar's criticism unduly magnifies the coincidences of phraseology between

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sanction, it may have been stated in some history of the Council known to S. Jerome that Judith had therein been quoted, or otherwise recognised as Scripture, although no trace of the fact is to be found in the extant Acts and Canons of the Synod; or "legitur" may simply refer to a statement of his correspondents (cf. Badwell's remark: "Et Hieronymus videtur totam rem non nisi ex dubia fama habuisse"). At the same time S. Jerome himself had no great opinion of the value of the book.[1] He appears to have dealt with it in the same fashion as with Tobit, which he translated along with Judith (398 A.D. at Bethlehem): that is to say, he employed a Jewish scholar familiar with both Hebrew and Chaldee to translate aloud from the Chaldee text into Hebrew; he himself, in turn, dictating his Latin version of the Hebrew to an amanuensis (see 'Praef. in Tob.'). Tobit, he tells us, cost him "unius diei laborem;" Judith, "unam lucubratiunculam." This may only mean the first rough draft; but in any case, with regard to Judith, the work was done in great haste, not to say carelessly; the translator, as he says himself, not attempting word-for-word exactness, so long as he secured an equivalent sense. He adds that he did not trouble himself about the numerous and arbitrary variants of MSS.; only concerning himself to reproduce or preserve in his own version those particulars of the story for which he could find, with a clear perception of the sense, corresponding statements in the words of his Chaldee codex ("sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi"). His work appears to have been not so much a translation of the Chaldee MS. as a verification or reform of the Old Latin text by means of that codex, which he supposed to be more authentic; and this accounts for the fact, of which Volkmar makes so much, that the language of the Vulgate not seldom coincides with that of the Old Latin, which, of course, lay before S. Jerome. (See Appendix II.) That being so, it is evident that the Chaldee text must have differed considerably from the Greek of the Septuagint, upon which the Old Latin is based. And since almost every line of the Greek presents unmistakable marks of translation from a Hebrew original, it is equally evident that the Chaldee text used by S. Jerome did not represent the oldest form of the narrative, but must itself have been a free translation or adaptation of the Hebrew account, which in his day was no longer extant.[1]

the Vulgate and the Old Latin, while it altogether fails to give a credible explanation of the numerous and striking differences. My own impression is that the Vulgate text may very well be regarded as a free rendering of a Chaldee recension of Midrashic character. (See Appendix II.)

[1] Nickes argues that for this very reason his testimony is all the more valuable: "nam Hieronymus nisi veritate coactus, nunquam ita de contempto libro ab Hebraeis, ejusque de auctoritate canonica, testificatus esset." He thinks the Libell. Synod. ap. Mansi, ii. 747 *sq.*, proves that the Nicene Fathers drew up a Catalogue of Scriptures.

[1] This Chaldee version may even have been made from a Greek or Latin text; as appears to have been the case with the Chaldee Tobit published by Dr. Neubauer, which presents such spellings as רגש, ראגיש, which recall Rages and Ραγαῖς, rather than the native name Rhagâ (Vendidad); and which writes אגבתנים (cf. Vulg. Jud. i. 1, Ecbatanis) instead of אחמתא (Ezra vi. 2); תיגרין (cf. Greek and Lat. Τίγριν, Tigrin) instead of the Diglath of the Targum and Talmud; אקיקר, instead of אחיעכר; and קברי instead of גברי (= גבריאל). Such translations were made by the Jews down to a comparatively late period. The little Megillath Antiochos, also called the Greek Roll, referred by Zunz to the age of the Geonim (the post-Gemaric Rabbis), and first cited A.D. 941, is a case in point. It exists in Chaldee (and in a Hebrew translation therefrom), on which account Dr. Jellinek says it must be "very old."

Judith may have been done into "Chaldee," for the benefit of the Palestinian and Mesopotamian Jews, in the time between Origen and Jerome. If not accidentally lost, the Hebrew may have been suppressed by the Rabbis of an earlier period, because the book glorifies the Hasmonean family, which had become the object of Pharisaic hatred.

This Introd. was already in type, when, by the kindness of the Editor, I received a copy of Dr. Anton Scholz's 'Das Buch Judith.' He holds that S. Jerome translated from the Greek, retaining, however, only so much of it as he found warrant for in his Chaldee MS. He did not aim at literalness; but as he was writing for Christians who were familiar with the Old Latin, he conformed his new version thereto, so far as he was able. In estimating the agreements between the two, some allowance must be made for the alterations of later harmonizers,

I have said that the Greek of the LXX. —the oldest existing form of the narrative —is not the original text. We find in it not merely the usual phenomena characteristic of Greek written by Jews. It is not merely Greek with a certain sprinkling of Hebraisms. The language as a whole, the syntactical construction, the mode of presenting events and ideas, the general complexion of the work, so irresistibly suggest a Hebrew original, that as a rule it is easy to divine what the Hebrew must have been.[1] There is no need to illustrate these statements here, as the illustration of them constitutes an essential element in the commentary.[2]

§ III. Date inferred from internal Evidence and Tradition.

Can the date of the book be determined? I think so, at least approximately. As we have seen, it is first cited by S. Clement towards the end of the first Christian century. But I cannot, therefore, agree with scholars who, on the ground of this fact, taken in connexion with the silence of Philo and Josephus, assign this or a later date for the composition of the book. The argument from the silence of these authors, if admitted, would prove too much. Josephus omits Job as well as Judith; perhaps because, as Nickes thinks, he did not know where to fit either into his history: while Philo fails to notice, not Judith only, but the entire Apocrypha.[1] S. Clement's reference supplies a *terminus ad quem*. It does more; it implies that the book had already existed for some considerable period; for time must be allowed after the publication of the Hebrew narrative for its translation into Greek and reception into the Greek Scriptures. The other limit can only be fixed, if at all, by the internal indications of the book itself. These at once exclude the times of the Jewish monarchy and the Babylonian exile. The passages already cited (iv. 3; v. 18 *sq.*) expressly assign the events narrated to the time immediately subsequent to the return from the Captivity. In that case, however, the author has transferred the conditions of his own time to an earlier age; for, as Fritzsche observes, the legal standpoint, the advance in ceremonial strictness, the cry for vengeance, the long oppression which constitutes the background of the piece,[2] the mention of the sabbath eve (*προσάββατον*) and the eve of the new moon (*προνουμηνία*, ch. viii. 6), and the references to the Sanhedrin (*γερουσία*), undoubtedly point us to the latest pre-Christian cen-

and for chance. In the Song of Judith (ch. xvi.), S. Jerome naturally retained the language of a familiar hymn (cf. Wolff). Neither the LXX. nor the Vulgate presents the original text inviolate. In each there is a certain number of obvious amplifications; especially in the LXX., which contains some fifteen verses more than the Vulgate.

In spite of this, I should myself say, "especially in the Vulgate:" cf. notes at v. 13; vi. 20; x. 5; xv. 3, 9. The passage, ch. i. 12 b–16, which is wanting in the Vulgate, is certainly genuine, if style and substance count for anything. On the other hand, many phrases and sentences in the Vulgate have the look of glosses and expansions. The Vulgate, however, is unduly disparaged by Volkmar and even Fritzsche. It undoubtedly preserves some features of the original narrative, which have disappeared from the Greek: see notes on ch. ii. 21; iii. 1, 9; v. 14; vii. 3, 7; xiv. 13; xvi. 4, 13, 25.

[1] The writer, therefore, was a Palestinian, not an Alexandrian Jew; as is also indicated by the intimate knowledge of the topography of Canaan, which glimmers through the textual corruptions of the book.

[2] An important point is the comparative infrequency of Greek particles. Thus *μὲν* occurs but once (ch. v. 20); *ἄν*, only four times; *ἄρα*, *τε*, *οὖν*, not at all. *Δὲ* is wanting in four chapters; *ἀλλὰ* in nine. The common use of *σφόδρα* (= Heb. מְאֹד), and the pleonastic expression of the relative (*ἐν οἷς . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς*, ch. vii. 10; *ὧν . . . αὐτῶν*, ch. xvi. 4) should also be noticed.

[1] Volkmar urges that the book must be later than Domitian, as Josephus does not mention it, although he makes use of such trifling additions to the history of Israel as are found in 3 Esdras and the Greek Esther, and was too uncritical to suspect the truth of the book, had he known it. He passes over Job, because its locality is extra-Palestinian, and its subject the private history of a non-Israelite.

Hilgenfeld says Josephus did not use Judith, because it was an Apocryphon.

Ewald wrote oracularly: "Von Philon oder Josephus eine Anspielung auf dieses Buch erwarten heisst diese gelehrten Männer nicht kennen."

[2] Keil affirms the contrary, in the interest of his theory, which refers the events of Judith to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus.

turies for the date of the story.[1] With this internal evidence Jewish tradition accords (see Appendix I.), as it calls Judith the daughter of John the brother, or of Mattathias the father, of Judas Maccabeus.[2]

§ IV. Author's Standpoint and Object.

The book can hardly be older than the First Book of Maccabees, which was

The entire absence of idolatry (ch. viii. 18) excludes the whole period of the monarchy. And the fact that Israel is not divided into two kingdoms, but that the *whole* country obeys the High Priest and Sanhedrin (iv. 4, 6; xv. 5, 8), points to the period of the Hasmonean government.

[2] Zunz, 'Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden,' p. 124. As this work has become scarce, I will here append the author's remarks upon our book. "Mit der Maccabäischen Sagen steht das Buch Judith in einer doppelten Verwandschaft; eines Theils giebt es uns gleichfalls die Sage einer Erlösung und eines angeblichen Volksfestes: anderntheils, wird in der späteren Hagada Judith als Tochter des Jochanan oder des Matathia und als Heldin der Hasmonäischen Zeit dargestellt. Es findet sich in einer von dem griechischen Text völlig abweichenden Gestalt, in den Sammlungen der Hagadischen Geschichten [Megill. Taanith, ch. 6, &c.]; und schon Hieronymus meldet dass Judith in aramäischer Sprache von den Juden nicht als kanonische Schrift, sondern als eine Geschichte betrachtet wurde. Es wäre wohl möglich dass in einer palaestinensischen Stadt zum Andenken an die Heldenthat eines Weibes ein Volksfest gefeiert; und nachdem die wahre Veranlassung vergessen war, und einer mannigfach ausgestatteten Sage Platz gemacht hatte, der Judith zu Ehren eine Geschichte, vermuthlich noch vor der Zerstörung des Tempels, erdichtet wurde."

Hitzig connected Judith with the revolt of Simeon bar Cocheba (A.D. 132). Volkmar, with much learning and greater dogmatism, insists that the book is a true history, "veiled under the forms of O. T. language, and written for the festival of victory held on the 12th Adar, after Trajan's death;" in fact, for the first celebration of the *yom Turyanos* (Trajan's Day), at the end of A.D. 117, or the beginning of 118. The "profanation" of ch. iv. 3 is the destruction of the second Temple by Titus; the Return is the restoration of the sacrifices on the Temple-site, conceded by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, but almost immediately withdrawn (!). Volkmar bases his speculations upon the data furnished by Grätz ('Geschichte der Juden,' iv. 136–148; Berlin, 1853). He identifies the campaign of ch. i. with Trajan's first Parthian expedition (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 15). But, as Lipsius observes, "Trajan returned before he had even crossed the Tigris, much less reached Parthia proper; without having triumphed in any important engagement, for the simple reason that none such had occurred; without having come into collision with Osrhoes, the Parthian king; without having seen either Ecbatana or Rhagae; much less, having taken all the other strongholds of the Parthians. He only got as far as Mesopotamia, and the Parthian power was for the present still unbroken. Under such circumstances, to tell the tale of Trajan's exploits after the fall of Ecbatana and the victory at Rhagae (Jud. i. 15), was something more than even Jewish imagination was capable of." The campaign of ch. ii. can only be assimilated to Trajan's second Parthian war, by assuming much of the narrative to be mere poetical romancing on the part of the Jewish author. At the same time, Volkmar takes for granted his own competence to separate fact from fiction, by a sort of historical divination apparently. Although Grätz had declared (p. 138) that "there is no indication that the Jews in *Palestine* assumed a warlike attitude under Trajan," Volkmar makes them participate in the general outbreak of the Jews of Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, and Babylonia, which took place in the last year of that emperor (A.D. 117); and he supposes that the Moorish prince Lusius Quietus, whom Trajan appointed governor of Judea (ἡγεμὼν Ἰουδαίας) in recognition of his services in crushing the revolt in Mesopotamia (Euseb. iv. 2), proceeded at once to suppress the movement in Palestine. But even if the account be correct, the appointment of Quietus is sufficiently explained by Trajan's apprehensions; and, as a matter of fact, our only authorities, the epitomators of Dio and Eusebius, say nothing of any actual rising in Palestine. It is true that Grätz (p. 146), on the ground of certain Rabbinical passages, asserts that the Jews of Palestine also organized a rebellion, headed by Julianus of Alexandria and Pappus. But he adds: "Upon the nature of the war in Judea, the sources are altogether silent. They only note that in the first year of Hadrian, or 52 years after the destruction of the Temple, the Jews rebelled against Rome." This was "the war of Qitos" (Polemos shel Qitos) of the Jewish narratives. In the midst of his career of bloodshed, Quietus was recalled by Hadrian, probably at the prayer of the Jews, and permission given to rebuild the Temple. Quietus was put to death by Hadrian's orders; an incident which, according to Volkmar, is symbolized in Judith by the slaying of Holofernes. The Jewish testimonies, however, are both obscure and ambiguous. The passage from the Mishna (Sota ix. 14: ed. Wagenseil, p. 962) runs: "In the war of Vespasian, they (*i.e.* the Sanhedrin) made a decree against the crowns of bridegrooms, and the timbrel [repeated, Gittin 7a]. In the war of Titus, they made a decree against the crowns of brides, and that a man teach not his son Greek." Grätz and Volkmar here conjecture Qitos (קיטוס) for Titos (טיטוס); a reading which they also assume in Seder Olam Rabba, c. 30 (not 31), on the strength of the fact that De Rossi's edition gives it. (See Meor Enayim, by R. Azariah Min-ha-'Adummim: Mantua, 1574.) But not only is the Seder Olam, as Volkmar allows, a much corrected and

probably written not so very long after the close of the reign of John Hyrcanus (died B.C. 105): see 1 Macc. xvi. 23 *sq.* Perhaps we may refer Judith to the time of Salome-Alexandra (B.C. 79–70), who succeeded to the government on the death of her second husband, Alexander Jannaeus; and in whose councils the Pharisaic or high orthodox party was dominant. The book may then be regarded as an attempt to recommend Pharisaic principles by a sort of historical novel, ostensibly founded upon records of the elder past, but essentially depending upon recollections of the age immediately preceding that of the author. It draws an attractive picture of the golden times after the Return (ch. iv. 2 *sq.*), when the royal and pontifical functions had not yet become joined in ill-omened union in the same person; because the government of the restored nation was conducted by the High Priest, assisted by the Council of Elders (the Sanhedrin), and the people knew no king but Jehovah (ch. iv. 6, 8; xv. 5, 8). Aristobulus, the first husband of Salome, was also the first of the Hasmonean pontiff-princes to assume the unpopular title of king,—unpopular at least with the Pharisees; and her second husband, Jannaeus (Heb. Jannai, Jonathan), had been content in the first decade of his reign with the title of High Priest only. It was a time of military enterprise, during which Salome conducted home affairs in the name of her absent consort. After the breach between Jannai and the Pharisees, he is styled on his coins "Jonathan the king," "Alexander the king." Now the Book of Judith professes to describe a time when there was no king in Israel (*i.e.* the time prior to the Hasmonean assumption of the kingly title); and it is a fact that after the death of Jannaeus, so long as Salome lived, her eldest son, Hyrcanus II., was only High Priest; and although Salome herself was nominally sovereign, the reality of power lay with the Pharisees. There was a queen, but no *king* in Israel. A work written to uphold the Pharisaic theory of government by High Priest and Sanhedrin might well have appeared during this period.[1]

interpolated work; De Rossi's edition seems to stand alone in this particular correction (or misprint?): see the ed. published at Mantua, 1513, that of Genebrardus, Basiliae, 1580, and that of Constantinople, 1516. The last reads: "From the war of Herod to the war of Vespasian, eighty years. And these in the presence of the Temple. From the war of Vespasian to the war of Titus, fifty and two years. [The numbers are expressed by words, not by the numeral signs.] From the war of Titus to the war of Ben Coziba, sixteen years. And the war of Ben Coziba [*i.e.* Bar Cocheba], three years and a half." Instead of *Herod* (הורודום), the other editions read אסוירום, which looks like Severus, but which Volkmar corrects into Sabinus. The numerals vary in the different editions. It is hardly safe to build upon so uncertain a foundation; but even if Qitos be correct, and Quietus intended, the reference will be to the historical war in Mesopotamia, not to the hypothetical one in Judea. Volkmar labours in vain to force the words of Spartianus, "Lycia denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant," into evidence of an actual revolt in Judea; and when ('Handbuch,' p. 56) he quotes a statement relating to Lusius Quietus (*ὥστε ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγότας ἐγγραφῆναι, καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξαι· ἐξ ὧν που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐφθονήθη* (*i.e.* by Hadrian) *καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ ἀπώλετο*), with the remark that the last sentence contains "the theme of the entire Judith-poem;" and actually ventures upon the following paraphrase of it: *Λούσιος μάλιστά που πρὸς τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Ἰουδίθ) ἀπώλετο, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτετμημένος*, he forces upon our perception the extreme artificiality of his theory, and the hopelessness of finding any real support for it in the documents to which he refers us. The simple truth is that the Book of Judith presents not the smallest trace of the state of Jewish affairs in the Roman times; and the citation by S. Clement of Rome is of itself a fatal objection to Volkmar's theory. (See Lightfoot, 'Epp. of S. Clement,' pp. 4, 5; where the date of the epistle is fixed as A.D. 95.) As Lipsius has pointed out, the *yom Turyanos* (or *Tiryanos*) of the Megillath Taanith need not refer to Trajan at all, but to the Roman general Rufus, the *tyrannus* who crushed Bar Cocheba.

Further objections to Volkmar's theory will be found in the commentary.

[1] The mention of the Edomites as enemies of the Jews depends on O. T. recollections, and on the data of 1 Macc. iv. 61; v. 1–3. Consequently, it does not prove, as Lenormant supposed, that the book is older than the time of John Hyrcanus. Similar considerations invalidate Movers' theory that the author has transferred the political geography of his own day to the past, because he includes Scythopolis and Samaria in the Jewish state (ch. iii. 10; iv. 4), whereas they were independent of Judea, till Hyrcanus conquered and annexed them (Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 10, 3). The reference to Samaria may be explained by 1 Macc. xi. 28, 34, and the heathenism of the sea-coast (ch. ii. 28) by 1 Macc. v. 15, 68; x. 69, 75, 77, 86; without the assumption that the book is prior to the last years of Jannaeus, who con-

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In weaving his didactic romance, the author draws freely upon such historical knowledge as he possessed, borrowing much from the sacred records of his own people, and something from the less familiar field of foreign history. In the happy age which he professes to describe, a signal deliverance of the country had been won from Heaven, by dint of rigorous adhesion to the precepts of a developed Mosaism. God could not look with indifference upon the public prayers and fasts of a united people (ch. iv. 11–13): comp. 1 Macc. iii. 46–49. The lesson of Israel's past was that "whilst they sinned not before their God, they prospered; . . . but when they departed from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed" (ch. v. 17, 18). What that way was, in the estimation of the writer, is evident from the account which he gives of his heroine (ch. viii. 4–6). She is represented as a rich and beautiful widow (a compliment, perhaps, to the royal widow Salome), living in strict seclusion, mortifying the flesh with the austerities of a nun, wearing sackcloth next the skin, keeping strict fast except on "the eves of the sabbaths and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel." The greater strictness in the observance of festivals exacted by the rigid Pharisee is here by implication advocated. Not only the sabbaths and the new moons which the Law prescribed, and which Antiochus Epiphanes sought to abolish (Dan. vii. 25; 1 Macc. i. 45; Megillath Antiochus; Midrash Hanuccah; *vid. infra*), but also the eves of those festivals were now required to be observed. Circumcision is the test of the proselyte Achior's sincerity (ch. xiv. 10). What is said (ch. xi. 13) about the unlawfulness of even "touching with the hands" the firstfruits of corn and the tenths of wine and oil, and Judith's ablutions before prayer and before her daily meal (ch. xii. 7–9), is evidence in the same direction. The influence with the Most High of such zeal for the Law was, in the author's judgment, practically unbounded. The elders of Bethulia suppose that Judith's prayers will bring them rain (ch. viii. 31); a detail which recalls the Jewish story about Onias (Coniah), called המעגל, who was able to coerce the Almighty by his prayers. (Onias was contemporary with Simeon ben Shetach: *vid. infra.*) The unqualified approbation bestowed upon the treacherous cruelty of the patriarch Simeon—a feature in Judith which has occasioned some perplexity—is easily accounted for upon our theory of the origin of the book. In ch. viii. 1 (see also ix. 2) Simeon figures as Judith's original ancestor; a fact which at once reminds us that a Simeon was the forefather of Judas Maccabeus, whose father, Mattathias, was "the son of John, the son of Simeon" (1 Macc. ii. 1). Simeon was, in fact, a Maccabean (better, Hasmonean) name; and the thought of the old writer may have embraced "Simon (or Simeon) called Thassi,"[1] the heroic

quered the towns of the coast (Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 15, 4; cf. xiii. 12, 2).

On the other hand, a Jew writing after A.D. 70, when the Sanhedrin took up its quarters at Jamnia, would hardly have reckoned that town as heathen (ch. ii. 28; cf. iii. 8).

Judith dies at the age of 105 (ch. xvi. 23). It is a curious fact that from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Salome is a period of about 105 years (175–70 B.C.).

Again, if Judith be supposed to have been 23 when she killed Holofernes-Nicanor in 161 B.C., she must have lived 82 years after that event, to reach the age of 105. But 82 deducted from 161 leaves 79, and 79 B.C. was the year of Salome's accession as sole ruler. Cf. also the note on ch. xvi. 25.

[1] The Syriac has *Tharsi*, i.e. perhaps "shield-bearer," from Chald. תרס, *tĕrês*, "a shield:" cf. Arab. *tarrâs* and *târis*, from *turs*, "a shield." All the epithets of the five brothers would naturally be not Hebrew but Jewish-Aramean, the vernacular of the time. In that case, "Caddis" is doubtless the Gaddi of the Syriac version; an appellative from Gad (Syr. *gaddâ*), "fortune," meaning "lucky," Felix (cf. Gaddi, Num. xiii. 11).

"Avaran," Syr. *Ḥawrân*, perhaps means "the pale" (from חור Chald. and Syr., *albus fuit*).

The "Savaran" of 1 Macc. vi. 43 should also be Avaran.

"Apphus," the surname of Jonathan, is in the Syr. *Happûs*, which may be compared with the root חפס, "to dig," and then "to search out," *explorare, excogitare.* Apphus will then be a good name for a military leader (cf. also the Heb. uses of חפש).

"Maccabeus," the most famous of these epithets, has been variously derived. The Syriac has *Maqbi*, and the name is so written

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elder brother of Judas, who was recognised as High Priest and ruler of the Jews by Demetrius Nicator (143 B.C.), and also by the Romans,—a recognition solemnly ratified by his grateful countrymen, who decreed the permanence of those honours to him and his heirs, "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. xiv. 35 *sqq.*). But the chief reference may be to another Simeon, who was, if my view be correct, more nearly the author's contemporary; I mean the famous Simeon ben Shetach, who led the Pharisaic party during the reigns of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome. This Simeon was at least closely connected with the Hasmonean family, as he is called the queen's "brother" ('Berachoth,' 48a, l. 21). His influence, which in the king's time had been great, became unbounded under Salome; and, if we may credit the Talmudic accounts, his unrelenting party-spirit drove him on to a ruthlessness even surpassing that of his patriarchal namesake and prototype. (See 'Jerus. Sanhedr.' vi. 6; and passages cited in Introd. to Susanna.)[1] Among the statutes enacted by himself and his party were certain changes in the law of evidence, especially affecting the kind of charges exemplified in the Story of Susanna (*vid. infra*); and certain regulations protecting the rights of married women (*e.g.* that in all future marriage-contracts the husband should execute an instrument, making all his goods liable for his wife's dowry), and restricting the power of divorce (cf. Judith ix. 2). These reforms may have been partly, if not wholly, intended to gratify a female ruler; an intention which may also be recognised in our romancer's portraiture of a woman, and that a widow, as the saviour of the commonwealth.[1] At the same time, no doubt, this representation suggests the weakness of the Jewish community, considered from the human standpoint, and revives old memories of great deliverances wrought by women, such as Deborah and Jael and Esther; while hardly veiling a triumphant scoff at the defeat of the Syrians by their numerical inferiors.

§ V. His Use of Pseudonyms.

It will be evident already that I regard the chief proper names in the Book of Judith as covering allusions to the persons and historical situations of a period much later than the times from which they are ostensibly derived. The name of the heroine, Judith, which was the only form available as a feminine of Judah —strictly, of course, it is the feminine of Jehudi (see note, ch. viii. 1)—was doubtless chosen as suggesting that of Judas Maccabeus.[2] The "Nabuchodonosor" of the story, who reigned over the "Assyrians" in "Nineveh the great city," and who slew Arphaxad king of the Medes in the mountains of Ragau,[3] is a personage unknown to sober history, and one whom the lately recovered annals of Assyria and Babylon have made more than ever impossible. But the difficulty vanishes when we remember that the real Nabuchodonosor, who razed Jerusalem and the Temple, and deported the

in the Megillath Antiochus (מקבי), where it is explained to mean "Slayer of Strong Ones" (קטל תקיפין), probably by a play on מכה גבירים. I think that the word should be written מַקְקַבָּא, and that this is either a popular pronunciation of מְעַקְּבָא, in the sense "he who tracks or traces out" (cf. Targ. Prov. xxiii. 30; Maccoth 10a, quoted in Levy's 'Chald. Handwörterbuch,' where the root is explained by *nachspüren*), which agrees with what is said of Judas in 1 Macc. iii. 5, καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἀνόμους ἐξερευνῶν: or else an Aphel formation from נקב (קבב), in the sense "he who pierces through" with sword or spear (Hab. iii. 14; 2 Kings xviii. 21; Job xl. 24, xli. 2).

[1] "Said R. Eliezer, An example (may be seen) in the case of Simeon ben Shetach, who hanged women at Ascalon. They said unto him, Eighty women hanged he; though they do not (legally) sentence two persons in one day." (Tract 'Neziqin:' Livorno, 1770.)

[1] If Salome is really hinted at, this explains the commanding, almost queenly attitude assumed by Judith in her interview with the Elders, and on other occasions (ch. viii. 10; xiv. 5; xv. 8).

[2] It will be seen that I do not hold the allegorical view of Grotius and others, which makes Judith Judea, and Bethulia the "virgin of Jehovah" (so Bissell still), which last, as Ewald observes, was pardonable in Grotius's day, but is no longer so. See note on ch. iv. 6.

[3] Old Persian *Rhagâ*: the modern *Raï*. But the LXX. has Ragau for Heb. Reu, the fifth from Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 18).

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Jews to Babylonia (B.C. 588), became in the thought of their posterity the prototype and symbol of all tyrannous oppressors of their nation; and a probability at once suggests itself that some later king, some "new Nebuchadnezzar," Antiochus Epiphanes for instance, may be intended by this ancient parallel. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that "Assyrians" undoubtedly stands for Syrians in the later Jewish usage (see Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 6, 7). And if "Nabuchodonosor" denotes some *Syrian* king, we see at once why his capital is called "Nineveh" rather than Babylon; for Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians (= Syrians). In Judith, therefore, "Nineveh the great city" will mean Antioch the Great, the capital of the Seleucids. (In quite the same way, "Babylon" means Rome in Jewish writings of the first two centuries: cf. 1 Pet. v. 13; and Apocalypse *passim.*) In this connexion it is interesting to observe that, according to the adaptation of the story in the Midrash (*vid.* p. 13, 2), the Israelites pursue the enemy to Antioch (Jud. xv. 5, "past Damascus," which was the capital of the old Syrian kingdom).

"Arphaxad," again, is a Hebrew-Biblical ethnic name, and not a Median royal one (ch. i. 1). It is true that the story connects with Arphaxad certain details of genuine Median history; but those details belong to different kings. The fortifications of Ecbatana are ascribed by Herodotus to the first king of the Medes, whom he calls Deioces (Hdt. i. 98); the Median sovereign who was defeated and slain by the Assyrians was his successor, Phraortes (Hdt. i. 102); and it was the son of the latter, Cyaxares, who in conjunction with Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, achieved the final overthrow of the Assyrian empire at the fall of Nineveh (B.C. 607). Possibly, as Lipsius observes, Arphaxad stands for the Median sovereign Arbaces, of whom Ctesias relates what Herodotus relates of Cyaxares (Diod. Sic. ii. 24 *sqq.*), and makes him die in *the twelfth year* of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 593 (see Jud. i. 1). The Book of Judith does, in fact, contain some real although confused reminiscences of the reign of the historical Nebuchadnezzar, interwoven in motley fashion with recollections of other and later times. Lenormant has suggested a plausible identification of Arphaxad with Artaxias, the founder of the kingdom of Armenia, and of Artaxata its capital; who was defeated and captured by Antiochus Epiphanes (Appian, 'Syr.' p. 117 B); just as Arphaxad, the builder of Ecbatana and founder of the Median monarchy, was worsted and slain by Nabuchodonosor. It is, at all events, certain that genuine history knows nothing of an Assyrian invasion of Media such as that described in Judith. The monuments record no capture of Ecbatana, no killing of "Arphaxad." Sargon made a few inroads upon W. Media; but the Assyrians never subdued the interior (see Sayce, Hdt. p. 60). If in 721 B.C. Sargon could deport Israelites to "the cities of the Medes," border cities must be meant. Sennacherib made an expedition against Media, but with no great success. Esarhaddon invaded it repeatedly, and has recorded his capture of Sidirparna and Eparna, "lords of strong cities," and how three other Median city-lords submitted to his yoke. But he speaks of the country as remote, and untrodden by his fathers. His successor Assurbanipal made no expedition against Media, so far as we know. But "Medes" in our work may very well designate the Parthians, who succeeded to the Medo-Persian empire; and "Arphaxad" perhaps does more than hint at the Parthian royal titles Arsaces, Arsacides.[1] At any rate, the selection of the name cannot have been entirely arbitrary, but was doubtless determined by assonance with some really

[1] So Ewald, who identifies the High Priest Joacim with John Hyrcanus, and connects the story of Judith with the war of Demetrius II. against Egypt. While the Syrian forces were ravaging the sea-coast, the Jews trembled for fear of the like treatment. Judith was therefore written by some patriot to encourage resistance, but the dangerous names of the present were concealed under historic disguises ('Gesch.' iv. 541 ff.). The objection is that the main facts of that war are not discernible in our story; and that, on this view, Nabuchodonosor does duty for two very different characters, viz. Antiochus Sidetes and Demetrius II. See Fritzsche and Lipsius.

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historical name. Whether Volkmar be right or wrong in his equation of Arphaxad with Artavasdes, an Armenian and also a Median royal name, which he explains to mean "The Great King," and compares with Arsaces, which John Malalas (p. 351) renders ὁ βασιλεὺς; it is at least certain that Arsaces was the title of that "king of Persia and Media" against whom Demetrius Nicator made his ill-starred expedition into Media, ending in his own captivity (*circ.* 141 B.C.), as related in the First of Maccabees (1 Macc. xiv. 1–3). The campaign of Nabuchodonosor against Arphaxad was hardly conceived independently of this brief account, or of the sources of it; although the exigencies of his plot forced the author of Judith to conduct the train of events to an exactly opposite issue, so that it is the Median sovereign who is defeated, and the Assyrian that triumphs. What, however, principally occupied the mind of the old romancer was, in all likelihood, the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Persia, as we shall see (1 Macc. iii. 31–37; vi. 1 *sqq.*; 2 Macc. ix. 1–3).

Holofernes, the "chief captain" of the Assyrians, bears a name which resembles Medo-Persic rather than Assyro-Babylonian designations; just as Bagoas the eunuch, his major-domo, bears a name which is simply a Persian term denoting eunuch (see note, ch. xii. 11); and just as Nabuchodonosor's demand of "earth and water," in token of submission, is an obvious reminiscence of a familiar Persian custom (ch. ii. 4). We need not stop to consider Grotius's allegorical explanation of this curious name by the more curious "Chaldee" הלפר נחיש, "lictor serpentis."[1] Holofernes (there is no *h* in the Greek or the Syriac) would seem to be merely a variant spelling of Orophernes, an authentic Persian form, and in fact a standing title of the kings of Cappadocia, both in the Persian and in the Seleucid epoch.[1] And when it is observed that an Orophernes sat on the Cappadocian throne in the year 158 B.C.[2] —that is, in the time of Jonathan the High Priest, the brother of Judas Maccabeus—we obtain another coincidence so strikingly corroborative of our theory that it can hardly be considered accidental. The real Orophernes was a military usurper, of violent and unscrupulous character, and well qualified on these, if on no other grounds, to play the part of the savage Assyrian general in the drama of Judith. Here, as in so many other instances, the author has availed himself of actual history for the purposes of his historical fiction. The name of another chief actor in the play supplies yet another hint of the age of our story. The High Priest contemporary with Judith is Joacim (ch. iv. 6); and Joacim is a variant of Eliacim,[3] which was the Hebrew—that is, the original—name of the Hellenizing high priest Alcimus, the unscrupulous adversary of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. vii. 5) and his brother Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 54 *sqq.*). The wide difference evident between the fictitious and the historical Joacim, hardly weakens the force of this coincidence, when we remember the arbitrary character of the work under consideration. As pointed out in the note *ad loc.*, it is also true that Joacim was the name of the successor of Joshua, the High Priest of the Return (Neh. xii. 10); a fact which made the name all the more suitable for the purposes of the writer, who wishes it to appear that his professed history belongs to the time immediately subsequent to the return from the Babylonian Captivity (ch. iv. 2, 3). The long speech of Achior the Ammonite, which is a retrospect of Israelite history from the times of Abraham to those of the Exile and Restoration, is sufficient proof of this assertion (see

[1] The article is a mistake. According to Ewald, לופר, or rather ליפר, is (or may be) a very rare Rabbinic loanword from the Greek (= λειοφόρος, "booty-bearer"). Spiegel has orally informed me that the termination *-φερνης* in Graeco-Persian names is identical with the Old Persian *qareno*, "splendour." The name Orophernes, therefore, is perhaps equivalent to the Greek term εὐρυφαής.

[1] We need not, therefore, with Keil and Gutschmid, suppose that the basis of the story is the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus against Egypt, in which a Cappadocian prince of this name took part (Diod. Sic. xxxi.).

[2] Polyb. iii. 5, 2; Aelian. ii. 41; Appian. 'de rebus Syr.' 47, where the spelling is Olophernes.

[3] The Vulgate reads Eliachim, except in ch. xv. 9.

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especially ch. v. 18, 19). But this is merely a literary device or caprice, and does not exclude the applicability of the language to a similar cycle of events in a later age (cf. the ὅτι ἦν ἔρημος of Jerusalem, with 1 Macc. i. 39; iii. 45). It is not perhaps insignificant that the term προσφάτως of ch. iv. 3—a passage whose meaning is quite clear, in spite of the arguments of Nickes and others—recurs in the same connexion in the prayer of the priests after Nicanor's threats against the Temple, which four years previously had been restored by Judas Maccabeus (τόνδε τὸν προσφάτως κεκαθαρισμένον οἶκον, 2 Macc. xiv. 36). Nicanor's, I take it, is *the* personality concealed under the pseudonym Holofernes—Orophernes; although individual traits and single details may be derived from what is told of other Syrian commanders of the Maccabean, or, as we ought to say, Hasmonean time. Similarly, although more than one of the Syrian invasions of Judea may be thought to present points of contact with the expedition of Holofernes, I am convinced that the expedition of Nicanor is the one that dominated the mind of the writer. The overthrow of Nicanor and the beheading of the "man that bare deadly hate unto Israel" (1 Macc. vii. 26) was, at least to the later Jewish imagination, the grand event of those times; accordingly it constitutes the climax and conclusion of the Second Book of Maccabees. In my opinion, then, the Book of Judith is a free composition in the manner of the Haggada, principally based upon recollections of the feats of the heroic Judas; and more especially upon the facts related in 1 Macc. iii. 27–iv. 61, vi. 1–7, vii. 26–50; 2 Macc. ix. 1–3, x. 1–8, xv. A careful comparison of these passages with the corresponding portions of Judith would probably go far to convince any unprejudiced reader of the substantial truth of this view. But, indeed, the numerous minute touches as well as larger resemblances by which an affinity may be established between the Book of Judith and the Maccabean chronicles, can only be estimated adequately at the cost of a thorough comparative study of the three books. To point out a few of them. As Nabuchodonosor claims dominion over Egypt (ch. i. 9, 10, 12), and invades Judea in pursuance of a general scheme of vengeance upon all the western countries; so Antiochus fell upon Jerusalem on his return from invading Egypt (1 Macc. i. 16 *sqq.*, 20 *sqq.*), which he had aspired to annex to his own dominions. As Nabuchodonosor invades Media and enters Ecbatane (ch. i. 14), so Antiochus Epiphanes invades Persia (1 Macc. iii. 31), enters Persepolis (2 Macc. ix. 2), and comes to Ecbatane (2 Macc. ix. 3). As Holofernes crossed the Euphrates and destroyed all the "high cities" (ch. ii. 24), so Antiochus crossed the Euphrates and went through the "high countries" (1 Macc. iii. 37). As in Judith the invaders of Judea are "Assyrians," so in Maccabees Nicanor is compared to Sennacherib's envoys (1 Macc. vii. 33); and both in that passage and in 2 Macc. viii. 19, xv. 22, the destruction of the Assyrians is mentioned in connexion with Nicanor. In Judith (ii. 8) Nabuchodonosor appears as a destroyer of temples and idols; in 1 Macc. vi. 2 (2 Macc. ix. 2) Antiochus appears as a robber of temples. In Judith, *l. c.*, vi. 2, Nabuchodonosor claims exclusive divinity for himself; in 2 Macc. ix. 12, Antiochus, dying miserably, confesses that "It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself as if he were God."[1] The noble Psalm of Judith ends with a prophecy that the Lord will take vengeance on the foes of Israel by "putting fire and worms in their flesh;" but this is precisely what befel Antiochus Epiphanes, according to the tradition in 2 Macc. ix. 9, with which the author of Judith was probably acquainted, in which case he has put into his heroine's mouth a kind of *vaticinium post eventum* (contrast 1 Macc. vi. 8 *sqq.*). And last, but not least, there is the

[1] The style of Θεός, adopted by the Seleucid sovereigns, and the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus, is sufficient to account for the Haggadist's representation. But, of course, the text of Judith is only an extremely concrete mode of symbolizing the Syrian sovereign's resolve to uproot Judaism, and replace it by Hellenic institutions; a resolution which was the prime source of the Hasmonean revolt under Judas Maccabeus. (Cf. also Ezek. xxxi. 11, Heb.)

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remarkable addition in the Vulgate (ch. xvi. 31), which tells us that the day of Judith's triumph was observed by the Jews as an annual feast from her time onwards (*usque in praesentem diem*). This notice may have existed in S. Jerome's Chaldee codex: more probably it embodies a conjectural identification suggested by the Rabbi who assisted him in the translation of the book. At all events, it points apparently to the festival known as the *yom Nicanor* (יום ניקנור) or Nicanor's Day (13th Adar), *i.e.* the occasion of his death, B.C. 161; or, as the Jewish versions of the story assume (see the Appendix below), to the festival of the Dedication of the Temple (חנוכה, Chanukkah; τὰ Ἐγκαίνια, Encaenia, John x. 22), which began on the 25th Chisleu, having been instituted by Judas Maccabeus, B.C. 165. The former is more likely, both on other accounts, and because the Vulgate speaks of a one-day celebration (cf. 1 Macc. vii. 49); whereas the Dedication was kept "by the space of eight days" (1 Macc. iv. 59).[1]

[1] "Judith in Calendario Hebraeorum assignatur 25 mensis noni qui Casleu dicitur" (Corn. à Lap.). But nothing of the kind is found in the Hebrew calendars; and Rainolds rightly observes: "Atqui dies ille nunquam est habitus pro festo a Judaeis, neque agnoscunt talem aliquem diem, aut quicquam tale esse gestum. *Nemo veterum Judaeorum mentionem fecit alicujus hujusmodi festi.*" The forgery which R. Azarias (de Rossi) translated into Hebrew, under the title of ספר ידידיה האלכשנדרי ('Meor Enaim,' iii. 32, fol. 105, 2), which asserts that the High Priest Jeshua, the father of Joakim, "wrote the history of Judith, and ordained that the memory of her deliverance be kept every year," is not an exception to the statement in Italics. Certain modern Jews have connected Judith's feast with the Encaenia, confusing her victory with that of the Maccabees. In a hymn received into the Rituals her exploit is interwoven with the victory of Judas and the Dedication; whence R. David Ganz ('Tzemach David,' Millenar. 4, ann. 622) remarks: "Judith, a brave Hebrewess, killed Holofernes (אלפירנא), the captain of the host, when she lay beside him on his couch, and cut off his head . . . as it is written in the Book of Judith. The time of this event we know not; for I have found nothing of it in Josephus: but according to the poet, the event occurred in the days of the Hasmoneans" (ולפי דברי הפייטן המיסד יוצר של חנוכה היה זה המעשה גם בימי חשמונאים). After a few remarks upon the uncertainty of this evidence, Ganz refers his reader to R. Azarias (*l. c.*), who rejects this opinion, and indeed the whole story of Judith. (See the discussion in Selden, 'De Synedriis,' iii. 13.)

APPENDIX I.

I will now give the Hebrew forms of the story, referred to above, which I translate from the text of Dr. Ad. Jellinek, 'Bet ha-Midrash,' i. 130 *sqq.*, ii. 12 *sqq.*

History of Judith.

"The story goes that the king of the Gentiles came against Jerusalem with forty thousand mighty men of valour, and besieged it many days. And the children of Israel were afraid of them through the siege and the distress; and they were in great tribulation. And there was in Jerusalem a damsel of the daughters of the prophets. And when she saw that the destruction was great and the affliction strong, she put her life in her hand, and went forth with her maid, and knocked at the city gates, and said unto the porters: Open the gates that I may go out; peradventure the Holy One (blessed be He!) will work for me a sign and a wonder, and I shall kill this infidel (כופר), and Israel will be saved by my hand. And they said unto her: We will not open; for we fear that thou desirest one of the king's horsemen to be wedded to him, or that thou wilt frame evil designs against the city to take it. And she said: Far be it from me; but I trust in the pity of Heaven to help me against this enemy. And she sware unto them by Jehovah the God of Israel; and they opened the gates, and she went forth with her maid. And she came unto the tent of the king, and went in before him; and the damsel was exceedingly beautiful (עד כיאר). And when the king saw her, she found grace in his sight, and obtained mercy before

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him. And the king said unto her: Who art thou, my daughter, and whence comest thou, and whither goest thou? And she said unto him: Of the daughters of the prophets am I: I heard from my father that thou wilt subdue the city and take it; so I came to intreat for my life, and the life of my father's house, to deliver them when thou takest the city. And the king said unto her: I will do according to thy word, and I am well pleased to take thee to me to wife. And she said unto him: My lord, O king, behold I am as one of thine handmaids; do what is good in thine eyes. But I must acquaint thee, my lord, O king, that I am unclean (שאנכי נדה), and in the evening I shall be ready for the bath (ראויה לטבילה). Bid thy servants, in the evening when they see two women going to the fountain, that they look not upon us, and that they speak not with us good or evil. And I will go and bathe, and return to thee. And the king bade that so it be done. And he rejoiced with great joy over the damsel, and over the good news that she brought unto the king. And he gathered all his princes and his servants, and made them a banquet, and did eat, and drank of the wine and was drunken, and slept heavily. And all departed, every one to his own tent, and none was left with the king, save the damsel and the maid. And the damsel directed her heart to Heaven, and she rose and drew the sword, and cut off therewith the king's head, and she carried his head in her hands;[1] and the two of them went and passed through the camp, and none spake a word to them, until they arrived at the gates of Jerusalem. And she called to the porters, and said unto them: Open the gate, for the Holy One (blessed be He!) hath holpen me, and I have slain the enemy. And they believed not her words. And there was one of the king's princes (or captains) who used to say to the king, Let this people alone, besiege them not, and fight not with them in battle, for their God is with them, and he loveth them, and will not deliver them into thy hand. See what he hath done to those who were before thee, to the former kings and to the princes (captains) who besieged Israel, what was their latter end. And he multiplied arguments (תוכחות), until the king was incensed at him; and the king commanded to bind him, and to hang him up alive beside the gate of the city.

"And when the damsel saw that they were not pleased to open the gate, she said to them: If ye will not believe me, behold the captain hanging there will recognise his head. And they believed the words of the damsel, and opened the gate. And they shewed the head to the hanged captain, and he recognised it and said: Blessed be Jehovah, who hath delivered him into your hand, and rescued you out of his hand. And the thing was noised abroad, and the young men and the warriors of Israel gathered together, and they took their swords in their hand, and they came to the camp, and were crying with a loud voice, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord! And the men of the camp saw them, and went to the king's tent, and saw that their champion was dead; and they fled, and left their tents and their horses and all their wealth, and saved their life; and Israel pursued after them unto Antioch, and returned in peace, and took much spoil of them (מאד). And the elders and wise men of Israel gathered together, and went into the house of Jehovah; and blessed and praised Jehovah, who giveth them rest from all their enemies, and who saveth them in the time of trouble alway, and confirmeth his promises in them, &c. He in his mercy will do signs and wonders (נסים ונפלאות) with us in the time of the present distress, as he did with our fathers.

(The History of Judith is ended.)"[1]

[1] Reading בידיה. Dr. Jellinek has printed בדדיה, "in her bosom."

[1] It will be seen that in this adaptation of the story to the purposes of the Midrash, the proper names are all omitted, just as they are in the similar adaptation of Tobit which Dr. Neubauer has printed from the Midrash Tanḥūmā (Book of Tobit, pp. 36 *sqq.*). The variations from the Apocryphal account (Judith, a daughter of the prophets; her excuse for visiting the fountain) may perhaps be traces of an older and independent Hebrew narrative. Dr. Jellinek observes: "This short history of Judith is found in the

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Of the next piece, the *Midrash la-Hanukkah*, Dr. Jellinek observes: "The Midrash, here printed for the first time, after a MS. of the Leipzig Raths-Bibliothek (Cod. XII. of the printed catalogue), which also contains the 'History of Judith' given above, is of great importance, as it is the hitherto unknown source of the most important Haggadic elements worked up (*verarbeiteten*) in the festal poems of the two sabbaths of the Chanuka-feast.[1] Judith is here brought into connexion with the Chanuka-feast [*i.e.* the festival of the Dedication or Encaenia, established by Judas Maccabeus]; and the narrative of Hannah, the daughter of John, is here imparted in two versions." I translate such portions of the Midrash as bear on our story:—

"The Rabbis have handed down as follows. In the days of the kingdom of the wicked Javan, they decreed against Israel that . . . whoever married a wife, she should be wedded to the governor (הגמון, *ἡγεμών*) first, and afterwards go back to her husband. And they went on in this way three years and eight months, until the daughter of John the High Priest was wedded. [According to 'Megillath Taanith,' cap. vi. p. 51, ap. Meyer, 'de festis Hebr.,' it was the only daughter of Mattathias ben Johanan, the High Priest.] When they led her to this governor, she uncovered (פרעה) her head, and rent her clothes, and stood bare in the face of the people. Straightway Judas and his brethren were filled with indignation against her, and said, Bring her forth to burn; and let not this matter be revealed to the government, on account of danger to lives: for she hath hardened her face to become naked in the face of all this people. Then she said to him, How shall I be exposed to scorn before my brethren and my friends, and not be exposed to scorn in the eyes of an uncircumcised and unclean person, since

collection of small histories or חבור יפה of R. Nissim ben Jacob [fl. circ. A.D. 1030]; and although the name of Judith is not therein mentioned, it stands expressly in the *Histories* (מעשיות) of a Vatican Codex 285, in Midrash No. XII. of our collection, and in a little MS. of the Bodleian. The story is probably taken from an old Hebrew presentation of the history of Judith, which in some points deviated from the apocryphal Book of Judith. The nameless captain is the Ammonite Achior of the apocryphal relation."

[1] "In a prayer for the first Sabbath of the Feast of the Dedication, which begins אודך כי אנפת בי ותשב, the book (of Judith) is mentioned quite plainly in connexion with the religious persecutions under Antiochus. The names of Judith, Holofernes, Achior, are expressly given. Although we cannot say how old that liturgy is, yet we must conclude from it that the heroic deed of Judith is no fable, but a real event, as we see in that prayer a sort of tradition. The deed was done in the time of the Maccabean war; but the book must have been written late, for Josephus does not mention its contents, though fond of such stories."—*Die Apokryphen des A. T. von M. Gutmann, Distriktsrabbiner*, Altona, 1841.

"Some pretend there were two Judiths, the one of Bethulia, d. of Merari, who beheaded Olofernes; the other of Jerusalem, d. of Mattathias, and sister of Judas Maccabeus (or as others say, d. of John the Hasmonean, and sister of Judas), who was loved by Nicanor, general under Demetrius (1 Macc. vii. 26), and killed him, and cut off his head, about three years after the Maccabean victory, and while Judas was at war with him. Whence R. Gedaliah ben Jechai, talking about the Maccabean exploits, observes: 'And this deliverance is in our oral tradition (קבלה), that Nicanor was killed by means of Judith bath Mattithyah, whom Nicanor loved greatly, and she came unto him, and gave him victuals of cheese which cause thirst, and made him drunk, and killed him. And she brought his head to her brother; and then the Jews went against the Greeks, and killed them, and drove them from the land of Israel. It is right that you should know that there is no mention of this woman save the Midrash, which R. Nissim, Sabb. cap. ii., brings forward.' ('Ad Alphesium,' i., tit. 'De Sabbato,' cap. 2, fol. 106 r.) Indeed, R. Nissim there, omitting Judith's name, and speaking of the daughter, not of Mattithyah but of Johanan his son, taken I suppose for Judith herself, says that the Greeks 'decreed against all the betrothed virgins that they should wed them first to the governor; and by a woman's hand a sign was done, which they tell in the Midrash; viz. that the d. of Johanan made the chief of the enemy eat cheese till he was drunk, and cut off his head; and they all fled. And therefore it was made customary to eat cheese at Chanukkah.' Hence R. Gedaliah says it is probable that when the Megillath Taanith had become obsolete, the sages of the time agreed to connect Judith's feast with the rejoicing of Chanukkah, though the two Judiths were different." (Selden, who cites all this from 'Meor Enaim,' iii. 51, fol. 163, 2, and adds that the *yom Nicanor* was Adar 13 in spring, while the Encaenia were held in winter, and the two feasts were never confused with each other: 1 Macc. vii. 43, 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36; Joseph. 'Ant.' xii. 7, 7; 10, 5. The Maccabean Judith is a fiction.)

ye are willing to betray me, and to bring him to lie with me. When Judas and his confederates (חבירין) heard that, they took counsel together to kill the governor. Straightway they clad the damsel in royal attire, and made a bridal canopy of myrtle, from the house of Hashmonai to the house of the governor; and all the masters of harp and cittern came, and the masters of music; and they were playing and dancing until they came to the governor's house. When the king heard that, he said to his princes and his servants, Behold them, they are of the great ones of Israel, of the seed of Aaron the priest: how glad are they to do my will! worthy are they of great glory. And he bade cause his princes (captains) and his servants to go outside, and Judas and his confederates went in with his sister to the governor. And they cut off his head, and spoiled all that he had, and killed his princes and his servants, and trode down the Javanim (Greeks) utterly, save the root of the kingdom. And Israel who were in the city were in terror and trembling, for the sake of those young men of Israel. A voice from heaven (בת קול) came forth and said, The young men, who went forth to make war with Antioch (אנטוכיא), have gained the victory![1] And those young men returned, and shut the gates, and wrought repentance, and occupied themselves with the Law, and with works of mercy. When the king of the Greeks heard that Israel had killed his governor, he gathered all his people, and came before Jerusalem with siege, and the Jews were sorely terrified. And there was there a widow woman, Judith by name; and she took her maid, and went to the gates of Jerusalem, and said, Let me go forth, that Heaven (המקום) may work a miracle by my hand. And they opened unto her, and she went forth, and went to the troops. And they said unto her, How fair thou art! She said unto them, My pleasure is to speak unto the king. And she went before the king. And he said unto her, What seekest thou? And she said, My lord, I am a daughter of the great ones of Israel, and my brethren are prophets. And I heard, when they were prophesying, that to-morrow Jerusalem will fall into thy hand. When he heard it, he rejoiced with great joy. And he had a man of his wise men who used to watch the signs of heaven (מזלות), and he was wont to say: I see that Israel are returning (unto God) in penitence, and that thou wilt not prevail over them: return unto thy place. And the king was filled with indignation against him; and the king bade seize him, and bind his hands and feet, and hang him on the tree beside Jerusalem. And the king said, To-morrow, when Jerusalem falleth into our hands, we will kill him. And the king believed this Judith, and loved her, and said unto her, Is it thy pleasure to be taken to wife? And she said unto him, My lord, O king, I am not worthy, save for one of thy servants. But truly, since thy heart inclineth thereto, cause a herald to pass through all the camp, that every one that seeth two women going to the fountain touch them not: because I must go thither, to wash myself and to bathe. Straightway they caused the herald to pass through (the camp), and she did so. And the king made a great banquet, and they drank and were drunken, and afterwards went all, one by one, to their tents. And the king sate in her bosom, and he slept. And this Judith went and lifted his sword (סייף), and cut off his head, and stripped off the linen garment (סדין) upon him. And she went with the king's head to the gates of Jerusalem, and said, Open me the gates,

[1] This one sentence is in Aramaic, not Hebrew. It seems to be borrowed from Sota ix. 13 (Talmud Jerush.), where we read as follows, on the authority of R. Joshua ben Levi (fl. 225 A.D.): "Who rose after him (*i.e.* Zechariah ben Jehoiada)? Jeremiah and Baruch. After they were dead, the later prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. After them, the holy Spirit (*i.e.* prophetic inspiration) ceased; however, people availed themselves of *bath qôl*. An instance. Simeon the Just heard a *bath qôl*, when coming out of the Holy of Holies. And he (*sic*) said, Slain is the army of Golikus (גוליקס ??), and his decrees are abolished.

"(Another) instance. The young men had gone forth to fight with Antioch. And John the High Priest heard a *bath qôl*, when he came out of the Holy of Holies, and it said, The young men that made war with Antioch have gained the victory! And they wrote down the very time, and fixed it, and determined that in the self-same hour the thing came to pass."

for already hath the Holy One wrought a miracle (נס) by my hand. And they said unto her, Is it not enough for thee that thou hast played the harlot and dealt corruptly, that thou art also come with craft among us? (שבאת בעלילה עמנו.) Straightway she shewed them the king's head. When they saw it, they opened the gates and came out, and raised the cry, Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God, Jehovah is One! When the Greeks heard that, they said, To-morrow they will come against us. And they went to the king, and brought him out headless; and there fell upon them terror and dread, and they all fled. And Israel pursued after them, and killed of them ever so many (כמה וכמה). So may the Holy One (blessed be He!) work vengeance on our enemies speedily, and hasten for us salvation, according to that which is written, 'And there shall come to Zion a Redeemer.'

* * * * *

"'Their sword shall go into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.' Said R. Simeon ben Yochai:[1] These are the Greeks who made war with the house of Hashmonai and his sons. And in the hour that they entered into the temple, a Greek went and took the book of the Law, and brought in Hannah the daughter of John the High Priest, whose beauty was peerless in the world; and she was wedded to Eleazar ben Hashmonai. And this Greek intended to go in unto her, in the presence of her husband and her father. Said John: I am the High Priest, and my sons are three, and thou art Hashmonai, and thy sons are seven; lo (we are) twelve, according to the twelve Tribes. I trust that the Holy One will work a miracle by our hands. Straightway Eleazar drew the sword, and killed this Greek; and he said, My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

The longer history of Judith published by Jellinek (*op. cit.* ii. 12–22) keeps closer to the Apocryphal narrative than either of the preceding. It is not, however, a translation of the LXX. or the Vulgate, though often agreeing with the latter against the former (see notes).[1] The story is here retold in a good Hebrew style, with a copious interweaving of phrases and passages from the O. T. The opening sentence, borrowed from the 'Megillath Antiochos,' is this: "And it came to pass in the days of Olofernes (אליפורני) the king of Javan, a king great and strong;—he had subdued many provinces and strong kings, and razed their castles, and burnt their palaces (or temples) with fire;—in the twelfth year of his reign he set his face to go up and subdue Jerusalem the Holy City." This use of the 'Meg. Ant.,' a work first quoted by Saadyah Gaon (941 A.D.), and according to Zunz not older than that period, proves the lateness of this Midrash; but it may preserve some ancient materials. Although the piece is too long for insertion here, points of interest will be found noticed in the commentary. Chief among these are the correct naming of Judith's father as Beeri (not Merari); see Gen. xxvi. 34: the non-mention of the name of Achior, who is called a conquered king; the designation of Chabris and Charmis as priests (not elders), and of Ozias as the *Nasi Yisra'el*, "Prince of Israel" (chief of the Sanhedrin?), and the consequent omission of the High Priest Joacim-Eliacim. Naturally, this Midrash is characterized by numerous abbreviations and expansions of the original story, according to the taste of the unknown author.

[1] Called Rashbai; lived about A.D. 120. Reputed author of the book Zohar.

[1] Several Hebrew translations of Judith appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries (see a note in Neubauer's Tobit, p. vii.). I have seen two at the British Museum; and an edition lies before me which was printed at Vienna in 1819. These editions prove the popularity of the story with the modern Jews. I may here record my obligations to my old pupil, Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, who has given me much kind help in verifying references.

NOTE.—As to the Jewish feast of Chanukkah, to which the Midrashim relate, the following passage from the Talmud is instructive: "What is Chanukkah? That which the Rabbis have taught: On the 25th in Chisleu, the eight days of Chanukkah are, in the which a man may not mourn, and in the which a man may not afflict himself. For when the star-worshippers entered

the temple, they defiled all the oils that were in the temple; and when the kingdom of the house of Hashmonai prevailed, and conquered them, men sought and found not save a single vial of oil that was laid up (מונח, Ex. xvi. 33, or 'left over,' *ibid.* 23), with the seal of the High Priest. And there was not therein save for one day's lighting. There was done therewith a miracle (נס), and they lighted from it eight days. For another year they fixed them, and made them good days with *Hallel* and *Hoda'ah*." (Tal. Bab. Shabbath, 21 b, l. 21 from end.)

APPENDIX II.

1. The Vulgate and the Septuagint.

S. Jerome tells us in his preface to Judith—

(1) That he had and used a Chaldee text;

(2) That he made his version in the greatest hurry, snatching time from other pressing engagements ("sepositis occupationibus quibus vehementer arctabar, huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi");

(3) That he did not trouble about verbal precision, but was content with an equivalent sense ("magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens");

(4) That he summarily dismissed from consideration the various readings of MSS., instead of trying (as a modern editor might do) to construct a sounder text by comparison of them ("Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam *amputavi*"; cf. ch. ix. 12, Vulg.); and

(5) That he wrote down in his Latin version only those portions of the narrative for which he was able to find clear warrant in the words of his Chaldee copy: that is to say, he made his Chaldee MS. the standard, if not the sole source of his new edition of the story ("Sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi").

I think this account fairly corresponds with what we find in the Vulgate. Take the opening chapter.

1. "Arphaxad itaque rex Medorum *subjugaverat multas gentes imperio suo, et ipse aedificavit civitatem potentissimam quam appellavit Ecbatanis.*"

Comparing this with the Greek (Fritzsche's text), we note that, for the sake of avoiding the long parenthesis, which there suspends the principal sentence, the rendering of Ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσορ ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων ἐν Νινευὴ τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ is transferred to *v.* 5 ("Anno igitur duodecimo regni sui Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum qui regnabat in Nineve civitate magna"). This and other transpositions may have been made in the exercise of the translator's discretion, as he expressly renounces all pretence to a literal following of his original (3 *supr.*). But it is also possible, and I think probable, that he found it already in his Chaldee codex; as was almost certainly the case with the statements in italics, *subjugaverat multas gentes imperio suo*, &c., which have their exact parallels in the opening sentences of the Chaldee 'Megillath Antiochos': הוא כבש מדינן סניאין הוא בנא מדינתא רבתא וקרא לה אנטכיא. "Ipse subjugavit multas civitates . . . ipse aedificavit civitatem magnam . . . et appellavit eam Antiochiam."

2. "Ex lapidibus quadratis et sectis; fecit muros ejus in latitudinem cubitorum septuaginta, et in altitudinem cubitorum triginta; turres vero ejus posuit in altitudinem cubitorum centum." Instead of the exact specification of the dimensions of the stones (εἰς πλάτος πηχῶν τρίων καὶ εἰς μῆκος πηχῶν ἓξ.), we have here the brief general expression *quadratis*, which may be due to the Chaldee text (מרבע); and it seems arbitrary to set down the variations of the numerals expressing the height and breadth of the walls to any other source than this obvious one.

The ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῆς by which the Greek describes the position of the towers is omitted. Some things may be supposed to have been left out, because S. Jerome was writing hastily, and did not consider minute accuracy essential to his task. He does not say that he rendered *all* statements for which he found equivalent words in his Chaldee

exemplar, but that he rendered nothing which he did not find there.

3. "Per quadrum vero earum latus utrumque vicenorum pedum spatio tendebatur; posuitque portas ejus in altitudinem turrium; 4. Et gloriabatur quasi potens in potentia exercitus sui, et in gloria quadrigarum suarum."

V. 3 takes the place of καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῶν (*i.e.* of the towers) ἐθεμελίωσεν εἰς πηχεῖς ἑξήκοντα, which is harsh and obscure: *vid. not. ad loc.* S. Jerome has perhaps given a loose paraphrase, expressing his own idea of the sense, viz. that the towers were squares of 20 feet each way, but without reckoning the inner side (3 × 20 = 60). But as he goes on to make the gates as high as the towers (100 cubits), whereas the Greek has καὶ ἐποίησε τὰς πύλας αὐτῆς πύλας διεγειρομένας εἰς ὕψος πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα (70 cubits), I think his Chaldee text here again differed considerably from the Greek.

The words (*v.* 4), "Et gloriabatur quasi potens in potentia," &c., may represent a Chaldee original: ואשתבח כגברא בגבורתיה דחיליה וביקר רתיכוהי (cf. Jer. ix. 22), but they are possibly a free treatment of εἰς ἐξόδους δυνάμεων δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ διατάξεις τῶν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ (or ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν, X., Old Lat., Syr.); in which case, we have an instance of "sensum e sensu" transference (3). Instead of adhering to the bald statement of the reason for the great breadth of the gates (40 cubits), which he omits, he makes the moral motive prominent, the love of display which actuated the king in these military pageants (cf. ch. v. 7). This, however, is exactly what one would expect in a Midrashic treatment of the story; and confirms the supposition, which is otherwise probable, that the Chaldee codex used by S. Jerome was simply a Midrash Yehudith founded upon an older text.

v. 5. "Anno igitur duodecimo regni sui Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum, qui regnabat in Nineve civitate magna, pugnavit contra Arphaxad *et obtinuit eum*," (*v.* 6) "in campo magno qui appellatur Ragau, circa Euphraten et Tigrim et Jadason in campo Erioch regis Elicorum." See on *v.* 1. The italicized sentence at the end of *v.* 5 corresponds to the opening statement of *v.* 15 in the Greek (καὶ ἔλαβε τὸν Ἀρφαξὰδ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι Ῥαγαῦ), and concludes all that is said of the war with Arphaxad, about which the Greek has four additional verses (13–16).

In *v.* 6 the proper names further define the locality of the Great Plain; but in the Greek they define the allies of Nabuchodonosor: καὶ συνήντησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγριν καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀριὼχ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐλυμαίων. The Vulgate also omits the close of the verse: καὶ συνῆλθον ἔθνη πολλὰ εἰς παράταξιν υἱῶν Χελεούδ.

The omissions make a substantial difference to the narrative. At first sight, it looks as if all motive for Nabuchodonosor's embassies and for his war upon the West were eliminated. According to the Greek, the object of the expedition of Holofernes was to punish the whole West, and especially Judea, for refusing to send quotas to the war against Arphaxad. The Greek text itself, however, only signifies the contents of N.'s message to the nations by a single brief remark (*v.* 11): καὶ ἐφαύλισαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τὸ ῥῆμα Ν. βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν ὡς ἀνὴρ εἷς, καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ κενοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν. For all this the Vulgate has only: "Qui omnes uno animo contra dixerunt (= the first three words of the Greek) et remiserunt eos vacuos, et sine honore abjecerunt" (= καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν . . . αὐτῶν).

It is easy to suggest that the obscurities of *v.* 6 in the Greek (see note *ad loc.*) were felt and summarily got rid of by S. Jerome; and that in *v.* 11 his flying haste, and desire to curtail redundancies, resulted in the omission of an essential clause. But I cannot think that such suggestions account for all the peculiar phenomena of his version, which may, in fact, be more satisfactorily explained by reference to parallel phenomena in the Jewish forms of the story

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(Appendix I.), which make no allusion at all to the expedition against Arphaxad.

To later Jewish editors the assignment of reasons for an attack upon Judah and Jerusalem seemed to be mere surplusage. The "king of the Gentiles" was the natural enemy of the house and people of God (Beth-eloah). I suppose, then, that in the Vulgate we have clear traces of the use of a Jewish-Chaldee recension of the story, in which the influence of such a point of view was already to a considerable extent exemplified. It is noteworthy that *v.* 7 in the Vulgate opens with what may be regarded as another reason for the embassies, and one more in accordance with later Jewish ideas: *Tunc exaltatum est regnum N. et cor ejus elevatum est.* The words remind us of passages in the Book of Daniel (iv. 30; v. 20), and in my judgment supply a distinct trace of the Chaldee version of Judith. It is implied, though not said, that the envoys demanded the usual recognition of the Great King's suzerainty.

The omission in what follows of "Persia," "the west," "Antilibanus," and "the coast" (*v.* 7). of "Betane," "Chelous," "Cades," "Egypt" and its cities (*vv.* 9, 10), and of the names of the countries in *v.* 12, may also be fairly assumed to indicate similar omissions in the Chaldee codex. They have their exact parallel in later Midrashic adaptations of the Apocryphal narratives (cf. Appendix I.; and the Story of Tobit in the Midrash Tanḥûmâ, *apud* Neubauer's Tobit, pp. 36–38).

The readings *Jadason* for Hydaspes, *Elicorum* for Elymaeorum, *Cedar* for Galaad, *Jesse* for Gesem, might be corruptions of the Chaldee originals. As to Jadason, the first three consonants correspond sufficiently with the Greek name; Elici (עילקאי) is not far from Elymaei (עילמאי), Galaad (גלעד) might become Cedar (קדר) by omission of one letter and common confusions of the others, and Jesse (ישי) may be the remnant of Goshen (גשן).

The mere juxtaposition of the Old Latin text with the Vulgate is enough to shew how much or how little truth there is in Volkmar's assertion that the latter is merely an arbitrary abridgment of the former. I add the first chapter in both texts, from Sabatier.

2. The Old Latin and the Vulgate.

(Chap. I.)

Old Latin.

1 Anno duodecimo regni Nabuchodonosor qui regnavit Assyriis in Ninive civitate magna, in diebus Arfaxath regis, qui regnavit in Medis in Ecbathana civitate, et aedificavit turrem in Ecbathana,

2 Et in circuitu muros ejus, ex lapidibus excisis, latitudine cubitorum trium, et longitudine cubitorum sex: et fecit altitudinem muri cubitorum sexaginta, et turres constituit supra portas ejus cubitorum centum:

3 Altitudinem et latitudinem earum fundavit in cubitis sexaginta: et fecit portas ejus exsurgentes in altum cubitis sexaginta, et latitudinem earum cubitis quadraginta,

4 Ad exitum quadrigarum suarum.

5 Et fecit bellum in diebus illis rex Nabuchodonosor adversus regem Arfaxath

6 In campo magno, hic est campus Ragau. Et convenerunt in pugnam omnes habitantes in montanis, et Euphrate, et Tigri, et Ydaspi, in campis Arioth regis Elimeorum: et collegerunt se gentes multae ad bellum filiorum Chelleuth.

Vulgate.

1 Arphaxad itaque, rex Medorum, subjugaverat multas gentes imperio suo, et ipse aedificavit civitatem potentissimam quam appellavit Ecbatanis,

2 Ex lapidibus quadratis et sectis; fecit muros ejus in latitudinem cubitorum septuaginta, et in altitudinem cubitorum triginta, turres vero ejus posuit in altitudinem cubitorum centum.

3 Per quadrum vero earum, latus utrumque vicenorum pedum spatio tendebatur, posuitque portas ejus in altitudinem turrium;

4 Et gloriabatur quasi potens in potentia exercitus sui, et in gloria quadrigarum suarum.

5 Anno igitur duodecimo regni sui Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum qui regnabat in Ninive civitate magna, pugnavit contra Arphaxad et obtinuit eum,

6 In campo magno qui appellatur Ragau circa Euphraten et Tigrim et Jadason in campo Erioch regis Elicorum.

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Old Latin.

7 Et misit Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum ad omnes inhabitantes Jamnae, Persidis, et Ciliciam, & Damascum, Libanum et Antelibanum, et contra faciem maris,

8 Et qui sunt in nationibus Carmeli et Galaad, et superiori Galileae in campo magno Esdrelon,

9 & ad omnes qui erant in Samaria, et in civitatibus ejus, et trans Jordanem usque Hierusalem, et Bathana, et Chelus, et Cades, et flumina Aegypti, et Tafnas, et Ramesses, et omnem terram Gessen, donec veniatur supra Thaneos et Memphis, et omnes qui inhabitant Galilaea maritima in Jordanen, in totam terram Aegypti, donec veniatur ad fines Aethiopiae.

11 Et contempserunt omnes inhabitantes terram illam, verbum Nabuchodonosor regis Assyriorum, neque convenerunt cum illo in praelium, quia non timuerunt eum: sed erat adversus eos quasi vir unus. Et remiserunt legatos ejus vacuos, sine honore facies [*marg.* faciei] eorum.

12 Et iratus est rex Nabuchodonosor ad omnem terram illam vehementer, et juravit per sedem regni sui, animadversurum se in omnes fines Ciliciae et Damasci et Scythiae, et interfecturum gladio suo inhabitantes Moab et filios Ammon et omnem Judaeam et omnes qui in Aegypto sunt, usque dum veniatur montanam, et ad finitima duorum aequorum.

* Et praeparavit se in virtute sua adversus regem Arfaxath in anno septimo decimo: et invaluit in pugna sua, et redegit in potestate sua omnem virtutem regis Arfaxath, et omnem equitatum ejus, et omnes currus ipsius, et dominatus est civitatum ejus.

** Et abiit usque Ecbatham, et obtinuit turres ejus, et praedatus est plateas ejus, et ornamenta ejus, et posuit ea in opprobrio: et cepit regem Arfaxath in montibus Ragau, et percussit illum in lanceis suis, et disperdidit eum usque in hodiernum diem.

*** Et reversus est Nabuchodonosor rex in Niniven, ipse et exercitus, multitudo virorum bellatorum copiosa nimis: et erat illic securus habitans; et epulatus est ipse et virtus ejus per dies centum viginti.

Vulgate.

7 Tunc exaltatum est regnum Nabuchodonosor, et cor ejus elevatum est; et misit ad omnes qui habitabant in Cilicia et Damasco et Libano,

8 Et ad gentes quae sunt in Carmelo et Cedar et inhabitantes Galilaeam in campo magno Esdrelon,

9 Et ad omnes qui erant in Samaria, et trans flumen Jordanem usque ad Jerusalem, et omnem terram Jesse quousque perveniatur ad terminos Aethiopiae.

10 Ad hos omnes misit nuntios Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum;

11 Qui omnes uno animo contra dixerunt, et remiserunt eos vacuos, et sine honore abjecerunt.

12 Tunc indignatus Nabuchodonosor rex adversus omnem terram illam juravit per thronum et regnum suum quod defenderet se de omnibus regionibus his.

APPENDIX III.

Authorities.

Constit. Apost. viii. 2 (ἐπὶ Δαρείου).

Julius Africanus, *apud* Suidas, 1774 C, D, 1775 A, 2661 C, ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1834 [Nabuchodonosor = Cambyses].

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Addition to note 2, p. 245.] I am informed that the Bodleian MS. of the Seder Olam (Oppenheim, 317; Neubauer, 692. 8) reads טיטוס; and that in MS. Hunt. 487, Neubauer 2197. 1, the chapter is missing.

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JUDITH.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Arphaxad doth fortify Ecbatane.* 5 *Nabuchodonosor maketh war against him,* 7 *and craveth aid.* 12 *He threateneth those that would not aid him,* 15 *and killeth Arphaxad,* 16 *and returneth to Nineve.*

IN the twelfth year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineve, the great city; in the days

CHAPTER I.

1–5. The Hebraic cast of the passage is noticeable. *V.* 1 starts with a determination of time, "In the twelfth year of Nebuchadnezzar," but the relation of the event which happened in that year is suspended by the long parenthesis extending from the words "who reigned in Nineve," *v.* 1, to the end of *v.* 4. Then the main sentence is resumed with *v.* 5: "And king Nebuchadnezzar made war in those days."

1. *In the twelfth year.*] The twelfth year of the Nebuchadnezzar of O. T. history was the fourth of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah (see Jer. xxxii. 1). Now in that year the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Sidon, sought to induce Zedekiah to join in a general revolt against Babylon (Jer. xxvii. 3, compared with xxviii. 1). The time would be judged favourable, if Nebuchadnezzar was engaged elsewhere, say in Media (see Duncker, 'Gesch. Alt.' ii. 343, quoted by A. Scholz). The Syriac says: In the *thirteenth* year. O. Wolff, who insists upon the historical character of *Judith*, and identifies Nebuchadnezzar with Kineladanus, fixes the date as 644 B.C. But the Kineladanus of Ptolemy is the Sardanapalus of Berosus, the Assurbanipal of the monuments, who became King of Assyria 668 B.C., and assumed the style of "King of Babylon" 647 B.C., after the overthrow of his brother Samas-sum-ukin; and Assurbanipal has left no record whatever of the five years' war with Phraortes, king of Media (644-639 B.C.), assumed by Wolff. Volkmar thinks that the two numbers 12 and 13 are both mistakes for 16 (IB' and IΓ' for IF').

Nabuchodonosor.] Ναβουχοδονόσορ, the spelling of the LXX. and Vulg. The native Babylonian inscriptions give Na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-çu-ur, i.e. *Nabû-kudurri-uçur*, or *Nabû-kudûr-uçur*, to which the Ναβουκοδρόσορος of Strabo and other Greek historians comes very near. The common Heb. spelling is נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, *Nĕbûkadneççàr* (2 Kings xxiv. 1, &c.); but a truer transcript of the name is exhibited by the Heb. text or *Kĕtîb* of Jer. xlix. 28, viz. נבוכדרצור, pointed by the Masorets *Nĕbûkadreççàr*, but which may have been originally pronounced נְבוּכַדְרַאצּוֹר, *Nĕ(ă)bûkodr'ŏçôr*; cf. the *Kĕtîb* of Ezra ii. 1, נבוכדנאצור. The meaning of this royal title is "Nebo, guard thou the crown!" Cf. also Jer. xxxix. 1, 11; xliii. 10.

who reigned.] The Gk. text adds *over the Assyrians* (Ασσυρίων): and Syriac and Vulg. add *King of Asshur*, rex Assyriorum, after the king's name. The fictitious character of the work thus becomes evident *in limine*. No sovereign of this name ever swayed the sceptre in Nineveh, which was taken and destroyed circ. 607 B.C. by Nabopalassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and founder of that Babylonian empire which rose upon the ruins of the Assyrian.

in Nineve, the great city.] Cf. Gen. x. 12; Jonah i. 1, iii. 2, iv. 11; Tobit i. 10. In the narrower sense, the name *Nineveh* denotes the west city, which lay opposite the present Mosul, and was the royal residence of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal: in the wider sense, it represents the whole complex of towns in the angle formed by the Tigris and the Zab, thus including not only Nineveh proper (*Kuyunjik*), but also Calah (*Nimrûd*), and Resen, which lay between them, as well as the unknown Rehoboth-Ir, and Dûr-Sargon (*Khorsâbâd*). The circuit of these four quarters was about ninety miles. The Assyrian *Ninua*, *Ninâ* (rarely *Ninû*; cf. the Gk. Νῖνος), disguise the oldest name, *Ganna ki*, "(the goddess) Ganna's Place;" a title dating from circ. 3000 B.C. According to Volkmar, Nineveh in Judith is Antioch the Great, the Roman capital in the East.

Arphaxad.] Another fictitious name, not occurring in the lists of Median kings in Hdt. and Ctesias, and only known as a geographical or ethnical designation in the O. T. (See

of Arphaxad, which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane,

2 And built in Ecbatane walls round about of stones hewn three

Gen. x. 22, 24; xi. 10–13.) The name is explained by Gesenius ('Thesaurus,' *s. v.*) from the Arabic *'urfa*, boundary, and the proper name *Chesed*, the eponym of the Chaldeans or *Chasdîm* (Gen. xxii. 22). Arphaxad would thus mean *finis Chaldaeorum*. Cf. Josephus, 'Antiq.' I. vi. 4: "Arphaxad named those who are now called Chaldeans Arphaxadeans." Bochart conjectured that Arrapachitis (Ptol. vi. 1), a district of Assyria lying near Armenia, was the indigenous home of the Chaldeans or Arphaxadites. This district is called *Arrabcha*, or *Arbacha*, in the Assyr. inscriptions. Cf. the Armenian *Albâq*. It is possible that the author of Judith has confused the name of *Arbaces*, the first king of the Medes according to Ctesias, who reigned 28 years after overthrowing Sardanapalus, with the O.T. Arphaxad. Volkmar, however, who considers that "Medes" here denotes the "neo-Medes" or Parthians, identifies Arphaxad with Artavasdes (Dio Cass. 40, 49, 51), the Old Persian *Arta-fashda*, *μέγας βασιλεύς* (see Hdt. vi. 98; vii. 61), and Pehlevi *Art-fasad*, Arbaces; and makes Arphaxad in the O. T. denote Media itself. Wolff, on the other hand, maintains that Arphaxad in Judith is Phraortes (*Frawartish*), the second king of Media, according to Herodotus. Perhaps the name is to be compared with that of Arsaces (*i.e.* Mithridates I.), who is called king of Persia and Media, 1 Macc. xiv. 2, and who reigned circ. 140 B.C.

the Medes.] Hdt. i. 95–130 gives the history of their empire from its foundation by Deioces to its overthrow by Cyrus the Persian. He states that "the Assyrians ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years. The Medes were the first to raise the standard of revolt." Their struggles for liberty were successful, and the other subject nations followed their example. At first the Medes lived in self-governing village communities, but eventually Deioces by artifice got himself made king, and centralised the power of the nation at Ecbatana. "When he had gotten the rule, he compelled the Medes to make themselves a single town. . . . He built walls great and strong—those that are now called Agbatana—rising in circles one within the other, and so contrived that the one circle rose above the next by its bastions only." This stronghold stood on a round hill, and the ring walls were seven in number, within the last of which were the royal palace and treasury. The bastions were painted white, black, purple, blue, and bright red successively, and the highest two were silvered and gilded (Hdt. i. 98).

The Medes are mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions by *Rammân-nirâri* (812–783 B.C.), and probably by his immediate predecessors *Šamši-Rammân* and Shalmaneser II. (accessit B.C. 860). Sargon took *Bît Daiukku*, "the house of Deioces," a district of Media, and carried off its chief Daiukku (circa 715 B.C.) This perhaps led to the fortification of Ecbatana, and the centralisation of the power of the Median tribes.

Ecbatane.] See note on Tobit iii. 7. The historical capital of Media, called in O. T. *Achmetha*, Ezra vi. 2; the modern *Hamadân*. The Heb. name is a form assimilated to *Hamath*, so as to suggest the meaning *citadel*; but the original name was not Semitic. In the annals of Nabonidus recently discovered the spelling is A-gam-ta-nu. The native form of the name was *Hañgmatâna*, as appears from the inscriptions at Behistun. The Babylonian spelling in the same inscriptions is A-ga-ma-ta-nu. In the sixth year of Nabonidus (*Nabû-nâ'id*), the last king of Babylon, that is circ. 550 B.C., Cyrus took Ecbatana, after defeating Astyages (*Ištuvêgû*), who, according to Herodotus, was the son of Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, the son of Deioces, who founded the Median empire, and "built," *i.e.* fortified, the city. Volkmar says that Ecbatana in Judith is a symbol of the apparently invincible power of the Parthians; but he goes on to identify it with Nisibis, the stronghold of the Arsacid kings in their struggles against the Seleucids, and afterwards against the Romans, as possessors of Syria. He even suggests a combination of *Accad*, a Jewish name of Nisibis, with *Batnae*, that of a town near it (the Syr. *Batnon dasrûg*); thus *Accad-Batna* = Ecbatana.

2. *And built in Ecbatane walls round about.*] Codd. 19, 108: *καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν Ἐκβάτανα* (pro *ἐπ' Ἐκβατάνων*) *καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτῇ κύκλῳ τείχη καὶ* (? *ἐκ*) *λίθων κ.τ.λ.*, thus making "Arphaxad" found Ecbatana. So the Vulg. *ipse aedificavit civitatem potentissimam.* The Syriac has: "and he built a tower in *Fanfattan* (?) and girt it with a wall in hewn stones." Cf. Old Lat. *aedificavit turrem in Ecbathana et in circuitu muros ejus.* Cod. 58 omits *ἐπ' Ἐκβατ.* and reads *πύργον ἐκεῖ.*

of stones hewn.] *ἐκ λίθων λελαξευμένων.* Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 1; 2 Kings xii. 12; Ezek. xl. 43. Heb. אַבְנֵי גָזִית; Vulg. *ex lapidibus quadratis et sectis.* Taking the cubit at 21 in., the stones were 5 ft. 3 in. broad and 10 ft. 6 in. long. "The fortifications of Ecbatana were undoubtedly remarkable, and even proverbial. See Themistios, 'Or.' xxvi. p. 319" (Fritzsche). See also Hdt. i. 98, quoted *supra.* Polybius relates that Antio-

cubits broad and six cubits long, and made the height of the wall seventy cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits:

3 And set the towers thereof upon the gates of it, an hundred cubits *high*, and the breadth thereof in the foundation threescore cubits:

4 And he made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and the breadth of them was forty cubits, for the going forth of his mighty armies, and for the setting in array of his footmen:

5 Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.

6 And there came unto him all

chus the Great in his Parthian campaign (209 B.C.) came hither, and pursued his victory so far as Rhagae. He expressly mentions that Ecbatana was unwalled (*ἀτείχιστος οὖσα*), probably already in the time of which he is writing. After alluding to the marvellous strength of its citadel, and the incredible splendour of its palace, he states that although it had been plundered in the time of Alexander, Antigonus, and Seleucus Nicator, yet Antiochus managed to carry off nearly 4000 talents from a temple there. (Polyb. x. 27–29, quoted by Volkmar.)

seventy cubits.] Codd. 19, 108, *eighty;* Old Lat. *sixty;* Vulg. *thirty.* The breadth of the walls according to Cod. iii. and the Vulg. was *seventy* cubits. The Syriac and Old Lat. omit the breadth.

The breadth of the walls of Babylon was fifty "royal" cubits, and the height two hundred. (Hdt. i. 178.) The walls of Nineveh were one hundred feet high, and broad enough for three chariots to drive abreast upon them. (Diod. Sic. ii. 3.) Volkmar truly observes that the author has drawn on his fancy in describing the walls of Ecbatana, and that he has confused the city walls with those of the famous citadel. The proportion of breadth to height is absurd (so Eichhorn).

3. *And set the towers, &c.*] Lit. *and the towers of it* (*i.e.* the wall) *set he on the gates of her* (*i.e.* the city), *one hundred cubits* (*i.e.* in height). Vulg. *turres vero ejus posuit in altitudinem cubitorum centum.*

and the breadth thereof in the foundation, &c.] The Greek is *καὶ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς ἐθεμελίωσεν εἰς πήχεις ἑξήκοντα.* All the MSS. give *αὐτῆς*, which could only refer to the *city*. Fritzsche edits *αὐτῶν*, after Gaab. Cf. Old Lat. latitudinem *earum*. The breadth of the *towers* at the foundation was sixty cubits. Higher they became narrower. The wall towers of Nineveh were 1500 in number, and each 200 feet high. (Diod. Sic. ii. 3.)

4. *And he made the gates thereof, even gates, &c.*] Lit. *and he made the gates of her* (*i.e.* the city) *gates rising to a height of seventy cubits.* Codd. 19, 108, *eighty;* Cod. x., Syr., Old Lat., *sixty.*

for the going forth of his mighty armies.] Greek *εἰς ἐξόδους δυνάμεων* (Codd. 19, 108, *δυνάμεως*) *δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ. Δυνατοὶ* is here a subst. = Heb. גִּבּוֹרִים, *heroes, warriors:* cf. 1 Chron. xix. 8, xi. 11. Heb. prob. לְצֵאת צִבְאוֹת גִּבּוֹרָיו, *for the going forth of the hosts of his warriors;* or less prob. לְצֵאת צָבָא" חֵילוֹ, *for the going forth of his mighty hosts.* The *δυνατοὶ* may denote the *horsemen* and *chariotry* — רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים—as opposed to the *πεζοὶ* or *footmen:* cf. 2 Chron. xviii. 4.

The reason for the extraordinary breadth of the gates was that the army might be able to march through them in order of battle.

and for the setting in array of his footmen.] The Greek *διατάξεις, dispositions* of troops, occurs Hdt. ix. 26; Demosth. 'de Cor.' 248. Heb. וְלַעֲדֹר רִגְלָיו (1 Chron. xii. 33, 38); or וּלְמַעֲרֶכֶת רַגְלָיו; cf. also 1 Kings vi. 9; 2 Kings xi. 8. Codd. 19, 108: *εἰς ἐξόδους δυνάμεως δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁρμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς διαταξ. κ.τ.λ.* Syriac: "for the going forth of the chariots of his army." Old Lat. *ad exitum quadrigarum suarum.*

5. *Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war.*] For the phrase *ποιεῖν πόλεμον πρός τινα* see Josh. xi. 18; 1 Chron. v. 10. In Heb. *to make war with* (אֶת or עִם). The phrase cannot mean merely to *declare* or *decide on* war, as Volkmar finds it necessary to assert.

in the great plain.] Volkmar is wrong in making בּ (*ἐν*) equivalent to *ἐπὶ, über,* or *ob,* for the purposes of his peculiar theory. He remarks: "The northern district of the Parthian realm, around the great plain (on the Cyrus), not the W. and S. of the kingdom, was at the outset the object of Trajan's war against the Arsacid."

in the borders of Ragau.] *I.e.* in Rhagiana (Ptol. vi. 2, 6); where "Rages" (Tobit i. 14) was situated. Syriac *Dûrâ* (!), Dan. iii. 1. Volkmar quotes from Athenæus a statement that the Parthian kings passed the summer at Rhagae, and the winter at Babylon. The town (Rhagâ) is mentioned in the Ven-

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they that dwelt in the hill country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and Tigris, and Hydaspes, and the plain of Arioch the king of the Elymeans,

didad, ch. i. The "great plain" is the table-land of *Irak-Ajemi* (Media Magna), between *Koom* and the range of *Elburz*, S. of the Caspian (Wolff).

6. *And there came unto him.*] *I.e.* to Nebuchadnezzar (not to Arphaxad, as Volkmar assumes for the sake of his hypothesis). The phrase *συναντᾶν τινι* (here and at Josh. xi. 20, *πρός τινα*) may denote a friendly or a hostile meeting. Here the former sense holds, as appears not only from the specified localities, but also from the contrasted behaviour of other nations (*vv.* 7–11), and the consequent decision of the king to take vengeance on the latter: cf. also ch. v. 4. The reading of Codd. 19, 108, which add *εἰς πόλεμον*, and that of Codd. x. 58, which also give *εἰς πόλεμον*, but omit *πρὸς αὐτὸν*, and the Syriac ܠܡܩܒܠ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܗܘ *et egressi sunt contra eum*, implies the hostile intention; but in that case why is not the king represented as vowing vengeance upon these nations also, in *v.* 12 *sq.*? The Heb. may have been וַיֵּצְאוּ לִפְנֵי; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 17. The "hill-country" is the Zagros range E. of Assyria; not Adiabene (Volkmar), nor Judæa (Ewald).

all that dwelt by Euphrates.] The Greek *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Εὐφράτην* is an inexact equivalent of *οἱ κατοικ. παρὰ τὸν Εὐφρ.*, which finds a parallel in Polyb. iii. 42. 2: *τοὺς κατοικ. τὸν ποταμόν.* Cf. Num. xiii. 30: *κατοικεῖ παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν* = יֹשֵׁב עַל־יַד הַיַּרְדֵּן. *Euphrates* is the Persian *Ufrâtus*, the Sumerian *Pura-nunu*, "great river." The non-Semitic *pura*, "river," has received a Semitic form in the Assyro-Babylonian *Purattu*, and the Heb. *Pĕrâth*. The Tigris was called by the Sumero-Accadians *Idignat*, *Idigna*, and *Idignu*; by the Assyrians and Babylonians *Idiglat* and *Diglat*; by the Hebrews *Hiddêqel* (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 9); in the Targums and Talmud, *Diglath*, with which the modern Arabic *Diglat* coincides. The Old Persian is *Tigrâ* (cf. the Greek *Τίγρις*), *l* and *r* being interchanged as in Persian *Bâbiru* = Babel, *Porus* = Pûl; cf. also Orofernes, Olofernes.

and Hydaspes.] The *Indian* river of this name (Sanscrit *Vitasta*, modern Jhelam) hardly suits in connection with the Euphrates and Tigris. The Syriac has the probable original, *Ulai—i.e.* the Eulaeus of Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' vi. 31, cf. Dan. viii. 2. In the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Abpl. it is called *nâr U-la-a-a*, the river *Ulâ'a*, and is described as flowing in the immediate neighbourhood of Susa. Schrader says it is doubtful whether this river is the same as the Choaspes (Hdt. i. 188, v. 49), *i.e.* the modern *Kercha*, flowing west of Susa (Kiepert), or the present *Karûn*, east of Susa (Delitzsch, 'Paradies'). Fritzsche refers to Strabo, xv. 3, where "the Choaspes and the Eulaeus and the Tigris" are mentioned together as distinct rivers. At any rate *Hydaspes* may be an error for *Choaspes*. Cf. Virgil's "Medus Hydaspes" (Georg. iv. 211), and Horace's "fabulosus Hydaspes." The Old Lat. MSS. give Hydaspi, Hydnas, and Idas. The Vulg. has *Iadason.*

and the plain of Arioch.] The common reading *καὶ πεδίῳ Ελριὼχ* is meaningless. Gaab would cancel *πεδίῳ*. Volkmar edits: *καὶ τὸ πεδίον Ἀρ. τοῦ βασ.* Fritzsche, *καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀρ. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐλυμαίων*, comparing the Syriac, which has *in the plain of Arioch king of Elam*, as an apposition to what precedes, and the Old Lat. *in campis* (Cod. Germ. 15, *et campos*). The Vulg. also makes the clause an apposition: *in campo Erioch regis Elicorum.* Codd. 23, 44, 64, &c. *καὶ πεδίον*; iii. 58, 236, 249, *καὶ πεδία*; 19, 108, *καὶ τὰ πεδία.* Tischendorf (1875) edits *καὶ πεδίῳ Ελριὼχ ὁ βασ. Ἐλυμ.*, but notes the Alexandrine variant *καὶ παιδία Ἀριὼχ, and the sons* (i.e. *warriors* or *followers* or *people*) *of Arioch*—a plausible reading. But the Syriac seems preferable, as Elam-Susiana was the locality of the river Choaspes. Fritzsche's text opposes "the plain" to "the hill country." *And in the plain Arioch, king of the Elymeans, (met him).* The name Arioch or Eirioch occurs Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14. It has also been read in the cuneiform as *Erim-Akû*, king of Larsa, and son of *Kudur-Mabug*, king of Elam. He reigned circ. 2180–2140 B.C., and by the conquest of Nisin became master of Southern and Middle Babylonia. Circ. 2170 B.C. he made the expedition to South Palestine in conjunction with *Kudur-lagamar* of Elam, and other princes, as related in Gen. xiv. (See Hommel. 'Die vorsemitische Kultur,' p. 422.) The name is equivalent to the Assyrian *Arad-Sin*, "servant of the moon-god."

the king of the Elymeans.] Fritzsche remarks that the *genitive* is necessary; the nominative can only be a later error. He, however, edits the nominative, which admits of the explanation given above. Codd. x. 19, 44, 58, al. *βασίλεως*; 108, Co. *τοῦ βασιλεως.* So the Syr., Old Lat., and Vulg. The *Elymeans* are the people of *Elymais*, a Persian district (Polyb. v. 44, 9), but here the Heb. עֵילָם is meant (so Syriac), *i.e.* Susiana.

and very many nations, &c.] Fritzsche omits

and very many nations of the sons of Chelod, assembled themselves to the battle.

7 Then Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, and to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in Cilicia, and Damascus, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and to all that dwelt upon the sea coast,

8 And to those among the nations that were of Carmel, and Galaad, and

the *very*—σφόδρα, a favourite word in Judith—because wanting in Codd. ii. iii. x., Old Lat. (and Syr.). Tischendorf retains it; cf. Heb. הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד. Lit. the clause runs: *And there came together* (*very*) *many nations to the array* (παράταξιν, *acies*, 1 Sam. xvii. 8; or *militia*, 1 Chron. v. 18) *of the sons of Cheleud.* Παράταξις might also mean *battle;* cf. Polyb. i. 40. 1. Χελεοὺδ, Codd. iii. 23, 44, 58, et mult. libr.; Χεσλαιουδὰ, Cod. x.; vulgo Χελεούλ. Old Lat. *Chelleuth* suggests בני חילותא as the Chaldee text of Judith (Deut. iii. 18). Vulg. omits. Syr.: "And many nations were gathered together to fight with (*i.e.* against) *the Chaldeans*"—ܥܡ ܟܠܕܝܐ. This *may* be original, although our Nebuchadnezzar is not king of the *Chaldeans*, but of the Assyrians; Heb. עִם בְּנֵי כֶשֶׂד, "with the sons of Chesed," *i.e.* the כַּשְׂדִּים or Chaldeans. Ewald thinks Χελεοὺδ = Heb. חלד, Syr. ܚܠܕܐ *talpa*, and that "sons of the mole" was at the time a nickname of the Syrians; a very doubtful guess accepted by Volkmar, who sees in it a Jewish scoff at the Roman military "diggers." On the cuneiform monuments the name *mât Kaldu* (or *Kaldi*) denotes sometimes the whole of Babylonia, sometimes the southern part of it, from Babylon to the Persian Gulf. From this name the Greeks formed their Χαλδαῖοι. The Heb. *Casdim* has not been found in the cuneiform. Schrader suggests that it was derived immediately from the Babylonians, and is the more original form. The Χελεοὺδ of Judith is not unlike *Kaldu* (*i*). But it may be Chilmad (*Kilwādha*) above Bagdad; Ezek. xxvii. 23.

7. *Then.*] *And.* So "But" (*v.* 11), "Therefore" (*v.* 12), "Then" (*v.* 13), "Also" (*v.* 15), "So" (*v.* 16). In all these cases the Greek has καὶ, answering to the Heb. *waw.*

sent unto all.] To demand their help (*v.* 11). For ἀποστέλλειν ἐπί τινα, cf. Hdt. viii. 64. The Syriac omits "All that dwelt in Persia," *i.e.* Persis, Persia Proper. Volkmar is obliged to call the message to Persia "unhistorical," because Trajan had no authority there.

all that dwelt westward.] πρὸς δυσμαῖς, *at the sunset, in the west:* cf. ii. 19; 1 Chron. vii. 28. But Codd. 19, 108, 58, 44, &c. read πρὸς δυσμάς, *westward*=ἐπὶ δυσμάς, ch. ii. 6. This general designation is specialised in what follows—viz. the people of Cilicia, &c. The Assyrians called Phoenicia - Palestine *mât Aharri*, "the country of the west." (Omit *and* after *westward.*)

and Libanus, and Antilibanus.] *I.e.* Coele-Syria, between these parallel ranges.

upon the sea coast.] Lit. *over against* (κατὰ πρόσωπον) *the coast.* The Heb. might be על־פני הים, Gen. xxv. 18, Deut. xxxii. 49; or לפני הי", Gen. xxiii. 17; but more probably על־שפתהים or עַל־יַד הַיָּם; cf. Syr. Phoenicia and Philistia are intended. The enumeration of localities and cities is geographically accurate. Codd. 19, 108, *and those that dwelt in Jamnia and Damascus*, and x. gives *Jamnia* for *Persia.* The Old Lat. also contains this name, but not the Vulg. Cf. ch. ii. 28. The mistake may have originated in the Heb. יָמִין, *dexter*, used in the sense of *australis.* Damascus and the Lebanon lay *south* of Cilicia.

8. *And to those among the nations, &c.*] The Greek is: καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦ Καρμήλου. . . . καὶ τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν καὶ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἐσδρηλώμ. As Fritzsche remarks, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι appears meaningless. It was to the nations themselves that the message was sent. He supposes that the Heb. original was either בֶּהָרֵי, ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, or בְּעָרֵי, ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, which was confused by the Greek translator with בְּעַמֵּי, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Perhaps וַאֲשֶׁר בְּעַמֵּי הַכַּרְמֶל may mean, *and those who are included in the nations of Carmel.* The Vulg., however, has *et ad gentes quae sunt in Carmelo;* Syr. *and to the inhabitants of Carmel.* In his anxiety to prove that *the Jewish population* everywhere is uppermost in the writer's mind, Volkmar explains the phrase as equivalent to καὶ (τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ) τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, and objects against Fritzsche that עם is λαὸς, and גוי ἔθνος. There are, however, more than a hundred passages in the LXX. in which עם is rendered ἔθνος. Wolff defends the Gk. text on the ground that the woods, caves, and winding valleys of Carmel were the natural asylum of refugees from the Assyrian and Syrian invasions. These refugees formed a number of petty independent com-

the higher Galilee, and the great plain of Esdrelom,

9 And to all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chellus, and Kades, and the river of Egypt, and Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem,

munities, according to their several nations. "Galaad" or Gilead, the hill-country east of Jordan, is mentioned out of its place, in order to couple the two highlands together: cf. ch. xv. 5; 1 Macc. v. 9. But A. Scholz acutely suggests that "Carmel," in the archaic style affected by the author, stands for Palestine (Jer. ii. 7; l. 19), just as "Gilead" is the country E. of Jordan. Thus the whole country according to its two divisions is first mentioned; and then the route of the envoys is given from north to south.

the great plain of Esdrelom.] Ch. vii. 3. Called Esdrelon, chh. iii. 9; iv. 6. Volkmar prefers Ἐσδραήλων, as a gen. plur. of Ἐσδράηλα, throughout the book. Heb. עֵמֶק יִזְרְעֶאל, "the valley of Jezreel." So the Syr. See 1 Macc. xii. 49; Joseph. 'Antiq.' xii. 8, 5.

9. *Samaria and the cities thereof.*] Samaria here denotes the district so called, as in ch. iv. 4; the Σαμαρεῖτις of 1 Macc. x. 30; xi. 28. Cf. "the cities of Samaria," 2 Kings xxiii. 19. This use of the term is far from being "a clear proof that the author wrote before the Babylonian exile," as Wolff asserts. It merely proves knowledge of Biblical phraseology (cf. also 2 Kings xvii. 26; Jer. xxxi. 5).

beyond Jordan.] The Greek πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, and the Heb. עבר הירדן, generally and properly designates the land east of the Jordan, the N. T. Peraea; sometimes, as here, the opposite. Movers, 'Untersuch. über d. Bibl. Chron.' p. 240, argues that עבר or בעבר means both *diesseits* and *jenseits*. Sometimes the ambiguity is removed by the addition of a phrase signifying *westward*, as in Josh. v. 1, xii. 7; Deut. xi. 30; 1 Chron. xxvi. 30; or *eastward*, as in Josh. i. 15, xii. 1, xiii. 32. In Gen. l. 10, 11; 1 Sam. xxxi. 7; Josh. ix. 1; 1 Kings v. 4, it means the western side, though no determinative is added. Here the Syr. has the same expression ܒܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢ, and the Vulg. *trans flumen Jordanem.*

Betane.] Greek Βετάνη. Cod. ii. Βαιτάνη; x. Βατάνη. Syr. *Batnon*, or Betanon, *i.e.* the Βηθανὸν of Euseb. Onomast., in the hill-country near Hebron. Wolff, who thinks that the writer now passes over to the country east of Jordan, identifies Betane with Bashan. But his "nachexilisch בָּתָן" is dubious; the Aramaic forms being בותניים, בתנייא, and בותנן; *vid.* Levy, 'Chald. Wört.' The place intended is perhaps בֵּית־עָנוֹת, *Beth-anoth*, Josh. xv. 59, the present *Beit 'Anûn*, about five miles north of Hebron. But A. Scholz says *Betania trans Jordanem* here marks the E. border, as Halhul the W., and Kadesh the S.

Chellus.] Χελούς. So Codd. ii. iii.; vulgo, Χελλούς; x. Χεσλούς. According to Fritzsche, חַלְחוּל, *Halhûl*, Josh. xv. 58; but Lipsius says, certainly not Halhul, but Allus (or Elusa) in Idumea, the *Chalutsah* of the Talmud, the present *El-Khulaṣa*. So Mühlau, after Reland and Robinson. This is clearly right, as the order of enumeration proceeds from north to south. The Syriac has ܟܠܘ, *Kalôn*.

Kades.] Καδής. Kedesh in Judah, Josh. xv. 23. So Syr.; or Kadesh-Barnea, in the desert of Zin, on the borders of Edom, or in the desert of Paran (Lipsius). Wolff's method of restoring Gilead for Chellus, and Kerek-Moab for Kades, is marvellous, but not convincing.

the river of Egypt.] Not the Nile (Fritzsche and Volkmar), but the *Wady-el-Arish*, or Rhinokolura, the dividing line between Canaan and Egypt. Heb. נַחַל־מִצְרַיִם, rendered as here ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου in 1 Kings viii. 65. More correctly ἕως χειμάρρου Αἰγύπτου, 2 Chron. vii. 8. Cod. x. has τοὺς χειμάρρους here. There is no reference in what follows to "the two divisions of Egypt in the Roman time," as Volkmar supposes.

Taphnes, and Ramesse, and all the land of Gesem.] *I.e.* the Delta. The words depend immediately upon *he sent unto* (*v.* 7). So the Syr. Fritzsche understands τοὺς κατοικοῦντας again.

Taphnes is *Taḥpanhes*, Jer. xliii. 7, 8, 9; or *Tĕhaphnĕhes*, Ezek. xxx. 18; of which the ruins, at *Tel Defennu*, were recently excavated by Mr. Flinders Petrie. The LXX. call the place Τάφναι, as here, and Τάφνη. It is the Δάφναι αἱ Πελούσιαι of Hdt. ii. 30, or Δάφνη, a fortified border city near Pelusium. Syr. *Taḥphîs*. Ramesse — Ῥαμεσσῆ — the Raamses of Exod. i. 11, and the Rameses of Gen. xlvii. 11; Exod. xii. 37. (So Syr. here.) In Gen. xlvi. 28 the LXX. has γῇ Ῥαμεσσῆ for Heb. גֹּשֶׁן אֶרֶץ, *the land of Goshen*; cf. Gen. xlvi. 11, where the Heb. has *land of Rameses*. Rameses was apparently the capital of Goshen, here called Gesem. (Syr. Goshen.)

10 Until ye come beyond Tanis and Memphis, and to all the inhabitants of Egypt, until ye come to the borders of Ethiopia.

11 But all the inhabitants of the land made light of the commandment of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle; for they were not afraid of him: yea, he was before them as one man, and they sent away his ambassadors from them without effect, and with disgrace.

12 Therefore Nabuchodonosor was very angry with all this country, and sware by his throne and kingdom, that he would surely be avenged upon all those coasts of Cilicia, and Damas-

10. *Until ye come.*] Greek ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν =the common Heb. עַד בּאֲךָ.

beyond Tanis and Memphis.] Greek ἐπάνω Τάνεως κ. Μέμφεως=Heb. לְצֹעַן וְלִמְפִי, *above Zoan and Moph.* Syr. *so far as to Zoan and to* (ܠܡܡܦܝܣ) *Memphis.* Zoan, the well-known city on the east bank of the Tanitic Nile: see Isa. xix. 11. Memphis, the Egyptian *Men-nefer*, "fair haven," called by the Hebrews Moph and Noph, lay on the west bank of the Nile, south of Old Cairo: cf. Isa. xix. 13.

the borders of Ethiopia.] *I.e.* Cush or Meroë, south of Egypt, the Assyrian *Kûšu* and *Meluḫḫu*. Wolff devotes ten pages of elaborate argument to prove that in the 7th century B.C. the power of Assyria still extended to Egypt; so that the author of Judith is not wrong in making Nebuch. demand contingents from that quarter. Much of what Wolff adduces is out of date; but we now know from the Assyrian annals of Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.) and Assurbanapla, his son (668–626 B.C.), that each of these kings conquered Egypt, and expelled Tirhakah the Ethiopian from that country. Our author, however, speaks of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was not an Assyrian king, but who, as a fragmentary inscription proves, invaded Egypt in 568 B.C. (see Schrader, 'Keilinschr.,' p. 364). Such vague and inaccurate knowledge of these matters, as the Book of Judith indicates, hardly requires more than an acquaintance with the O. T. for its adequate explanation (see Jer. xliii. 8 *sqq.*).

11. *all the inhabitants of the land.*] So the Syr. and Codd. 19, 58, 23, al. Fritzsche edits the hyperbolical, *all the inhabitants of all the land.* Cf. ch. ii. 1. The "land" in question is defined in *vv.* 7–10. Cf. *v.* 12: "all this country." The term is collective. Volkmar finds "exaggeration" in this statement of general defiance on the part of the western countries; because, as a matter of fact, it does not fit in with the history of Trajan's "Parthian" war.

before them.] *I.e.* in their sight, in their judgment. The Greek ἐναντίον αὐτῶν = Heb. לפניהם or לעיניהם. Cf. ch. v. 21; viii. 22; x. 14.

as one man.] So Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 52, et mult. libr., Syr., and Old Lat.; vulgo, ἴσος. Heb. כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד, which means *as one man and no more;* as a mere individual, not "Ein gewöhnlicher Mann," *unus de multis*, as Fritzsche explains the phrase.

and they sent away . . . with disgrace.] The verb is ἀνέστρεψαν, *sent back, caused to turn back;* Heb. וַיָּשִׁיבוּ. Codd. iii. x. 19, 58, al. correct into ἀπέστρ. Lit. *and they turned back his messengers empty in dishonour before their face* (Codd. iii. 64, al. *from their face*). "Empty" is Heb. רֵיקָם, *vacuis manibus, re infecta* (Gen. xxxi. 42; Ruth i. 21; Deut. xvi. 16; 2 Sam. i. 22). They did not give the presents which were the usual tokens of submission (2 Kings xviii. 31). "In dishonour, &c." בְּבֶלְמָה (בָּקְלוֹן) מְלִפְנֵיהֶם. Cf. the treatment of David's ambassadors by Hanun the Ammonite (2 Sam x. 4). The league of Egypt and the western powers against the common enemy Assyria is based on the historical records of the O. T. See 2 Kings xviii. 21, xix. 9; Isa. xxx. 2, xxxi. 1; Jer. xxxvii. 5; Ezek. xvii. 15.

12. *that he would surely be avenged upon.*] The common Greek text is εἰ μὴν ἐκδικήσειν, which Bleek on Heb. vi. 14 explains as a mixture of the Greek formula of swearing ἦ μὴν with the Hebrew εἰ μή (אִם לֹא). Fritzsche edits ἦ μὴν, after Codd. 23, 44, 71, al., with the remark "sed suspicor scribendum esse εἰ μή." Probably the true text is: εἰ μὴ ἐκδικήσει, which accords with Heb. idiom.

all those coasts of Cilicia.] Here and again, ch. ii. 25, the term "coasts" denotes not the land bordering on Cilicia, but the territory (*fines*) of Cilicia, *i.e.* Cilicia itself (Lipsius).

Damascus.] So Codd. x. 44, 64, al., Syr., and doubtless the Heb. Fritzsche edits Δαμασκηνῆς, *Damascené*, because the whole territory is denoted, and not the city only (Strab. xvi. 2).

cus, and Syria, and that he would slay with the sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all Judea, and all that were in Egypt, till ye come to the borders of the two seas.

13 Then he marched in battle array with his power against king Arphaxad in the seventeenth year, and he prevailed in his battle: for he overthrew all the power of Arphaxad, and all his horsemen, and all his chariots,

14 And became lord of his cities, and came unto Ecbatane, and took the towers, and spoiled the streets thereof, and turned the beauty thereof into shame.

15 He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him

Syria.] The term is here used, says Fritzsche, in the wider sense of the land which stretches from Taurus and Amanus, between the Mediterranean and Euphrates, to the Arabian Desert and the border of Egypt. Was the Heb. אֲרָם דַּמֶּשֶׂק, *Aram of Damascus?* (2 Sam. viii. 5.) The Syr. has ܒܝܬ ܫܐܢ, *Baishân*, that is, the Arab. *Baisân*, Heb. *Beth-shean*, the Greek *Scythopolis*, as in ch. iii. 10, 2 Macc. xii. 29, and so prob. here. The name also denotes the district of Bashan. The Old Lat. *Scythiae* prob. means *Scythopolis*, Σκυθῶν πόλις.

the inhabitants of the land of Moab.] Syr.: *the wise men of Moab.* Cf. Dan. ii. 12. The Moabites lived south of the Arnon. They are mentioned again, ch. v. 2, 22; vi. 1; vii. 8. Wolff argues that as these passages—taken along with Zephan. ii. 8–10; Jer. ix. 25, 26; xxv. 15–26; xxvii. 1–3—shew that the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites were at the time independent states, and as Josephus ('Ant.' x. 9. 7) expressly asserts that Nebuchadnezzar was the first to reduce them to subjection, from which time (604 B.C.) onwards they were subject to the Babylonians, Persians, and under John Hyrcanus to the Jews (Jos. 'Ant.' xiii. 13. 5, &c.), it follows that the events related in Judith must be referred to the age before the Exile (!). Ammon was north of Moab, east of Jordan, and south of the Jabbok. See ch. v. 2, 5; vii. 17, 18; vi. 5.

all Judea.] In the wider sense of the Jewish land, *Palestine.*

the two seas.] According to Movers and Wolff, the two arms of the upper Nile, the Astaboras and Astapus, which surround the island of Meroe (Strabo, xvii. 1), *i.e.* Ethiopia. Cf. *v.* 10: "the borders of Ethiopia." Great rivers are called seas in Heb. and Arab. Cf. Isa. xxi. 1; Jer. li. 36; Ezek. xxxii. 2. Volkmar thinks of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf (?); others propose the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, where Arabia marches with Egypt (Lipsius). The Vulg. omits the proper names of this verse, and concludes the chapter here, passing over the destruction of Arphaxad and the feasting that followed.

13. *Then he marched in battle array, &c.*] *And he drew up in line,* to give battle. Syr. *and he made ready his army.* "Power" is an old English term for *army*, and the Greek term (δύναμις) is so rendered in *v.* 16. "The English power is near, led on by Malcolm" ('Macbeth,' v. 2, 1). The Heb. חַיִל and the Lat. *vis* are similarly used. Καὶ παρετάξατο ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ = וַיַּעֲרֹךְ מִלְחָמָה בְּחֵילוֹ.

in the seventeenth year.] Cf. note on *v.* 1. Nabuchodonosor reduces the Medes in his seventeenth year, and is thus left free to attack the Jews in the eighteenth (Jer. xxxii. 1; ch. ii. 1).

14. *spoiled.*] The Greek is ἐπρονόμευσε, ch. ii. 23, 26; xv. 6. Some MSS. correct προενόμευσε. The word is late, and denotes *to forage, plunder, ravage.*

thereof.] Greek αὐτῆς, *of her*, i.e. the city. The *name* Ecbatana is a neut. plur.

turned the beauty thereof into shame.] Fritzsche edits: καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἔθηκεν εἰς ὄνειδος αὐτῆς. Codd. 44, 71, al., Old Lat. καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, *and he made it* (the city) *a reproach;* cf. Ps. xliv. 13, 14. The Syr. has: *and all their beauty they made into a reproach.*

15. *He took also.*] *I.e.* took him prisoner when he was a fugitive. The "mountains of Ragau" are the range of Elburz, running from east to west in the north of Rhagiana.

smote him through with his darts.] Greek κατηκόντισεν (shot him down) ἐν ταῖς ζιβύναις αὐτοῦ. The ζιβύνη (also ζηβύνη and ζηβήνη) or σιβύνη (also σιβύνης ὁ.; cf. σιγύνης, Hdt. v. 9) was *a hunting spear*, and gen. *a spear* or *pike* (Diod. xviii. 27). Σιβύνιον (Polyb. vi. 23. 9). In Jer. vi. 23 it renders Heb. כִּידוֹן *jaculum.* It was a kind of smaller spear, which soldiers carried slung from the shoulders (1 Sam. xvii. 6, 7, 45), *in use among the Babylonians and Persians* (Jer. vi. 23; l. 42), prob. furnished with a pennon, like the spear of the Uhlans (Gesen. 'Thes.' *s. v.*). In Isa. ii. 4, ζιβύνη renders Heb. חֲנִית *hasta, δόρυ.*

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through with his darts, and destroyed him utterly that day.

16 So he returned afterward to Nineve, both he and all his company of sundry nations, being a very great multitude of men of war, and there he took his ease, and banqueted, both he and his army, an hundred and twenty days.

CHAPTER II.

4 *Holofernes is appointed general,* 11 *and charged to spare none that will not yield.* 15 *His army and provision.* 23 *The places which he won and wasted as he went.*

AND in the eighteenth year, the two and twentieth day of the first month, there was talk in the house of Nabuchodonosor king of the

It is improbable that the author of Judith is here giving the true details of the defeat and death of Phraortes, the second king of the Medes, when assailing the Assyrians of Nineveh (Hdt. i. 102). Wolff holds that such is the case; and adds that the cruelty of Nebuchadnezzar accounts for the cherished revenge of Cyaxares, who in 607 B.C. had the satisfaction of witnessing the fall of Kineladan's house and empire. Lipsius may be right in supposing a reminiscence of Darius' victory at Rhagae over Xatrida, who pretended to descent from Cyaxares, the Arbaces of Ctesias.

that day.] The Greek is ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, or ταύτης (Codd. x. 19, 108; Syr., Old Lat.): *until that (this) day.* Fritzsche explains: "From the day of the battle until that day on which he thrust him through, he was destroying him and his power utterly." This is artificial, and the reading "unto this day," implying that the Medes had never since recovered from that fatal overthrow, is certainly preferable, though not so strongly supported by Greek MSS. as the other. Moreover, the phrase is common in O. T. histories, whereas it would not be easy to find a parallel to the alternative reading. Volkmar's "bis auf jene Zeit (in der Nebukadnezar-Trajanus selbst fiel)" contains an arbitrary extension of the statement of the text.

16. *So he returned afterward.*] Lit. *and he returned with them.* A.V. seems to confuse μετ' αὐτῶν with μετὰ ταῦτα. The reference of the pronoun αὐτῶν is not very clear; but the prisoners and booty, usually mentioned in such narratives, appear to be meant. Codd. 19, 108, Syr., Old Lat. omit *with them.*

all his company of sundry nations.] The Greek is πᾶς ὁ σύμμικτος αὐτοῦ, *all his mixed multitude,* i.e. his foreign auxiliaries of different nations: Heb. כָּל־הָעֵרֶב, Jer. xxv. 20–24; 1 Kings x. 15. Targ. *auxilia.* Cf. ὁ ἐπίμικτος, ch. ii. 20; Ezek. xxx. 5; Exod. xii. 38; also Hdt. vii. 55, ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων, of the motley army of Xerxes. The phrase is anything but a suitable description of Roman legions, *pace* Volkmar. Before this phrase Codd. 19, 108 insert καὶ πᾶσα ἡ παράταξις αὐτοῦ, *and all his* (regular?) *army.*

being a very great multitude, &c.] This clause is in apposition to the preceding: cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 33; 2 Sam. xvii. 8; ch. vii. 2–7, xv. 3. The Syr. and Codd. 23, 44, 71, 74, 106 make it co-ordinate: *and a very great multitude.* This distinguishes the regular troops from the mixed multitude, as Wolff desires.

an hundred and twenty days.] Ahasuerus gave a feast of 180 days: Esth. i. 3, 4. As Fritzsche remarks, the length of this relaxation is not surprising after such an arduous campaign. Volkmar compares the shows given by Trajan during 123 days, after his *Dacian* campaign (Dio Cass. 68, 15).

CHAPTER II.

1. *in the eighteenth year.*] It appears from ch. i. 1, 13, 16 that this reading is correct. Moreover, there may be here a reminiscence of the historical Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed Jerusalem in his eighteenth year, according to the true chronology (587 B.C. 2 Kings xxv. 8, Jer. lii. 12, must be corrected by Jer. lii. 29: cf. Joseph. 'Ant.' x. 8. 5; 'contra Apion,' i. 21. Lipsius). The Vulg. has *anno tertiodecimo;* because it passes over ch. i. 13–16, and thinks of i. 1, 5; while Cod. 58 and the Syr. read: "And in the twenty and eighth year." The Heb. words for *ten* and *twenty* might easily be confused with each other, in a badly written or faded MS.: עשרה, *ten;* עשרי, *twenty.* This applies to the next variant also. The Gk. numeral signs ιη'—κβ' also might easily, by an error of transposition, be turned into κη'—ιβ', as Volkmar suggests.

the two and twentieth day of the first month.] This also may be a correct reminiscence of the real Nebuchadnezzar (see note on i. 13). But Cod. 58 and the Syr., *the twelfth.* The first month was Nisan, beginning March 15. The "return of the year" was anciently "the time when kings went forth to battle:" 2 Sam. xi. 1. The specification of the month by a numeral rather than by its name is an imitation of the ancient

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Assyrians, that he should, as he said, avenge himself on all the earth.

2 So he called unto him all his officers, and all his nobles, and communicated with them his secret counsel, and [a]concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth.

3 Then they decreed to destroy all flesh, that did not obey the commandment of his mouth.

4 And when he had ended his counsel, Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians called Holofernes the chief captain of his army, which was [‖]next unto him, and said unto him,

5 Thus saith the great king, the lord of the whole earth, Behold, thou

[a] 1 Sam. 20. 7. & 25. 17.

[‖] Gr. *second man.*

Heb. style. Volkmar strangely assumes that though the writer here in Jewish fashion reckons Nisan (March) as the first month, he has reckoned the years of the king's reign in Roman fashion from January.

there was talk.] A good rendering of the Greek ἐγένετο λόγος (Heb. הָיָה דָּבָר).

all the earth.] Rather, *land* (i. 11, 12). So also in *v.* 2.

2. *So he called unto him.*] Gk. καὶ συνεκάλεσε. The Heb. may have been simply *and he called unto all*, &c. (2 Chron. xxiv. 6). So the Syriac.

his officers.] τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ, *his attendants.* The Heb. was probably עֲבָדָיו, *his servants.*

nobles.] μεγιστᾶνας. Mark vi. 21. Heb. שָׂרָיו, *his princes.*

communicated with them his secret counsel.] Lit. *placed with them the mystery of his counsel.* It is difficult to guess what Hebrew this represents. Fritzsche's references are irrelevant. The Syriac has, "and revealed to them the secret of his heart." The original may have been ויגל להם סוד עצתו: *and revealed to them the secret of his plan.* Cf. Amos iii. 7; and Job xv. 8 (Theod.). סוד = μυστήριον; or, ויושם אתם ס״, *and determined with them his secret counsel.*

concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth.] The Gk., συνετέλεσε πᾶσαν κακίαν τῆς γῆς, is to be compared with 2 Sam. xx. 5 and xxv. 17: συντετέλεσται ἡ κακία παρ' αὐτοῦ, "Evil is determined on by him;" συντετέλεσται ἡ κακία εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, "Evil is determined against our master." Fritzsche asks: "Legitne interpres male ויכלה pro ויגלה?" Volkmar also wrongly renders "Er stellte dar die Bosheit der Erde." But the Heb. probably was ויכל רעה על־כל־הארץ מפיו, *and determined evil against all the land out of his mouth*, i.e. by his royal decree then uttered.

3. *Then they.*] Emphatic, καὶ αὐτοὶ; the royal counsellors. The Syriac connects this with the last clause of *v.* 2 thus: "And it came to pass when he had finished speaking evil against all the land, that *they also* accepted to destroy," &c. Heb. והמה יועצים.

all flesh.] A Heb. expression: see Gen. vi. 12, 13, 17, 19.

that did not obey, &c.] οἳ οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν; a construction according to the sense, as in Gen. vi. 13. The Syriac renders, "Those who did not *hearken to* the word of the king's mouth," which looks as if the Heb. must have been אשר לא־שמעו בקול פי המלך:.

4. *And when he had ended his counsel.*] Lit. *and it came to pass when he had concluded* (*v.* 2), &c.

Holofernes.] This name is merely a debased form of *Orophernes*, a standing title of the princes of Cappadocia, like Antiochus and Seleucus in Syria. It occurs both in the Persian and in the Seleucid period. The British Museum possesses two silver coins inscribed ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, *of Orophernes king victorious* (158 B.C.). These facts militate strongly against allegorizing interpretations of the name Holophernes. See Polyb. iii. 5. 2; App. Syr. 47; Aelian, ii. 41; Justin, xxxv. 1. Huet long ago compared the Persian Tissaphernes, Pharnaces, Intaphernes, Pharnabazus, &c. Cf. also the names of two Median princes conquered by Esarhaddon, Sidir-parna and E-parna. The Syr. gives ܐܠܦܪܢ, *Alparnâ* (?).

chief captain of his army.] ἀρχιστράτηγον τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. Heb. שַׂר צְבָאוֹ, *captain of his host* (Judg. iv. 2).

which was next unto him.] δεύτερον ὄντα (five cursives improve this into δευτερεύοντα) μετ' αὐτόν. Heb. מִשְׁנֵהוּ, *his second:* see 1 Chron. xvi. 5; and cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 7. 2 Kings iv. 13 shews that the commander-in-chief was really next to the king in rank and power.

5. *Thus saith the great king, &c.*] Cf. Ezra i. 2: "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." 2 Kings xviii. 19, "Thus saith the great king, the king of

shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their own strength, of footmen an hundred and twenty thousand; and the number of horses with their riders twelve thousand.

6 And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment.

7 And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare for me ‖earth and water: for I will go forth in my wrath against them, and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them:

8 So that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks, and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow:

9 And I will lead them captives to the utmost parts of all the earth.

‖ After the manner of the kings of Persia, to whom earth and water was wont to be given, to acknowledge that they were lords of land and sea, *Herodotus.*

Assyria." "The Great King" was the common style of the Persian sovereigns (see Xenoph. Anab. *passim*), as of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs before them; e.g. *Aššur-aḥiddina šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššâti*, "Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, the king of multitudes." Cf. also Dan. ii. 37; iv. 22. Even Nickes admits that the speech which follows is an ideal composition due to the author of the book.

thou shalt go forth from my presence.] Gen. xli. 46. Heb. "Thou shalt go out *from before me.*" Hence eight cursives give *πρὸ* instead of *ἐκ*, and Vet. Lat. has *ante*. Both prepositions are contained in the Heb. מלפני.

men that trust in their own strength.] Cf. Ps. xlix. 6. A. V. "They that trust in their wealth" (LXX. *δυνάμει*).

of footmen an hundred and twenty thousand.] In proportion to the cavalry, as ten to one. Scholz and Nickes allege these "exact numbers" to be proofs of the historical character of the work (!). The number of footmen is the same as in 1 Macc. xv. 13; a suggestive coincidence.

twelve thousand.] The common Gk. text is *μυριάδων δεκαδύο*, which makes them equal to the cavalry. *V.* 15 shews that the right reading is *χιλιάδας δεκαδύο*, "twelve thousand." So Codd. ii. ex corr., iii. 52, 64, al., Syr., and Old Lat.

6. *thou shalt go against.*] Heb. ויצאת לקראת, *and thou shalt go forth to meet . . .* (So Gk. literally.) Cf. note on chap. i. 6.

my commandment.] Gk. *the word of my mouth.* Such would be the Heb. also.

7. *that they prepare for me earth and water.*] In token of entire surrender; the customary formula of the Persian kings in demanding submission. See Hdt. vi. 48, 49. Plut. 'Themist.' 6; Polyb. ix. 38; Liv. xxxv. 17. The author thus attributes a Persian custom to the Assyrians. Wolff assumes that he is right; but the cuneiform inscriptions mention no such formula. "For me" is not in the ordinary Greek text, but Codd. 58, 64, al., the Syriac, and Old Lat. have it. The sense requires it, and the phrase in Hdt. is construed with a dative.

Verses 7–9 are omitted by the Vulgate, and *vv.* 10–13 are represented by "Thine eye shall not spare any kingdom; and every fenced city thou shalt reduce for me." But I doubt whether A. Scholz is right in calling the passage a later amplification, as the phraseology is mostly Hebraic in cast.

will cover the whole face of the earth, &c.] Gen. ii. 6: *πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.* Exod. viii. 6, *καὶ ἐκάλυψε τὴν γῆν Αἰγύπτου.* In Ex. x. 15, the phrase is used of the locusts. Cf. *v.* 19; v. 10; vii. 18.

I will give them for a spoil.] Chap. iv. 12; Ezek. xxv. 7; Isa. xlii. 24.

unto them.] *I.e.* unto my army. Some MSS. omit it, but it is characteristically Hebrew, which is careless of pronominal ambiguity.

8. *So that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks.*] "Their slain" is *οἱ τραυματίαι αὐτῶν.* Heb. חלליהם. Cf. ch. vi. 6 *infra.* The high-flown style of the speech is thoroughly consistent with Oriental grandiloquence. "Valleys and brooks" should be *ravines and wâdys* (or *watercourses, gullies*). Gk. *φάραγγας. . . χειμάρρους.* Heb. perhaps as Ezek. xxxv. 8: "And I will fill his mountains with his slain: in thy hills and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers shall they fall that are slain with the sword."

and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow.] Gk. *καὶ ποταμὸς ἐπικλύζων τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτῶν πληρωθήσεται.* Cf. Isa. lxvi. 12. The word is collective. Heb. prob. ונחל שטף פגריהם ימלא׃

9. *And I will lead them captives.*] Gk. as Heb. *I will lead their captivity.* Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 36, xxviii. 5; Isa. xx. 4.

to the utmost parts of all the earth.] *To the ends of all the earth.* Cf. Isa. xl. 28; xlv. 22. Heb. either קצות הארץ or "אפסי הא

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10 Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me all their coasts: and if they will yield themselves unto thee, thou shalt reserve them for me till the day of their punishment.

11 But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them; but put them to the slaughter, and spoil them wheresoever thou goest.

12 For as I live, and by the power of my kingdom, whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do by mine hand.

13 And take thou heed that thou transgress none of the commandments of thy lord, but accomplish them fully, as I have commanded thee, and defer not to do them.

14 Then Holofernes went forth from the presence of his lord, and called all the governors and captains, and the officers of the army of Assur;

15 And he mustered the chosen

10. *Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me.*] iv. 4; vii. 1, 15.

"Take beforehand" — προκαταλήψῃ — would be simply לָכַד, "take," as in Judg. i. 12. iii. 28. Old Lat. *praeoccupabis*. The word does not occur in the LXX.

all their coasts.] *All their border*, i.e. their entire territory: כל־גבולם, Judg. i. 18.

and if they will yield.] Gk. *and they will yield.* So Heb. ἐκδώσουσι is rare in LXX. Heb. probably ויצאו לך, *and they will come forth to thee*, or ונתנו נפשם, *and they will give themselves up*, 2 K. xviii. 30, 31; or rather ונתנו יד לך, *and they will give thee a hand*, 2 Chron. xxx. 8.

thou shalt reserve them for me.] διατηρέω; שׁמר, *servavit*, Gen. xvii. 9, 10.

till the day of their punishment.] εἰς ἡμέραν ἐλεγμοῦ αὐτῶν, 2 K. xix. 3; ἡμέρα θλίψεως καὶ ἐλεγμοῦ. Heb. תּוֹכֵחָה, *poena, castigatio.* Hos. v. 9: ביום תוכחה, *in the day of p.*

11. *But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them.*] Rather, *But (upon) those that disobey thine eye shall not spare.* In Num. xx. 10, המורים, "ye rebels," is rendered by LXX. οἱ ἀπειθεῖς. Perhaps the phrase used here was לא שׁמע. For the phrase "thine eye shall not spare," see Ezek. xx. 17; Gen. xlv. 20; Deut. vii. 16.

but put them to the slaughter.] Lit. *to give them to, &c.* Cf. Ezek. *l. c.* Perhaps משׁחתם or מתתם לשׁחת ולבז בכל־הארץ, Jer. xvii. 3; Ezek. xxv. 7.

wheresoever thou goest.] Gk. ἐν πασῇ τῇ γῇ σου, *in all thy land.* Welte suspects a translator's mistake; and Fritzsche explains: "the land conquered by thee." But σοῦ is rightly omitted by Codd. 19, 108, 58, 44, al., Syr. and Old Lat. It is "*the* land" of *vv.* 1, 2, 6, that is meant.

12. *as I live.*] ζῶν ἐγώ, cf. Num. xiv. 21. חַי אֲנִי, which the LXX. expands into ζῶ ἐγὼ καὶ ζῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου. Cf. chap. xi. 7; xii. 4. The participle with the first pers. pron. as here is not found elsewhere. Codd. x. 19, 44, 71, al. read ζῶ.

whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do.] Gk. *I have spoken, and I will do* (*all*, 58, Old Lat.) *this with mine hand.* So Heb.: cf. Isa. xlvi. 11, אף דברתי ונו׳; Isa. xxxvii. 32, יעשה כל־זאת. Syr. "Because (as) I live and my kingdom, what things I have spoken, I will do them all with my hand."

13. *And take thou heed, &c.*] Lit. *and thou also shalt not transgress any one of the words.* Heb. וגם אתה לא תעבר כל־דברי אדניך.

but accomplish them fully.] ἐπιτελῶν ἐπιτελέσεις. Heb. כלה תכלה; the Greek participle representing the Heb. adverbial infinitive, as usual in the LXX.

defer not to do them.] Lit. *Thou shalt not prolong (protract) to do them.* Heb. ולא תאריך לעשׂות. The Gk. closely follows the Heb. idiom of the *complementary* verb.

14. *and called all the governors and captains, and the officers.*] Rather, *and called all the princes, and the generals and overseers* or inferior commanders. The δύνασται may represent אדיר as in Nah. iii. 18, or גבור as in 1 Chron. xxviii. 1, or נדיב as in 1 Sam. ii. 8, or נדול as in Prov. xxv. 6: the στρατηγοὶ either סגנים, as Neh. ii. 16, Ezek. xxiii. 6; or שׂרים, 1 Chron. xi. 6. The ἐπιστάται are prob. פקידים, 2 Kings xxiv. 39; Jer. lii. 22. But Codd. x. 19, 108, τοὺς σατράπας. Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 14.

Assur.] The native name of the country (Assyria), its original capital, and its god, as appears from the inscriptions. The people styled themselves "sons of Assur."

15. *And he mustered the chosen men for the*

men for the battle, as his lord had commanded him, unto an hundred and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand archers on horseback;

16 And he ranged them, as a great army is ordered for the war.

17 And he took camels and asses for their carriages, a very great number; and sheep and oxen and goats without number for their provision:

18 And plenty of victual for every man of the army, and very much gold and silver out of the king's house.

19 Then he went forth and all his power to go before king Nabuchodonosor in the voyage, and to cover all the face of the earth westward with their chariots, and horsemen, and their chosen footmen.

20 A great number also of sundry

battle.] ἠρίθμησεν, *he counted:* either מָנָה (so Syr.), 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; or the commoner, סִפֵּר, 1 Chr. xxi. 2, xxiii. 3; or פָּקַד, 1 Chr. xxi. 6. "The chosen men" is ἐκλεκτοὺς. Cf. Judg. xx. 16 and 1 Sam. xxvi. 2. Codd. 19, 58, 64, al. read ἐπιλέκτους, as in *v.* 19, and ch. iii. 7.

for the battle.] The Greek is εἰς παράταξιν. לְמִלְחָמָה; Judg. xx. 14. So Syr.

archers on horseback.] ἱππεῖς τοξόται. פָּרָשִׁים מוֹרִים בָּקֶשֶׁת; cf. 1 Chr. x. 3, 1 Sam. xxxi. 3; or דַּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת, 2 Chr. xiv. 7; or נֹשְׁקֵי קֶשֶׁת, id. xvii. 17. Syr. *horsemen shooting with the bow.* Wolff finds in this detail a mark of historical truth, because the Assyrian horse were armed with bows. On the other hand, Volkmar is equally confident that the *equites Mauri* of Trajan's lieutenant Lusius Quietus, whom he identifies with Holofernes, are indicated by the phrase of the text.

16. *a great army.*] πλῆθος πολέμου — הֲמוֹן חֵילִים, Dan. xi. 10.

17. *And he took camels and asses.*] The Gk. text adds: *and mules.* Some cursives and the Syriac and Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) omit.

for their carriages.] Gk. εἰς τὴν ἀπαρτίαν αὐτῶν, *for their baggage.* The curious ἀπαρτία recurs in ch. iii. 11; vii. 18. It means ἀποσκευὴ (Suidas, Hesychius); *i.e.* household *utensils, goods.* So Old Lat. here, *ad utensilia eorum.* The word originally meant *completion;* cf. ἀπαρτίζω, *to get ready,* and ἀπαρτισμὸς (Luke xiv. 28). In later usage, it signifies a public auction (from ἀπαίρειν). Pollux, x. 18, remarks that it is an *Ionic* word, and is used of *the light utensils* (τῶν κούφων σκευῶν) which one can hang at one's side, and = τὰ ἔπιπλα; i.e. *moveables* as opposed to *fixtures* (Thucyd. iii. 68). The LXX. therefore is right in sometimes using it for *baggage.* "ἀπαρτία. Sarcina," says Trommius, "qua se instruunt οἱ ἀπαίροντες proficiscentes." In Exod. xl. 36, Num. x. 12, the term renders מַסָּע; in Num. xxxi. 17, טַף; and in Deut. xx. 14, שֶׁלֶל. The Syriac has "to carry *their provisions,*" ܠܡܫܩܠ ܙܘܕܢܗܘܢ, Acts xiv. 16. Heb. perhaps לְכִישָׁא; Num. iv. 19, 24.

sheep and oxen and goats.] Such accompaniments necessitated slow marching. Cf. 2 Kings iii. 9.

"Provision"—παρασκευὴ—is rare in LXX. (Exod. xxxv. 23; xxxix. 43 = עֲבֹדָה; and 2 Macc. xv. 21, are *all* the reff. in Tromm.) Fritzsche is hardly right in suggesting עבדה here. Cf. the Syriac ܒܨܒܘܬܐ, *for the food.* Perhaps לְאָכְלָה, Gen. i. 29; or לְמַאֲכָל, 2 Chron. xi. 11; Ps. xliv. 12. Fritzsche renders "zur Ausrüstung der Soldaten an Fleisch."

without number.] ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς = אֵין מִסְפָּר. The expression occurs again, *v.* 20; ch. v. 10. It is a common hyperbole in Heb., and also in Assyrian *la mani, la niba.*

18. *And plenty of victual for every man of the army.*] καὶ ἐπισιτισμὸν παντὶ ἀνδρὶ εἰς πλῆθος. Ἐπισιτ. is the regular word in LXX. for צֵדָה, *cibus,* as in Gen. xlv. 21. εἰς πλῆθος is לָרֹב. Cod. x. omits ἐξ οἴκου βασιλ. πολ. σφόδρ., but its genuineness is proved by its Heb. cast.

19. *to go before king Nabuchodonosor.*] Heb. לְקַדֵּם פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ. (Codd. 44, 74, 76, al. read πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ βασ.)

chariots, and horsemen, and their chosen footmen.] Exod. xiv. 6, 7, 9, 18, 23; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. iv. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 7, xviii. 24. The "their" (αὐτῶν) refers to "power." It is wanting in Codd. 44, 74, 76, al. So Syriac: "and cover the face of all the land of the west with chariots and with chosen footmen."

20. *A great number also of sundry countries.*] Rather, *and great was the mixed multitude, like locusts, that went forth with them;* Gk. καὶ πολὺς ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὡς ἀκρὶς

countries came with them like locusts, and like the sand of the earth: for the multitude was without number.

21 And they went forth of Nineve three days' journey toward the plain of Bectileth, and pitched from Bectileth near the mountain which is at the left hand of the upper Cilicia.

22 Then he took all his army, his footmen, and horsemen, and chariots, and went from thence into the hill country;

23 And destroyed Phud and Lud,

συνεξῆλθον αὐτοῖς. The two similes are common in Heb.: see Judg. vii. 12, "And the Midianites . . . lay along in the plain like locusts for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand by the seaside for multitude." Cf. also Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12; Josh. xi. 4; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; Nah. iii. 15.

For *ἐπίμικτος* see ch. i. 16. The Syr. here uses the same word as for "the mixed multitude" of Num. xi. 4 (ܥܪܒ̈ܐ).

like the sand of the earth.] Cf. Gen. xiii. 16; xxviii. 14. More usual is כחול הים, *as the sand of the sea.* The Syr. has ܟܝܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ, *the sand of the earth.* The Lat. rendering, *instar arenae maris*, has misled Fritzsche into stating "Für *τῆς γῆς*, Syr. . . . *maris.*"

21. *And they went forth of Nineve three days' journey.*] So Syr., Cod. 58, &c. Fritzsche edits *ἀπῆλθον . . . ὁδὸν*, comparing 2 Sam. iv. 8, וילכו דרך הערבה, *and they went the way of the Arabah.* The desert between Egypt and Palestine was a journey of three days, according to Hdt. iii. 5 (about 60 miles); according to Ex. xv. 22 *seq.*, the Israelites took three days in marching from *Ain Mûsa* to *Howarah* (Marah), a distance of 36 miles = 12 miles a day.

toward the plain.] *ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου.* על-פני; as in Gen. xviii. 16. So the Syriac.

Bectileth.] Fritzsche edits Βαικτιλαὶθ; al. Βεκτι(ηε)λαά(έ)θ. Syriac ܒܝܬ ܟܬܝܠܬ = Bêth-ktîlath, apparently "House of slaughter." Grotius conjectured *Bactaialle*, south of Antioch (Ptol. v. 15, 16), which is perhaps right; though if this place lay in Cassiotis, where Ptolemy fixes it, it was some twenty miles distant from "Nineveh" (Hierapolis: *vid. infra*). Lipsius observes that this was more than a three days' march; a day's march, at most, not exceeding five geogr. miles (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 2, 5; ii. 2, 6). The Roman and Parthian *mansiones*, or stations, were 2½ to 3½ miles apart.

The Βαιτουλι(εί)α of Codd. x. 19, 108, and Old Lat. *Bethulia* and *Bithilat*, rest on erroneous identification. Fritzsche thinks the three days' journey points to some place in N. Mesopotamia, in the fruitful Anthemusia or Mygdonia. But this does not agree with what follows: "And pitched from (Syr. and Old Lat. *over against*) Bectileth near the mountain, which is on the left hand (*i.e.* north) of the Upper Cilicia," *i.e.* near the Taurus: ויחן מבקטילת אצל ההר אשר משמאל לארץ תובל העליונה. As Upper (*i.e.* Eastern) Cilicia is reached so quickly, "Nineveh" may mean *Ninus vetus*, or Bambyce (*Membij*), which, as Hierapolis, became of new importance under the Seleucids (Lipsius).

From the Vulgate *Melothi* (*v.* 23) Grotius conjectured Melita or Melitene, the Assyrian *Melidi*, a fruitful plateau lying west of the Northern Euphrates, and watered by the rivers *Tokma Su* and *Sultan Su.* Melita (*Malatieh*) was its chief city; and through this plain ran one of the two great commercial and military roads uniting Lesser Asia with Nineveh and Babylon. It is perhaps not an insuperable objection that "this place was at least 300 English miles from Nineveh" (Bissell). The *Beka'a* between the two chains of Lebanon would be as remote from Nineveh, and the writer of a romance like Judith might imagine that the great army marched 100 miles a day, however impossible such a feat may be. Possibly, however, the original reading was *thirty days.* Volkmar, who makes Antioch = Nineveh, and Bectileth ("the House of Slaughter") a symbolical name for Nisibis, conjectures *thirteen.* At the same time, he supposes Bectileth to stand for *Beth Kered*, a hypothetical Hebrew equivalent of Corduĕne — Kurdistan. But if, as he argues, Nineveh = Antioch, even thirteen days would be insufficient for this long march of more than 100 miles. Vulg. *cumque pertransisset fines Assyriorum, venit ad magnos montes Ange qui sunt a sinistro Ciliciae.* Syriac: "And encamped over against B., near to the mount of Agânê." Cod. 58 has *ὄρους Ἀγγίου οὗ ἐστιν ἀριστερὰ κ.τ.λ.* Old Lat. *Agge;* Cod. Corb. *Ange.* The Syr. word means *craters* (John ii. 7), and is used by Barhebraeus of the Sicilian volcanic *craters.* Fritzsche conjectures *ἀγκὴ*; Volkmar *ἀγχοῦ* or *ἄγχι*; Wolff, the modern *Akjeh Dagh*, a spur of the Taurus south-west of *Malatieh;* Lipsius, some peak of the Amanus.

23. *And destroyed.*] *καὶ διέκοψε.* Heb. פָּרַץ, 1 Chron. xiv. 11. The Heb. original means "broke forth upon," rather than "broke through" the enemy's line (*διακόπτω*,

and spoiled all the children of Rasses, and the children of Ismael, which were toward the wilderness at the south of the land of the Chellians.

Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, 10). Syriac ܫܒܝܘ, "they destroyed;" Vet. Lat. *concidit*. Fritzsche is wrong in rendering פרץ "he scattered," *zerstreute*. Volkmar's comment on this and the following verse is vitiated in great part by his false assumption that ch. i. 6 refers to the allies of Arphaxad, and that these verses describe their chastisement by Nebuchadnezzar—Trajan.

Phud and Lud.] These two names (Heb. לוד and פוט) occur together in Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5, xxvii. 10. In the two former passages *Cush* and *Phut* and *Lud* are among the auxiliaries of the Egyptian army; in the last, "They of Persia and of Lud and of Phut" are mercenaries in the Tyrian forces. Persia, Cush, and Phut recur together in Ezek. xxxviii. 5. Lud may be the *Rudu* of the Egyptian monuments, *i.e.* the Lydian mercenaries of Egypt; see Gen. x. 6, 13. Phut is here, at all events, probably another nation of Asia Minor, which supplied hired troops to Egypt and other ancient states. In Isa. lxvi. 19, Phut and Lud are named along with Tarshish, Tubal, and Javan, all *western* peoples. Knobel and Fritzsche identify it with Libya; and Fritzsche thinks mercenaries may be meant here. But we have already seen reason to hold that the writer really means to represent Holofernes as invading Asia Minor. Wolff is perhaps right in making Phud = the Colchians, who are said to have been an Egyptian colony, Hdt. ii. 103 (cf. the hieroglyphic Punt, the Coptic Phōt, Pōt, and the city Poti, at the mouth of the Phasis); and Lud = the Lydians. Lipsius, however, observes that, the Taurus being the "Völkerscheide," it is necessary to seek Lud south of it, in Upper Mesopotamia. (Vulg. "Now he stormed the most famous city of Melothi," *i.e.* either Melitene, or Mallos in Cilicia.)

all the children of Rasses.] Gk. *πάντας υἱοὺς Ῥασσεῖς*. Cod. x. has Ῥαασσεῖς. Syriac, ܬܝܪܣ ܘܪܡܣܣ, "Tiras (Gen. x. 2) and Rameses" (Exod. i. 11). Old Lat. *Thiras et Rasis*. The variation *may* be due to an accidental duplication of the syllable *-ras*. The Vulg. and Cod. Corb. of Old Lat. give only Tharsis, *i.e.* Tarsus (Heb. תַּרְשִׁישׁ) in Cilicia; which may be the true reading, as Tarsus was important under the Seleucids, and Tarsus and Mallos (Melothi) are named together in 2 Macc. iv. 30. Otherwise, *Rasses* may be Ῥῶσος or Ῥῶσσος, a mountain chain and town, S. of Amanus, on the gulf of Issus; or Ῥασσεῖς = *Rosh* of Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1 (Heb. רֹאשׁ), where Gog is called "the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal." In this case also a people of Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Cilicia, will be meant; for Meshech is the Assyr. *Muski*, and Gk. Μόσχοι, probably somewhere in Little Armenia, N. of Melitene, N.E. of Tubal, *i.e.* the Assyr. *Tabali* and Gk. Τιβάρηνοι, in the country afterwards called Cappadocia. See Schrader, 'Keilinschr. und das alte Test.' pp. 82–84. "Phud and Lud and all the children of Rasses" must mean the peoples of Cilicia and the further west: i. 7 (Scholz). Lipsius thinks of desert tribes about Rasseina or Ressaina, i.e. *Ras-el-Ain* or Resen, at the head-waters of the Chaboras, and on one of the chief caravan routes through Mesopotamia. He interprets the obscure geographical data of *vv.* 23–25 as follows: Holofernes marches from the nomad Arabs in Southern Mesopotamia in a south-easterly direction through the Syrian desert, presumably on the famous caravan route from Palmyra to Petra, and through the rocky fastnesses of the Nabataeans, until he reaches the sea in the neighbourhood of Abrona on the Aelanitic gulf (Num. xxxiii. 34), if "the sea" (*v.* 24) be not simply the Mediterranean at Rhinocolura, on the borders of Arabia Petraea and Egypt (i. 12). The "high cities" are the famous rock towns of the Nabataeans; the "river," or rather torrent, of "Arbonai" is one of the wadys in populous and well-watered Arabia Petraea, if it be not "the torrent of Egypt" (Wady-el-Arish). Thence Holofernes marches to the borders of Palestine, and arrives (*v.* 26) at the nomad Midianites, south and south-east of Palestine (instead of which Chellus and Kades in Edom were named, ch. i. 9, and Moab and Ammon, ch. i. 12); whence he proceeds north to the plain of Damascus (*v.* 27).

at the south of the land of the Chellians.] Gk. *πρὸς νότον τῆς Χελεών*. Codd. ii. 108, 58, 19, and the Syriac, read Χαλδαίων. Syriac, "And the sons of Ishmael who dwell in the wilderness which is on the south, and all the land of the Chaldeans." Vulg. *et filios Ishmael qui erant contra faciem deserti et ad austrum terrae Cellon*. Old Lat. *et filios Ismael qui inhabitant contra faciem deserti ad austrum Cheleonis terrae Chaldaeorum*. The MSS. give Χελλαίων, Χελαίων, Χελλέων, Χελέων, Χέλλων. Fritzsche thinks Chaldeans a doubtful correction. Volkmar considers it original; and Lipsius, his critic, holds it to be substantially right as a determination of the locality. Wolff suggests Χάλος (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 4, 9), the later Chalcidice and Chalonitis, on the north borders of the Syro-

24 Then he went over Euphrates, and went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river Arbonai, till ye come to the sea.

25 And he took the borders of Cilicia, and killed all that resisted him, and came to the borders of Japheth, which were toward the south, over against Arabia.

26 He compassed also all the children of Madian, and burned up their

Arabian Desert; so Scholz. Bissell is hardly right in referring to the Chellus of ch. i. 9. We might compare Cholle, between the Euphrates and Palmyra.

24. *Then he went over Euphrates.*] Holofernes is represented as retracing his steps and crossing the Euphrates again, in order to ravage Mesopotamia, although it was friendly territory (ch. i. 6). After this he once more returns to Cilicia (*v.* 25). These incredible marches to and fro between east and west demonstrate the unhistorical nature of the narrative.

destroyed.] διέσκαψε. Codd. iii. x. 19, 64, al. κατέσκαψε = הָרַס, 1 Kings xviii. 30; or נָתַץ, Judg. viii. 9. Trommius gives no instance of διέσκ. in LXX.

the high cities.] עָרִים בְּצוּרוֹת, as in Neh. ix. 25. So ch. iii. 6.

the river Arbonai.] Fritzsche, τοῦ χειμάῤῥου Ἀβρωνᾶ. Codd. 64, al. have Ἀῤβωναΐ; x. 58, Χεβρών; 19, 108, Χευρών; Old Lat. *Beccon;* Vg. and Vet. Lat. (cod. Corb.) *Mambre.* Syr. *Jabbok* (!). Movers suggested בְּעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, "on the other side of the river;" and that the translator mistook עֵבֶר for a proper name. Grotius makes Arbonai = Chaboras or Aborras, Abōras, the *Hâbûr.* But the Gk. χειμάῤῥους is rather the Heb. נחל, *wady,* than נהר, *river;* and the Chaboras is a river. Wolff thinks that the term belongs properly to *Mambre,* a name preserved in the Vulg., but not in the Gk. text. He refers to Procop. 'De bell. Pers.' ii. 5, and 'De aedif. Just.' ii. 8, for Mambri, a fortress built by Diocletian five Roman miles south of Zenobia, which may have stood on a watercourse of the same name. "The sea" might then mean the Euphrates, if not the Persian Gulf: *vid.* note on ch. i. 12. Scholz objects that this name does not suit the rushing mountain stream which the Euphrates is, until it reaches Babylon (cf. Jer. li. 35). But neither is the Euphrates a *nahal.* Abrona (Num. xxxiii. 34) may have been the name of some unknown wady, but hardly, as Scholz supposes, a synonym of Euphrates.

25. *the borders of Cilicia.*] *I.e.* the territories, *fines,* of Cilicia, between the Taurus and the Amanus. Wolff, however, argues, with some show of probability, that "the borders of Cilicia" means the districts of Northern Syria then included in Cilicia. Cf. the Vulgate: *Et occupavit terminos ejus* (*Mesopotamiae*) *a Cilicia usque ad fines Japhet.* Cilicia thus extended to the Euphrates. Possibly the verse is out of its place, and should follow *v.* 21. But perhaps the writer is only recapitulating from *v.* 23: "*So* he took the borders of Cilicia," &c. The "borders of Japheth" may assign the limit of the march through Mesopotamia; and the expression "over against Arabia" may denote the countries E. of the Persian Gulf, in the direction of India, which certainly lie "over against," or rather *in front* of, that is, E. of Arabia (Num. iii. 38; xxi. 11). Envoys were sent to Persia, *i.e.* the east, as opposed to Cilicia, the west; and distance is not an objection. As the envoys were repulsed, Holofernes must needs march thither also. Ahasuerus ruled "from India to Ethiopia" (Esth. i. 1; viii. 9), and our author seems to ascribe the same enormous territories to Nabuchodonosor (Scholz).

killed.] κατέκοψε = רִיַּךְ (Gen. xiv. 5, 7), "smote."

all that resisted him.] Gk. *π. τοὺς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ* of Deut. ix. 2 (מתיצבים לפניו), or Num. xxii. 23 (נִצָּב).

the borders of Japheth.] The Syriac omits. Movers thinks *Nabataeans* (Ναβαταίων) may have been the original. The Vulg. has: *usque ad fines Japhet, qui sunt ad austrum* (*i.e.* to the south of Cilicia), and omits "over against Arabia." (Lipsius transfers this phrase to the beginning of the verse, so as to connect it with "the sea" of *v.* 24.) Wolff identifies "Japheth" with the plateau of *Ṣaphâ,* which extends in a northerly direction from the *Jebel Haurân.* As this range may be said to part the Syrian from the Arabian Desert, the description "the borders of Japhet *towards the South over against Arabia*" suits the locality. The later Jews, however, regarded the ranges of Amanus on the west and Taurus on the north as dividing the posterity of Shem from that of Japhet (Joseph. 'Ant.' i. 6. 1, quoted by Lipsius). Volkmar therefore supposes Chalcidice in Upper Syria to be the place intended here.

26. *He compassed also all the children of Madian.*] *And he went round.* καὶ ἐκύκλωσε, וַיָּסָב; Judg. xi. 18. Vulg. *abduxitque,* which presupposes וישב. On the north and east sides the mountains are so precipitous that

tabernacles, and spoiled their sheep-cotes.

27 Then he went down into the plain of Damascus in the time of wheat harvest, and burnt up all their fields, and destroyed their flocks and herds, also he spoiled their cities, and utterly wasted their countries, and smote all their young men with the edge of the sword.

28 Therefore the fear and dread of him fell upon all the inhabitants of the sea coasts, which were in Sidon and Tyrus, and them that dwelt in Sur and Ocina, and all that dwelt in Jemnaan; and they that dwelt in

their plateaus can only be approached by an army from the south (Wolff). For *Madian*, i.e. Midian, cf. Acts vii. 29. Scholz says the name is here archaic for the Arabs in general. Μαδιὰμ is the reading edited by Fritzsche from Codd. ii., iii., x., &c. The verbs are plural in Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat.

their tabernacles.] *I.e.* tents. Cf. Ps. lxxxiii. 6; Judg. vi. 5; 2 Kings xiii. 5.

spoiled their sheepcotes.] Zephaniah ii. 6, גְּדֵרֹת צֹאנִם. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 41; v. 19–22. The chief seats of the Midianites were on the E. and N. terraces of the Jebel Haurân. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25–28; Judg. viii. 4–12 (Nobah = Kenath, at N. extremity of Jebel Haurân; Num. xxxii. 42; 1 Chron. ii. 33). Anciently their tribes extended from the frontiers of Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula to Mesopotamia: see Exod. ii. 15 *sq.*; Num. xxii. 4.

27. *in the time of wheat harvest.*] ἐν ἡμέραις θερισμοῦ πυρῶν. Heb. בִּימֵי קְצִיר חִטִּים; Gen. xxx. 14; Judg. xv. 1. The time would be about the beginning of June. Volkmar *imagines* the 19th year to be indicated by the statement, so as to suit his idea of four successive years of war, representing the 16th to the 19th of the Emperor Trajan. In reality, the Jewish romancer has allowed far too little time (cf. *v.* 1) for the expeditions of this chapter.

destroyed.] ἔδωκεν εἰς ἀφανισμόν. Cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 8, וַיִּתְּנֵם לְשַׁמָּה; Ezek. xv. 8, וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ שְׁמָמָה.

their flocks and herds.] τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ βουκόλια; 2 Sam. xii. 2, צֹאן וּבָקָר; 1 Sam. xxx. 20, "הצ והב". Cf. ch. iii. 3.

also he spoiled their cities.] *And their cities he spoiled.* ἐσκύλευσε, not ἐπρονόμευσε, as in *vv.* 23, 26. Cf. 2 Chron. xiv. 14; Heb. בזז.

utterly wasted.] ἐξελίκμησε, only here and Wisd. v. 23, καὶ ὡς λαίλαψ ἐκλικμήσει αὐτούς. In both places the Syr. renders ⟨⟨ventilavit⟩⟩, "winnowed." Here the meaning is "made empty" by ravaging. "Countries" should be *plains*.

smote . . . sword.] A common Heb. phrase: ויך לפי חרב. Cf. Num. xxi. 24.

28. *Therefore the fear and dread of him.*] Gen. ix. 2; Deut. xi. 25. This verse better begins ch. iii., as Fritzsche edits. Vulg. omits the proper names.

which were in Sidon . . . Tyrus, . . . Jemnaan.] Rather, *to wit, those who were in Sidon*, &c. The whole is a further definition of "the inhabitants of the sea coasts."

Sur.] Codd. 19, 108, Σοὺδ; x. Τοὺρ; Syr. ⟨⟨صور⟩⟩. Fritzsche says that it should certainly be Dor (Δωρᾶ, 1 Macc. xv. 11); Heb. דּוֹר, a seaport in the neighbourhood of Carmel. It is more probably an accidental repetition of the preceding Tyre, Heb. צוֹר, *Çôr*, now called by the Arabs *Soor* (so Ewald).

Ocina.] Accho-Ptolemaïs, a haven N. of Dor; Judg. i. 31. Perhaps Heb. was עָכּוֹן. Codd. ii., iii., &c., read Ὀκείνα; 19, 108, τοὺς Κιννναίους; Syr. and Old Lat. omit; 58, ἐπέκεινα. Wolff strangely identifies Ocina with Χνᾶ (*i.e.* Canaan), according to Hecataeus and others the oldest name of Phoenicia; and then argues that Χνᾶ or Ὀχνᾶ here denotes the coast from Jamnia to Caesarea: and this, in order to fix the place south of Dor. But a town is wanted, not a strip of coastland.

Jemnaan.] Jamnia, *i.e.* יַבְנֶה, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6; a Philistine coast town. Cf. 1 Macc. iv. 15; v. 58. Philo (Opp. ii. 5, 75) describes it as populous, mostly Jewish, and possessing an Academy and Sanhedrin. Volkmar *fancies* that Jamnia is made more prominent in this sentence than any other town; that, in fact, the other names have no particular significance, but that Jamnia is mentioned as the residence of the Sanhedrin, and centre of the Jewish revolt against Trajan. With this artificial construction here he connects an equally forced interpretation of ch. iv. 6, 8, assuming that the expression "in those days" implies a contrast with former days, when the Sanhedrin was not at Jerusalem but at Jamnia. Jamnia is here mentioned as still a *heathen*, therefore not a *Jewish*, town (cf. *v.* 28 with ch. iii. 8). The Book of Judith is, therefore, older than A.D. 70, when the Sanhedrin removed to Jamnia after the fall of Jerusalem; older also than Philo Judaeus.

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Azotus and Ascalon feared him greatly.

CHAPTER III.

1 *They of the sea coasts intreat for peace.* 7 *Holofernes is received there:* 8 *yet he destroyeth their gods, that they might worship only Nabuchodonosor.* 9 *He cometh near to Judea.*

SO they sent ambassadors unto him to treat of peace, saying,

2 Behold, we the servants of Nabuchodonosor the great king lie before thee; use us as shall be good in thy sight.

3 Behold, our houses, and all our places, and all our fields of wheat, and flocks, and herds, and all the lodges of our tents, lie before thy face; use them as it pleaseth thee.

4 Behold, even our cities and the inhabitants thereof are thy servants; come and deal with them as seemeth good unto thee.

Azotus.] The Gk. form of Ashdod, אַשְׁדּוֹד; the Assyr. *Asdudu*, the modern *Esdûd*. Mentioned along with Jabneh, 2 Chr. xxvi. 6. See Acts viii. 40.

Ascalon.] Another Philistine town: אַשְׁקְלוֹן; Assyr. *Isqalûna* or *Isqallûna*. See Josh. xiii. 3. Codd. x. 58 add καὶ ἐν Γάζῃ, "and in Gaza." So Syr. ܥܙܐ; and Old Lat. *et Gaza*. Heb. עַזָּה. Gaza was probably written by the author of Judith, as suiting the period he professes to write of (see Jer. xxv. 15 *sqq.*, xxvii. 2 *sq.*,—passages which he seems to have had in his mind here and elsewhere. Cf. ch. xi. 6 with Jer. xxvii. 6). Later editors omitted it, because after its destruction by Alexander the Great the town lay in ruins: see Acts viii. 26; Strabo xvi. 2. It will be noticed that all the names in this verse are given in the order of their occurrence, from north to south, except the supposed Dor, which should *follow* Accho.

CHAPTER III.

1. *to treat of peace.*] λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς, *with peaceful words;* בְּדִבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם. So Syriac. Cf. ch. vii. 24; Deut. ii. 26; 1 Macc. v. 48.

Vulg. Tunc miserunt legatos suos universarum urbium ac provinciarum reges ac principes, *Syriae scilicet Mesopotamiae et Syriae Sobal et Libyae atque Ciliciae.* An explanatory addition. "Syriae Sobal," *i.e.* Aram-Zobah, 1 Chron. xix. 6; Psalm lx. title. The term *Libyae* is a difficulty. Volkmar, who much misprizes the Vulg., remarks: "Hieronymus phantasirt aus Früherem und Doppel-Lesarten: Syria (Sur. ii. 28), Sobal (Sod, Soud, *ibid.*) et Syria (i. 12) Mesopotamiae! (ii. 23), Libya (Phud) atque Cilicia! (i. 7)." But Libya, if not a misreading of the Heb. for *Lebanon* (i. 7), points to Egypt (i. 9). See on *v.* 9 *infra.* According to Vulg., iii. 15, Holofernes stays in *Idumea* thirty days (*v.* 10), and then goes up against Bethulia (vii. 1). If the attack was thus made from the side of Edom, *Jerusalem* must have been the point assailed, as the Midrashim actually state, and as the name Betylua (*Beth 'eloah*, "house of God") might imply. Yet in *v.* 3, the Vulg., like the Greek text, makes the attack come from the north. Thus two different conceptions appear to have been amalgamated in the present form of the story. From ch. i. 12, ii. 3, it is clear that the original idea was that all the countries that had disobeyed the Great King were successively reduced by Holofernes; *i.e.* Egypt to the borders of Ethiopia, Edom, Moab, and Ammon. The presence of Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites in his army implies their previous reduction (cf. iii. 6). Thus Libya = Egypt, and the meaning is that before making his attack on Israel, Holofernes had reduced all the other countries, and gathered their forces for this last grand purpose. Neither the LXX. nor the Vulg. gives the original text perfectly, but from a comparison of both we gather that the original assertion was that H. marched by the coast to Egypt, and returned by Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Scythopolis, to the plain of Esdraelon (Scholz).

2. *lie before thee.*] παρακείμεθα; 2 Macc. ix. 25. Here the word denotes absolute submission. The Syr. has "Lo we are standing before thee" (ܗܐ ܚܢܢ ܩܡܝܢ ܩܕܡܟ).

use us as shall be good in thy sight.] See Gen. xvi. 6; xix. 8. The Heb. was probably עשה לנו כטוב בעיניך, *do unto us according to the good in thine eyes.* Cf. also *vv.* 3 and 4.

3. *our houses.*] αἱ ἐπαύλεις ἡμῶν, "farmsteads." Heb. חֲצֵרִים; Josh. xiii. 23, 28. A. V. "villages."

all our fields of wheat.] πᾶν πεδίον πυρῶν, כָּל־שְׂדֵה חִטִּים, "every field of wheat." Cf. ch. iv. 5. Syr. *all our fields and the valleys of our corn.*

lodges.] μάνδραι, "folds," as in ch. i. 26.

4. *servants.*] δοῦλοι. In Heb. עֲבָד, as παῖς in *v.* 2 (1 Chr. ii. 35; and LXX. *passim*).

deal with them.] ἀπάντησον αὐταῖς. The German "begegne ihnen" is used in the same

5 So the men came to Holofernes, and declared unto him after this manner.

6 Then came he down toward the sea coast, both he and his army, and set garrisons in the high cities, and took out of them chosen men for aid.

7 So they and all the country round about received them with garlands, with dances, and with timbrels.

8 Yet he did cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves: for he had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and

two senses of "meeting with" and "treating," "using" well or ill.

It is a late use of the Gk. *ἀπαντᾶν*: 2 Macc. vii. 39; 3 Macc. iii. 20. [The new ed. of Liddell and Scott does not register it. See Polyb. xviii. 17. 3.]

as seemeth good unto thee.] *ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου.* A more literal rendering of the Heb. phrase of *vv.* 2 and 3. Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 14. Vulg. *Veni nobis pacificus dominus, et utere servitio nostro sicut placuerit tibi.*

5. *after this manner.*] *κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.* Heb. כִּדְבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, "according to these words."

Instead of "the men," Syriac and Old Lat. have "the messengers" as in *v.* 1.

6. *Then came he down toward.*] *And he came down upon;* וירד על; על = אל in late style. Cod. 58, *παρά.* Old Lat. *juxta.* From Damascus, Holofernes marches to the coast of the Mediterranean, and passes through the districts of Sidon, Tyre, Dora, Accho, Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ascalon (ch. ii. 28). The people surrender (ch. iii. 1); but he destroys all their temples. In the whole account (ch. i.–iii.) there is nothing to carry us beyond the Maccabean time (Lipsius).

the sea coast.] *ἡ παραλία.* Heb. חֶבֶל הַיָּם; 1 Macc. xi. 8. So Syr. Cf. Zeph. ii. 5, 6; ch. i. 7.

set garrisons.] *ἐφρούρησε*, a verb not given in Trommius. But *φρουρὰ—φρουραὶ*= נְצִיבִין (2 Sam. viii. 6, 15); *καὶ ἔθετο Δαβὶδ φρουρὰν ἐν Συρίᾳ κ.τ.λ.* (ויישם).

for aid.] *εἰς συμμαχίαν.* Perhaps לַעְזֹר; or עזרי המלחמה = *συμμάχους*, Cod. 58. The verb is only quoted twice, *e.g.* 1 Chr. xii. 21; the noun once, in Trommius.

7. *all the country round about.*] *πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος αὐτῶν.* Cod. x. *αὐτῆς*, which may be right. ? וכל גבולה מסביב. Fritzsche says הַכִּכָּר; cf. Gen. xiii. 10.

with garlands, with dances, and with timbrels.] בעטרות במחלות ובתפים. So Jephthah's daughter came forth to meet her father "with timbrels and with dances," Judg. xi. 34. Cf. Exod. xv. 20; Ps. cl. 4 (sing.). "Ut in re laeta," says Grotius.

8. *Yet he did cast down their frontiers.*] *καὶ κατέσκαψε πάντα τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν.* It is pretty clear that *τὰ ὅρια* is a mistaken rendering of הַבָּמוֹת, "the high places," the usual word for which in the LXX. is *τὰ ὑψηλά*. Cf. ch. iv. 1. *κατασκάπτω* = נתץ is used of overthrowing of altars (Deut. xii. 3; Judg. ii. 2). The Syr. has ܗܝܟܠܗܘܢ, "their temples." Cf. Lipsius' suggestion of *ἱερὰ* for *ὅρια*. Besides, "high places" and "groves" are commonly associated in O. T.: *e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 10, 11; xviii. 4; xxi. 3; xxiii. 15.

cut down their groves.] *καὶ τὰ ἄλση αὐτῶν ἐξέκοψε.* "Groves" is an incorrect rendering in the LXX. for אֲשֵׁרִים or אֲשֵׁרוֹת; *e.g.* 2 Chr. xiv. 3, xxxi. 1, xxxiv. 4; and in 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, for הָעַשְׁתָּרוֹת. "Cut down their Asherahs" would be correct. The Asherah was a rootless but not branchless trunk of pine or other evergreen tree, planted in the earth as the symbol of the goddess Ashtoreth, who was worshipped by all the Semitic races. Fritzsche: "Astarten, Astartenbilder." Syriac: ܐܝܕܘܗܝ, "their idols;" a term which renders אשרה in 2 Kings xiii. 6. See Movers' 'Phönizier,' i. 561 *sqq.*, and Schlottmann in Riehm's 'Handwörterbuch Bibl. Alt.' *s. v.* Astarte.

for he had decreed.] Good MSS. read: "for it was given to him;" *i.e.* by Nabuchodonosor. Syr. "For he had given [entrusted to H.] in secret, to destroy," &c. So Cod. 58, *ἐν μυστηρίῳ.* Vulg. *praeceperat enim illi Nabuchodonosor rex.*

to destroy all the gods of the land.] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 33 *seq.*; xix. 12, 13: Isa. xxxvii. 19.

The ancient Assyrians were wont to carry off foreign idols as trophies. Esarhaddon records his restoration of some gods to their original owners, after he had inscribed them with the mighty name of Assur.

all tongues and tribes.] Comp. Dan. iii. 4, iv. 1, v. 19; Rev. v. 9, vii. 9.

that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god.

‖ Or, *Esdrelom.*

9 Also he came over against ‖Esdraelon, near unto ‖Judea, over against the ‖great strait of Judea.

‖ Or, *Dotea, Dothan,* Junius.

10 And he pitched between Geba

17. ‖ Gr. *great saw.*

should call upon him as god.] ἐπικαλέσωνται αὐτὸν εἰς θεόν, "might invoke him for a god;" especially in oaths. Cf. 1 Chr. xvii. 13, 22, for the construction.

For the general sense, cf. Isa. xiv. 13, 14; Ezek. xxviii. 2, 9, where the prince of Tyre is represented as saying, "I am a god;" Ezek. xxxi. 11, where Nebuchadnezzar is called *'el goyim*, "the god of the nations;" also 2 Macc. ix. 12, Dan. xi. 36 *sq.*, vii. 25, the impious pride of Antiochus; Acts xii. 22, of Herod; of Antichrist, 2 Thess. ii. 4, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God," and "sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God;" and lastly, of the beast, Rev. xiii. 7, 8.

The worship of the Roman emperors was Oriental. The Pharaoh was called *nutar āa*, "great god." See Renouf, 'Hibbert Lectures,' 1879, pp. 162 *seq.* But the command to pay divine honours to Nabuchodonosor does not hint at the cultus of the Caesars, as Volkmar assumes. The surnames of the Seleucids, Antiochus II., IV., and VI., Θεὸς, Θεὸς ἐπιφανὴς, ἐπιφανὴς Διόνυσος, are more in point.

9. Instead of this verse the Vulgate has: *Pertransiens autem Syriam Sobal et omnem Apameam omnemque Mesopotamiam venit ad Idumaeos in terram Gabaa* (read *Gebal*). This suggests that the original text contained more than either the Greek or the Latin version has preserved, in which case the Vulgate may record other operations preliminary to the invasion of Judea. "Sobal" is Zobah. Apamea was a town and district on the Orontes, N. of Hamath, so named by Seleucus Nicator in honour of his wife (301–281 B.C.). If "Apamea" stood in the original text, our book must be later than the time of this king. The march through the land E. of Jordan *ad Idumaeos*, subduing Ammon and Moab on the way, seems implied by ch. v. 2, 5; vi. 2, 5; vii. 8, &c.

Also he came . . . Judea.] Gk. καὶ ἦλθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἐσδρηλὼν πλησίον τῆς Δωταίας. Dotaea is clearly a Grecized form of the Heb. דֹּתָן; דֹּתָיְנָה, Gen. xxxvii. 17. Dothayin is a dual. 2 Kings vi. 13, דֹּתָן. (The contraction of the ending *-ayin* into *-an* is common in Aramaic.) Instead of attacking Judea from the west, as an historical conqueror would have done, Holofernes marches back to the north.

LXX. Δωθαΐ(εἰ)μ. So in ch. iv. 6; vii. 3, 18; viii. 3. Syr. there ܕܬܥܡ, as it should be read. Here ܕܬܥܡ. The place still bears the same name and lies 4 or 5 miles S. of *Jenîn*, not far from the plain of Esdraelon. Syr.: *and he came to Jezreel which is beside Dothan.* For the plain of Jezreel as an immemorial battle-ground, cf. the annals of Tutmes III. (1600 B.C.), and Wiedemann's 'Aegypt. Gesch.' p. 628; Judg. iv. 6; 1 Sam. xxix. 1; 1 Kings xx. 26; 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 1 Macc. xii. 49. Volkmar wrongly asserts (1) that the name is pointed by the Masorets יִזְרְאֶל (*sic*); (2) that LXX. writes 'Ιεσραέλ, and that this represents the original pronunciation (see Hos. i. 4, 5, 11, 'Ιεζραέλ. The Complut. LXX. gives 'Ιεζραήλ, 'Ιεσδραήλ); (3) that 'Εσδράηλα (ων), the form in Judith, belongs exclusively to the time after Josephus; and (4) that the Heb. in Judith was אזדרעאל (?). Cf the Syr., the Vulg., and Eusebius' 'Ιεζραιέλ.

over against the great strait of Judea.] ἥ ἐστιν ἀπέναντι τοῦ πρίονος τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς 'Ιουδαίας. Πρίων, "a saw," must be understood of a *sierra* or sawlike (serrated) mountain ridge (Grotius). Reland may have been right in suggesting that the Greek translator of Judith mistook מישור, *plain*, for מסור, *saw* (Isa. x. 15). The objection is, that the Plain of Esdraelon was not called מישור, *plain*, but עמק, *valley*. According to Scholz, the plain itself is "the great saw," as it cuts the mountain range in two.

The Old Lat. took Prionos as a proper name. Should Δωταίας be read at the end also instead of 'Ιουδαίας? Cf. ch. iv. 6: κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ πλησίον Δωθαΐμ. Wolff, who holds that "Chaldee" was the original language of *Judith*, argues that the term here was מסרא, *saw;* and that the locality is found in *El-Meisera* or *Mashara*, and the pass of *Arkub Massalubeah*, where the Jabbok enters the *Ghor*, E. of Jordan. But "the saw" is "of *Judea*," and so lay west of the river.

10. *Geba and Scythopolis.*] Gk. Γαιβαὶ; Cod. iii. Ταιβὰν, an obvious mistake; Codd. 19, 108, Γεβὰλ; 58, 23, Γαβαΐ. Syriac ܓܒܥ Vet. Lat. *Gabe;* Vulg. *Gabaa.* The term may be a corruption of Gilboa, גִּלְבֹּעַ; a ridge of mountains and town (Rob. 'Pal.' iii. 388); now *Jelbôn*, about 6 miles S.W. of *Beisân*. But there was a Geba (*Jeba*) about 6 miles due S. of Dothan, on the road between Samaria and *Jenîn*. Wolff thinks of a corruption of Ragaba (Argob) E. of Jordan.

and Scythopolis, and there he tarried a whole month, that he might gather together all the carriages of his army.

CHAPTER IV.

2 *The Jews are afraid of Holofernes,* 5 *and fortify the hills.* 6 *They of Bethulia take charge of the passages.* 9 *All Israel fall to fasting and prayer.*

NOW the children of Israel, that dwelt in Judea, heard all that Holofernes the chief captain of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians had done to the nations, and after what manner he had spoiled all their temples, and brought them to nought.

2 Therefore they were exceedingly afraid of him, and were troubled for Jerusalem, and for the temple of the Lord their God:

3 For they were newly returned from the captivity, and all the people ‖of Judea were lately gathered together: and the vessels, and the altar, and the house, were sanctified after the profanation.

‖ Or, *out of Judea.*

Scholz with some MSS. reads *Gebal*, "a purposely obscure designation of the hill-country of Judah."

"Scythopolis," or Σκυθῶν πόλεως, is the ancient בֵּית שְׁאָן or Bethshan, *i.e.* "house of rest" (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27). LXX. Βαιθσάν ἥ ἐστι Σκυθῶν πόλις. According to Reland and Gesenius, the place was so called, not from the Scythian occupation (Herod. i. 105), but as the first city of the district of *Succoth:* Ps. lx. 6. Volkmar explains Σκυτῶν πόλις "Schuchhausen;" but שְׁאָן is not סאון. The Talmud writes בֵּיסָן = Arab. بيسان (pres. name). Cf. note on ch. i. 12. The remains are on an elevated spot near a ford of the Jordan. Syr. ܒܝܬ ܫܐܢ. Cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29.

and there he tarried a whole month.] καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ μῆνα ἡμερῶν, ויהי שם חדש ימים. Syr. ܘܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ ܝܪܚܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ: cf. Gen. xxix. 14; or 2 Kings xv. 30. Volkmar *assumes* that his barbarian general was ravaging the country all this time, in the manner prescribed in ch. ii. 8 *sqq.*, and that this was the real occasion of the public mourning recorded in ch. iv. 9 *sqq.*; but that the writer omits mention of these sufferings, as unsuitable to a festival piece.

carriages.] *Baggage:* see ch. ii. 17. Old Lat. *ad colligendum omnem exercitum virtutis suae.*

CHAPTER IV.

1. *the children of Israel, that dwelt in Judea.*] Comp. 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, "The children of Israel and Judah, that dwelt in the cities of Judah," under Hezekiah; xi. 3, "All Israel in Judah and Benjamin;" xxi. 2, "Jehoshaphat, king of Israel;" xxviii. 19, 23, "Ahaz, king of Israel."

all that Holofernes . . . had done to the nations.] 2 Kings xix. 11. Cod. 58 and Old Lat. have ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. So Syr. ܒܥܡܡܐ, *among the peoples.*

he had spoiled all their temples.] Codd. 19, 108, *their idols,* εἴδωλα. Syr. "their gods." Heb. probably אלהיהם.

2. *Therefore they were exceedingly afraid of him.*] καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα σφόδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. ויראו מאד מאד מפניו; cf. Gen. vii. 19, "the waters prevailed exceedingly," where the Heb. repeats the adverb. Codd. x. 19, 58, al., Vet. Lat., Syr., give σφόδρα once only.

were troubled for Jerusalem.] ἐταράχθησαν = נבהלו (Ps. xlvii. 5); "for J." = על ירושלם (Syr.). Comp. 2 Macc. xi. 2, 3.

3. *For they were newly returned.*] Rather, *Because they had just come up from the captivity,* ὅτι προσφάτως ἦσαν ἀναβεβηκότες ἐκ κ.τ.λ. They *went up* from the plains of Babylonia to the highlands of Palestine.

all the people of Judea were lately gathered together.] Rather, *had been gathered together* (συνελέλεκτο). The whole verse is omitted by Vulgate. The margin, "out of Judea," is the reading of Codd. 58, 52, 64, &c. The people had gathered together for the Dedication of the Temple, says Fritzsche. But is not the reference rather to the "gathering" of the people out of the various places of their exile? *Vid.* Isa. xi. 12; Ps. cxlvii. 2, cvii. 3; Jer. xxix. 14, xxxi. 10; Mic. ii. 12. Cf. ch. v. 19, "They are come up from the places where they were scattered."

were sanctified.] *Had been consecrated.* Volkmar does violence to the narrative when he insists that the terms ναὸς, οἶκος, do *not* mean *temple, house,* in this passage, but a mere *tent.* His reference to ch. ix. 8 is irrelevant: see note there. More appositely he adds: "Hardly was the army of Antiochus Epiphanes expelled from Jerusalem, and the Altar of Burnt Offering restored by Judas

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4 Therefore they sent into all the coasts of Samaria, and the villages, and to Bethoron, and Belmen, and Jericho, and to Choba, and Esora, and to the valley of Salem:

5 And possessed themselves beforehand of all the tops of the high moun-

Maccabeus and his followers, and the Sanctuary consecrated afresh after its profanation, when they were once more imperilled by the threats of Nicanor." The author of Judith has an eye to this parallel. What is here said, in fact, applies very well to the history of the Temple in the Hasmonean time. But it does not agree with the stronger expression of ch. v. 18, which implies not merely profanation but demolition.

after the profanation.] ἐκ τῆς βεβηλώσεως. מְטַמְּאָתָם. So in 2 Sam. xi. 4; comp. קֹדֶשׁ כֹּהֵן, Lev. xvi. 19.

βεβηλόω renders חִלֵּל many times, *e.g.* Exod. xxxi. 13. In Lev. xxi. 4, βεβήλωσις occurs. Syriac: "and the vessels and the altar had lately been hallowed from the uncleanness" (cognate words with Heb. טמאה and קדש). Perhaps ܗܝܟܠܐ, *temple*, has dropped out, owing to likeness to ܗܟܝܠ, *lately*.

The first Return was in 536, under Zerubbabel and Joshua. The rebuilding of the Temple was completed under Darius, 516 B.C. There is a lacuna of about 60 years between first six chaps. of Ezra and what follows. The second colony under Artaxerxes Longimanus was conducted by Ezra, 458 B.C. (Ez. vii.–x.). Nehemiah was sent as governor, 445 B.C. (Neh. i.–vii.). Ezra promulgated the Law, and bound the people to observe it (Neh. vii.–x.). Nehemiah paid special attention to the walls of the city. The Festival of Dedication of the new wall is recorded in Neh. xii. The history closes with his second visit to Jerusalem, 432 B.C. The language of our text certainly seems to point to a period immediately subsequent to 516 B.C. Comp. also the account of the purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. iv. 36 *sqq.*).

4. *all the coasts.*] πᾶν ὅριον, "every border." Syr. omits "every." "Samaria"—*i.e.* the territory of the Northern Kingdom—was at the time referred to inhabited by a mixed body of foreign colonists, who were on anything but friendly terms with the restored community of Jerusalem (see Neh. iv. 1, 2; vi.; Ezra iv. 1–10); another mark of the fictitious character of this narrative. Volkmar urges that this feature of the Samaritans making common cause with the Jews against the enemy of religion suits the Roman period and that only. But John Hyrcanus took Sichem, destroyed the Samaritan Temple, and captured Samaria itself after a bloody resistance, about 108 B.C. He appears to have annexed the whole territory, which under Alexander Jannæus still belonged to the Hasmonæans. See Joseph. 'Ant.' xiii. 9 *sqq.*; xiii. 15. 4.

and the (some) villages.] καὶ κώμας. So Fritzsche, from Codd. iii. 243, &c.; εἰς τὰς κώμας, 58. Vulgo, Κωνὰς (prop. name); κωνὰ, Codd. ii. 44, al.; κωλὰ, x.; κεῖλὰ, 19, 108. Old Lat. *et castella et vicos et.*

and to Bethoron.] Syriac connects with preceding: "and to the villages of Bethhoron" (ܒܝܬ ܚܘܪܘܢ). Fritzsche says the καὶ *after* κώμας is "certainly genuine" (only four MSS. omit it: 23, 44, 71, 106). According to this, the proper names specify some of the κῶμαι.

Bethoron.] *Beit-ûr*, N.W. of Jerusalem, Josh. x. 11; 1 Chron. vii. 24; 1 Macc. ix. 50.

Belmen.] *Bel-main.* βελμαὶν; so Cod. iii. βαιλμαὶν, ii. Ἀβελμαὶν, Codd. x. 19, 108. So also in ch. vii. 3, viii. 3, xv. 4. Here 58 has εἰς Ἀβελμεελείν — Syriac Abel-meholah, ܐܒܠ ܡܚܘܠܐ. The place must have been near Dothan, ch. vii. 3: see notes there and at ch. viii. 3. Old Lat. Abelmam. Abelmeholah (*Esh-shuk*) is about 15 miles E. of Dothan, and about 12 S. of Bethshan. In Judg. vii. 22, 2 Chron. xvi. 4, Abelmaim = Abel-beth-maachah, near Paneas (2 Sam. xx. 15), *Abil-el-kamh.* According to Wolff, both Abel-Meholah and Abel-Maïn were named in the original text. He identifies the latter with Aenon (John iii. 23).

Choba.] Χωβά. Cod. x., Χαβά; Syr. "the Kikkar" or circle of the Jordan. There was a Hobah N. of Damascus, Gen. xiv. 15, which cannot be meant here, though mentioned in ch. xv. 4, 5 (Χωβαΐ, Syr. ܚܒܒ). The place is not identified.

Esora.] Αἰσωρά, but Codd. 19, 108, Ἀσσαρὼν [הַשָּׁרוֹן]; cf. Σαρών, Acts ix. 35; εἰς Βεθουὴλ, 58; Ἀρασουσία, x.; Syr. Bethhoron; Old Lat. Belon, Belur, Bethura. Grotius and Fritzsche think חָצוֹר, Ἀσώρ. Gesenius, Βαιθωρὰν—*i.e.* Beth-Hauran, comparing the Syriac. Wolff, Bethsur; Josh. xv. 58.

the valley of Salem.] τὸν αὐλῶνα Σαλήμ. Movers thinks = the Sharon. Fritzsche says Salumias (?). Wolff says, the plateau of *Muchna* near *Nablûs*, in the north of which there is a place still called *Salim* and a tribe *Beni Salim.* Through this plain runs the great north road to Jerusalem. Syr. "the plain of Gal'am," ܓܠܥܡ. Old Lat. *et Aulona* (!) *et Artosia et Selem in porticum*

tains, and fortified the villages that were in them, and laid up victuals for the provision of war: for their fields were of late reaped.

6 Also Joacim the high priest, which was in those days in Jerusalem, wrote to them that dwelt in Bethulia, and Betomestham, which is

Hierusalem. The Vulgate gives for the whole verse: Et miserunt in omnem Samariam per *circuitum* [? the kikkar] usque Jericho.

5. *fortified.*] Heb. probably וַיְחַזְּקוּ: 2 Chron. xi. 11, 12; xxvii. 4.

their fields were of late reaped.] קְצוּרִים שְׂדֹתֵיהֶם; Gk. "because their plains had just been reaped." Instead of "and laid up victuals . . . of war," Syr. has "and raised them as for war." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

6. *Joacim the high priest.*] Cod. 58, Ἰλιακείμ here and in *v.* 8; so Syr. here and *vv.* 8, 14. Vulg. Eliachim; so Vet. Lat. (cod. Corb.), here and in *v.* 14. See Neh. xii. 26, "Joiakim the son of Joshua the son of Jozadak;" also Neh. xii. 10, "And Joshua begat Joiakim," whose fourth descendant was High Priest in the time of Alexander the Great. This agrees with the statement of *v.* 3. Pseudo-Philo states that Jeshua, the father of Joiakim, wrote Judith's history, and decreed the annual commemoration of her deliverance ('Sepher Jedidiah ha-Alkesandri,' ap. Meor Enaim, iii. 32, fol. 105, 2). Bissell's note is irrelevant. Joacim (Bar. i. 7; 1 Esdr. v. 5; Susan.) is the same name as Joiakim or Jehoiakim; Heb. יְהוֹיָקִים, contracted יוֹיָקִים; that is, "Yahu establisheth." Eliakim, Heb. אֶלְיָקִים, is in meaning synonymous: "El establisheth." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, 2 Kings xxiii. 34; cf. also the two forms of the name of the last king of Hamath in the Assyrian inscriptions. Sargon calls him Ya-u-bi-h-di (יְהוֹפְחָדִי) in one inscription, and I-lu-u-bi-h-di (אֶלְפַּחְדִי) in another.

which was in those days in Jerusalem.] The author evidently means to give a careful assignment of the date, and, as we have seen, he is consistent with his own statement in *v.* 3, though not with real history. Joacim *was* High Priest after 516 B.C. There is therefore no need to allegorize the names.

Bethulia.] Gk. Βετυλούα. *Betylûa.* 58, Βατυλωά. See ch. vi. 10, viii. 11, xii. 7, xiii. 10. Cod. x. here has Βαιτουλία, but in other places Βαιτουλουά. Old Lat., Vulg., Bethulia; Syr. ܒܝܬ ܦܠܛܝ, Bêth-Pallû. The fate of the whole country depends on the place, ch. viii. 21 *sq.*, and its situation is minutely described; yet it has not been identified, and is not known to be mentioned anywhere but in this book, which, as Scholz observes, is a strange fact, considering that the most insignificant villages of Palestine are embalmed in history. Fritzsche, however, says that to assume it to be a mere fiction "belongs to the gross fictions of the learned."

L. Pellicanus thought the original name was בְּתוּלִיָּה, which he explained "domus parturientis dominum, vel pro domino gravia perferentis, vel etiam virgo domini." Neither of these meanings is possible; and his Heb. word *Bethûlyah* is formed against the laws of the language, in spite of what Volkmar alleges to the contrary. For *Bethul* is not the same as *Bethulath;* and if it were, local names are not compounded with the Divine Jah. Josh. xv. 28, 2 Chron. iii. 1, are exceptions which prove the rule. There may be an allusion to Isaiah's *bethulath bath Çiyon*, "virgin daughter of Sion;" in which case Bethulia is Jerusalem, as the Midrashim represent. (At ch. vii. 1 Pellicanus suggests Beth-El, "house of God.") The *Beth-El-Jah* of Grotius is also impossible. Movers conjectured בֵּית עֲלִיָּה, *domus ascensionis*, from its local position; a not improbable suggestion, assuming that the name is not symbolical. Hitzig thought of ביתר, Bitter, Βιθθήρ, famous in Barcocheba's revolt, about which the Talmud gives so many fabulous details. Volkmar inclines to this view, and says that perhaps the remains of *Sânûr* may represent this "Bethar," and the "Betheloa" of Judith. He finally accepts Welte's Bethulia = בֵּית אֱלוֹהַּ, *domus Dei.* It is at least curious that Bethul (Josh. xix. 4) or Bethuel (1 Chr. iv. 30) was a *Simeonite* city. Cf. note on ch. viii. 1. Βαιτυλούα strongly resembles *βαίτυλος* and *βαιτύλιον*, words denoting sacred (meteoric) stones, and connected by modern scholars with the Heb. בֵּית־אֵל, Bethel. As "house of Iahweh" (Hos. viii. 1) means Iahweh's land, *i.e.* Canaan, "house of Eloah" may perhaps have the same sense here. Zunz thought בְּנֵי חוּל (Yom. Maaseroth, c. 2, § 2) might have been corrupted into בֵּית הוּל. Lieut. Conder suggests the modern *Mithilia* (Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Stat., July 1881); others *Sânûr*, a rocky hill with ruins, which Wolff identifies with Betomestham. Schultz found Bethulia in *Beit Ilfa* on Mt. Giiboa ('Z.D. M. G.' iii. 1, S. 48 ff.); and Wolff suggests that the Syriac Beth-pallu is a transposition of Beth-Ulpha: but is not initial *Olaph* required?

Betomestham.] Βε(αι)τομε(α)σθαϊμ. Syriac,

‖ Or, *Esdrelom.* ‖ Or, *plain.*

over against ‖Esdraelon toward the ‖open country, near to Dothaim,

7 Charging them to keep the passages of the hill country: for by them there was an entrance into Judea, and it was easy to stop them that would come up, because the passage was strait, ‖for two men at the most.

‖ Or, *two against all.*

8 And the children of Israel did as Joacim the high priest had commanded them, with the ‖ancients of all the people of Israel, which dwelt at Jerusalem.

‖ Or, *governors.*

9 Then every man of Israel cried to God with great fervency, and with great vehemency did they humble their souls:

סחסבל סחל; cf. xv. 4. Cod. 58, *βαιτομασσαθαίμ.* Near Betylua, but also unknown. ? "house of double barriers:" סתם, *clausit.* Scholz's בית המכתים is impossible Hebrew. With the enigmatical Bethulia and Betomestham of this book, we may perhaps compare the Beth-sura (*Beth-zur*, "house of the Rock" = house of God?) and Beth-zacharias of 1 Macc. vi. 31 *sq.*, 49 *sq.* Cf. Josh. xv. 58; 2 Chron. xi. 7; 1 Macc. xiv. 33. Lysias besieged Bethsura, B.C. 162, after the Purification of the Temple in 165.

which is over against Esdraelon.] *ἀπέναντι*, gen. = לִפְנֵי (Exod. xiv. 2). Syriac: "which (are) above The Saw, which is before Jezreel" (סחסבל, *serra*). So Old Lat. and Cod. 58, *ἐπάνω τοῦ πριόνος ἀπεν. Ἐσρηδών.* See ch. iii. 9.

toward the open country.] *Before the plain.* Syr. "and before the great plain." "Before" means "to the east of;" scil. the plain of Dothan. Old Lat. and Cod. 58 also read "the great plain."

7. *to keep the passages.*] *διακατασχεῖν τὰς ἀναβάσεις.* Verb here only in LXX. "Passage" is מַעֲלֶה, *ascent, pass;* Num. xxxiv. 4, and usually. Syriac, "seize ye the ascent of the mountain." Cf. ch. vi. 7; vii. 1, 7; xiv. 11: 1 Macc. iii. 16.

by them there was an entrance.] *Through them was the entrance: δι' αὐτῶν ἦν ἡ εἴσοδος.* The reading of Cod. x., *ἦν ὁδὸς εἰς*, may represent the Heb. כִּי שָׁם מְבוֹא יְהוּדָה. The place described would seem to be the narrow pass leading up from *Jenîn*, the ancient Ginæa (which Ewald identified with Bethulia) on the south side of the plain of Esdraelon, in a S.W. direction to Samaria. Above this pass lie the ruins of *Sânûr* (Bethulia, according to Grimm).

them that would come up.] *προσβαίνοντας.* Cod. 58, *τοὺς ἀναβ.* Heb. doubtless אֶת־הָעֹלִים; so the Syriac. In Josh. xv. 7, *πρόσβασις* = מַעֲלֵה (*προσβ.* is not given in Tromm.). *ἦν εὐχερῶς* = *ἔχει εὐχερῶς*: cf. ch. vii. 10, *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ εὐχερὲς προσβῆναι, κ.τ.λ.* Trommius gives *εὐχερὲς* once (Prov. xiv. 6 = נָקָל). *διακωλ.* Tromm. gives no instance of this compound. See 1 Sam. xxv. 26, מָנַע, and id. 33.

for two men at the most.] *ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοὺς πάντας δύο, for two men in all.* Cf. 2 Kings vi. 1; Isa. xlix. 20. Syriac: "because the ascent (סחסבל) was small, even for two men together." Heb. prob. מצר המעלה לשנים יחדיו.

8. *the high priest.*] *ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας*, הכהן הגדול.

with the ancients of all the people of Israel.] *καὶ ἡ γερουσία παντὸς δήμου Ἰσραήλ*, "and the Sanhedrin of all the people of Israel;" Heb. וזקני כל עם ישראל. Syr. סחסבל, *senes.* The *γερουσία*, or Senatus of elders, ch. xi. 14, xv. 8; answering to what the Jews call the סַנְהֶדְרִין. The seventy-one or seventy (Rabbi Judah; cited in Talm. 'Bab. Sanhedr.' i. 6) members (*σύνεδροι*) of the Great Sanhedrin dwelt at Jerusalem ('Sanhedr.' x. 3). They are the *πρεσβύτεροι* of N. T. "Ancients" in Old English = advisers, counsellors; *e.g.* Iago was Othello's "ancient."

which dwelt at Jerusalem.] As the Great Sanhedrin had to do: *ἐκάθηντο* = יָשְׁבוּ, *sat.*

9. *cried to God.*] Cf. 2 Macc. xi. 6; Exod. xiv. 10; ויצעקו אל יהוה כל איש ישראל. So Syr., omitting איש.

with great fervency . . . vehemency.] Both *ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ μεγάλῃ.* Jon. iii. 8, *ἐκτενῶς* = בְּחָזְקָה. Here perhaps the Heb. was "בְּחָזּ מְאֹד. Syriac, "with all their heart," בכל־לבם. Instead of the second *ἐκτειᾳ*, Codd. 19, 58, and Old Lat. give *νηστεία.* Cf. Ps. xxxv. 13, "I humbled my soul with fasting." Syriac also, "and humbled their soul *with a great fast.*" Heb. perhaps וַיְעַנּוּ בְצוֹם נַפְשָׁם. *ταπεινοῦν ψυχὴν* has a special reference to fasting. *Sackcloth* is mentioned in *v.* 10, as in the Ps. Vulg. *et humiliaverunt animas suas in jejuniis et orationibus.*

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10 Both they, and their wives, and their children, and their cattle, and every stranger and hireling, and their servants bought with money, put sackcloth upon their loins.

11 Thus every man and woman, and the little children, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, fell before the temple, and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord: also they put sackcloth about the altar,

12 And cried to the God of Israel all with one consent earnestly, that he would not give their children for a prey, and their wives for a spoil, and the cities of their inheritance to destruction, and the sanctuary to profanation and reproach, and for the nations to rejoice at.

13 So God heard their prayers,

10. *children.*] *νήπια.* טַפָּם, Jer. xliii. 6; or עֹלְלֵיהֶם, 2 Kings viii. 12, "babes." The Syriac suggests ילדיהם. Vulg. omits: but cf. 2 Chr. xx. 13; Joel ii. 16; Jonah iv. 11.

their cattle.] Cf. Jonah iii. 7, 8. The king of Nineveh's decree: "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed nor drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God." Syriac, Vulg., and Vet. Lat. (c. Reg. Germ. 4 Corb.) omit.

every stranger and hireling.] *πᾶς πάροικος καὶ μισθωτός.* Exod. xii. 45, Heb. תּוֹשָׁב וְשָׂכִיר.

servants bought with money.] *καὶ ἀργυρώνητος αὐτῶν.* Heb. וּמִקְנַת כֶּסֶף, Gen. xvii. 23. Old Lat. *emptitiis.*

put sackcloth upon their loins.] Gen. xxxvii. 34; 1 Kings xx. 31.

11. *Thus every man.*] *καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ, and every man of Israel.* So Syriac.

the little children.] *τὰ παιδία,* simply *the children.* Syriac, *and woman and boy* (*talyā*). Heb. נער, *παῖς.*

and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.] Fritzsche omits *and,* with Codd. ii. 58, 74, 108, 248. Old Lat. and Syr. render, "who dwelt in Jerusalem," referring to the men, women, and children.

fell before the temple.] In Heb., as in the Syr. vers.: נפלו על־פניהם לבני היכל יהוה.

cast ashes upon their heads.] *ἐσποδώσαντο τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν* (2 Sam. xiii. 19); Ezek. xxvii. 30, ויעלו עפר על־ראשיהם. Trommius gives only this instance of the verb *σποδόω.* The Syriac omits the clause.

and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord.] To exhibit the depth of their sorrow to the Divine eye. Cf. (2 Kings xix. 14) the way in which Hezekiah spread Sennacherib's letter before the Lord. Heb. וַיִּפְרְשֵׂהוּ (cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 10). Cod. 58, Old Lat., "before the face of the temple of the Lord." Churton suggests that they spread the sackcloth to sit upon it, like Rizpah on the rock. Syriac and Vulg. omit. The latter gives the whole verse thus: "And the priests invested themselves with haircloths, and the babes they cast down before the face of the temple of the Lord, and the altar of the Lord they covered with haircloth."

12. *all with one consent.*] *ὁμοθυμαδόν.* Old Lat. *unianimes.* Syriac, ܟܚܕ, "as one (man)," *i.e.* together. Heb. פֶּה אֶחָד, *one mouth.*

earnestly.] *ἐκτενῶς.* Jon. iii. 8, בְּחָזְקָה; *v.* 9 *supra.*

their children.] *νήπια*; cf. *v.* 10. The Syriac has: "That he might not give their children and their wives to captivity, and their cities to destruction."

the sanctuary.] *τὰ ἅγια.* הקדש, Num. viii. 19 (so Syr. here); or המקדש, Lev. xx. 3.

and for the nations to rejoice at.] *ἐπίχαρμα τοῖς ἔθνεσι.* Codd. 58, 71, 74, &c., supply *καί.* But the words constitute an apposition to what precedes: "a thing for the heathen to rejoice over." See Exod. xxxii. 25; 'Herc. Fur.' 459. Heb. לְשִׁמְצָה בגוים, "for a whispering among the nations." Cf. Ecclus. xviii. 31; xlii. 11, "laughing-stock." Also *ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχαρτὰ πέπονθα* ('Prom. Vinct.' 158).

13. *God.*] Gk. *the Lord* (*κύριος, i.e.* יהוה). So Syriac.

their prayers.] Gk. *their voice* (*τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν*). Syr. omits. Vulg. omits the whole verse, giving instead: "Then Eliachim, the high priest of the Lord, went about all Israel, and spake unto them, saying; Know ye that the Lord will hearken unto your prayers if ye stedfastly continue in fastings and prayers in the sight of the Lord. Be ye mindful of Moses, the servant of the Lord, which overthrew Amalek, who trusted in his own valour, and in his own strength, and in his own army, and in his shields, and in his chariots and in his horsemen; not by fighting

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and looked upon their afflictions: for the people fasted many days in all Judea and Jerusalem before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty.

14 And Joacim the high priest, and all the priests that stood before the Lord, and they which ministered unto the Lord, had their loins girt with sackcloth, and offered the daily burnt offerings, with the vows and free gifts of the people,

15 And had ashes on their mitres, and cried unto the Lord with all their power, that he would look upon all the house of Israel graciously.

CHAPTER V.

5 *Achior telleth Holofernes what the Jews are,* 8 *and what their God had done for them;* 21 *and adviseth not to meddle with them.* 22 *All that heard him were offended at him.*

THEN was it declared to Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, that the children of Israel had prepared for war, and had shut up the passages of the hill country, and had fortified ‖all the tops of the high hills, and had laid impediments in the champaign countries:

‖ Gr. *all the top.*

with sword, but by praying with holy prayers (Ex. xvii. 8 *seq.*). So shall all the enemies of Israel be, if ye persevere in this work that ye have begun." The idioms here point to a Chaldee original—e.g. *manentes permanseritis . . . in virtute sua et in potentia sua;* while the expansion is in the manner of the Midrash.

looked upon their afflictions.] Gk. εἰσεῖδεν, *looked unto or into their affliction.* Once only in LXX., as variant for ἐπείδεν in Ex. ii. 25 (וַיַּרְא). In N. T. not at all (Fr.). Syr. ܘܚܙܐ = וירא; cf. Ps. cvi. 44.

for the people fasted.] καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύων, *and the people were fasting.* So Syr. (plur.).

before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty.] Syr. "And fell down before the house of the sanctuary of the mighty Lord." Cod. x. has ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔπεσον κατὰ κ.τ.λ. The Old Lat. agrees with the Syr. Heb. יהוה צבאות = κύριος παντοκράτωρ in LXX., *e.g.* 2 Sam. v. 10; 1 Chr. xi. 9.

14. *that stood before the Lord.*] As attendants. Cf. 2 Kings iii. 14; v. 16.

and they which ministered unto the Lord.] *I.e.* the Levites, or inferior ministers (1 Chr. xvi. 4, 37; 2 Chr. xxiii. 6), מְשֹׁרְתִים.

the daily burnt offerings.] τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν τοῦ ἐνδελεχισμοῦ, עוֹלַת תָּמִיד (Num. xxviii. 6; Ezra iii. 5).

with the vows and free gifts.] *And the vows and the voluntary gifts.* Cf. Lev. vii. 16, נֶדֶר־נְדָבָה; Num. xxix. 39, plural. Was the Heb. here נִדְרֵי הָעָם וְנִדְבֹתֵיהֶם?

15. *their mitres.*] τὰς κιδάρεις. Ex. xxviii. 40, מִגְבָּעוֹת, "bonnets;" xxviii. 4, 37, מִצְנֶפֶת. (Volkmar gives κιθάρεις, "Harfen," without authority. Grotius quotes Plut. 'Conviv.' iv. ὁ ἱερεὺς μιτροφόρος—of the Jewish priests.) The former were strictly the mitres of the common priests; the latter was that of the high priest. Cf. Esth. vi. 8. For the only fast ordained in Mosaic law, see Lev. xvi. 29: "In the seventh month on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls"—the great day of atonement. Fasts multiplied after the return. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 44–48, and Esth. iv. 1–3; Apocr. Esth. xiv. 1, 2.

with all their power.] Vulg. *ex toto corde suo.* Heb. בְּכָל־מְאֹדָם, Deut. vi. 5 (where also בכל־לבבך).

that he would look upon all the house of Israel graciously.] εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι, *to visit for good,* פָּקֹד, Ps. viii. 5; Luke i. 7, 8. (Syr. uses same word here as there, ܦܩܕ.) Vulg. *ut visitaret populum suum Israel.* Cf. also Jer. xliv. 29, εἰς πονηρά, and chap. xiii. 20, ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, "to visit thee with good things."

CHAPTER V.

1. *that.*] Gk. διότι = ὅτι, acc. to later usage. Arist. 'Eth.' vi. 8. 5.

had prepared for war.] Vulg., *praepararent se ad resistendum.* Syr., "assembled themselves for war," which may be original.

all the tops of the high hills.] Rather, every top of a high mountain (2 Kings i. 9, רֹאשׁ הָהָר). The Vulg. has only *ac montium itinera conclusissent,* for the last three clauses of the verse.

had laid impediments in the champaign countries.] Gk. ἔθηκαν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις σκάνδαλα. Syr., and laid *ambushes* in the fields (ܟܡܝܢ). Old Lat. *et posuerunt in campis offendicula.* The Heb. may have been מְכֹשׁוֹל; cf. Lev. xix. 14. מוֹקֵשׁ, "snare," is

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2 Wherewith he was very angry, and called all the princes of Moab, and the captains of Ammon, and all the governors of the sea coast,

3 And he said unto them, Tell me now, ye sons of Chanaan, who this people is, that dwelleth in the hill country, and what are the cities that they inhabit, and what is the multitude of their army, and wherein is their power and strength, and what king is set over them, or captain of their army;

4 And why have they determined not to come and meet me, more than all the inhabitants of the west.

5 [a]Then said Achior, the captain of all the sons of Ammon, Let my lord now hear a word from the mouth of thy servant, and I will de- [a] ch. 6. 5. & 11. 9.

so rendered Josh. xxiii. 13, and elsewhere; Ps. cxl. 5, "gins." In *v.* 20 *infra*, it is used metaphorically in a moral sense, as in Judg. ii. 3; so ch. xii. 2, and often in N.T. Prop. the *stick* of a trap, on which the bait is placed; the trap-spring; also called *πάσσαλος* and *ρόπτρον* (Lid. and Sc. *s. v.*) Pitfalls in the plains would greatly embarrass an enemy's movements (cf. Gen. xiv. 8 *seq.*). Corn. à Lap.: "fossas occultas, murices, et palos acutos, in quae transeuntes incaute Assyrii corruerent." *Murices* (Curt. iv. 13) were "caltrops" with sharp points in every direction, which they used to bury in the ground in order to lame horses.

2. *Wherewith he was very angry.*] Lit., and he was greatly enraged with anger. Syr., "and the wrath of Holofernes was kindled greatly." ויחר אף ה" מאד.

the princes . . . the captains.] *τοὺς ἄρχοντας . . . τοὺς στρατηγούς.* סָגָנִים . . . שָׂרִים, Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23.

governors.] Satraps; Persian provincial governors. Syr., "heads of the cities which were by the sea." Old Lat. *Et omnes magistratus maritimae regionis.*

3. *now.*] *δή.* Heb. נָא, a precative particle. Fritzsche says it occurs fourteen times in Judith. It is wanting here in the Syriac, Old Lat., Vulgate, Codd. x. 58.

ye sons of Chanaan.] This address is only suitable to the people of the coast, esp. Phoenicia, not of Moab and Ammon.

who this people is.] Who is this people? A direct question. An Assyrian commander of the times when Judah was really brought into contact with that power, would hardly have put such questions as these. The questions are not, however, to be regarded as implying anger or scorn.

the hill-country.] *I.e.* Palestine proper. The country W. of the Jordan is summed up in "this fair hill-country and the Lebanon" (Deut. iii. 25).

and what king is set over them, or captain of their army.] Gk. *καὶ τίς ἀνέστηκεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἡγούμενος στρατίας αὐτῶν.* "And who is set up over them as a king commanding their army?" Syr., "And who is the prince [ܪܒ ;] that standeth [ܩܐܡ] over them?" In his reply Achior omits to notice this part of the question. Wolff strangely remarks that this would not have been so, if he could have answered, This people has no king; it is governed by a High Priest. Wolff adds that Achior confines his answer to facts which the Assyrian could not have known, omitting things generally known, *e.g.* the fact that the reigning king of Israel (*sic*), Josiah, was a minor; and he suggests that this last question may be a sneer at the king as a mere boy. Not satisfied with this, Wolff even thinks it very likely that Achior's original reply did contain some reference to the king, which a Jewish editor of the Maccabean time has eliminated from the text! All this is highly artificial, and runs counter to the indications of the text itself. No mention of a king is put into the mouth of Achior, for the simple reason that the time after the Return is intended, as *v.* 19 conclusively shews. Cf. also ch. viii. 18–20.

4. *have they determined.*] *κατενωτίσαντο.* Prop. this verb means "to carry on the back." In later usage, it is "to put behind one's back," "reject." [Tromm. does not give the word.] Fritzsche explains, "to put behind," "scorn" (*hintansetzen, verachten*). Codd. 64, 243, 248, Co. Ald. read *κατεγνώσαντο*, "they esteemed lightly," also a late usage; Polyb. v. 27. 6. Vulg.: *Et quare . . . isti contempserunt nos, et non exierunt obviam nobis.* Syr.: "and why have they not been willing (*i.e.* why have they refused) to come to meet me?" מדוע לא אבו לבוא.

the west.] So Syriac and Old Lat. Vulg., the East: *in Oriente.*

5. *Achior.*] The Gk. Ἀχιὼρ occurs in Num. xxxiv. 27, as a transliteration of the Heb. אֲחִיהוּד, Ahihud, prince of Asher (LXX. read ר for ד.) It is commonly assumed that in Judith Ἀχιὼρ represents a hypothetical Heb. אֲחִיאוֹר, as if "brother of light," or "friend of light." Comp. the Syriac ܐܚܝܥܘܪ. But such a metaphor seems far-

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clare unto thee the truth concerning this people, which dwelleth near thee, and inhabiteth the hill countries: and there shall no lie come out of the mouth of thy servant.

6 This people are descended of the Chaldeans:

[b] Gen. 11. 31.

7 [b]And they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, which were in the land of Chaldea.

8 For they ‖left the way of their ancestors, and worshipped the God of heaven, the God whom they knew: so they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into

‖ Or, *went out of.*

fetched; and Ahihud may be intended to signify "brother of Judah" or "of the Jews." (Cf. ch. xiv. 10.) The Midrash ('Bet ha-Midr.' ii. 12) introduces Achior thus: "And a king who had been subdued under his hand in battle, answered and said unto him: Forbear, O king, from the Eternal God, the God of Israel!"

which dwelleth near thee, and inhabiteth the hill countries.] Literally, "which inhabiteth this hill country, dwelling near thee." Syr. "which dwelleth near thee in this mountain." Old Lat. *qui inhabitat juxta montana ista.*

no lie.] Achior insists on the truth of what he has to tell, because he knows it will be unpleasant information. His speech is obviously an abstract of O. T. history. Cf. Acts vii.

6. *descended of the Chaldeans.*] εἰσὶν ἀπόγονοι Χαλδαίων: cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 18. Heb. יְלִידֵי בַשְּׂדִים or מְמִשְׁפַּחַת: cf. Syr. ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܟܫܕܝܐ, and Old Lat. (and Vulgate) *ex progenie Chaldaeorum.*

Abraham migrated from "Ur of the Chaldees," which was not in Mesopotamia (Knobel, Fritzsche). Ur is the *Uru* of the cuneiform inscriptions, the present ruins of *Mugheir*, or rather *Muqayyar*, on the right side of the Euphrates in South Babylonia, the *Mât Kaldu* (*i*) of the inscriptions. See Schrader, 'K. A. T.' p. 129 *seqq.*; Gen. xi. 26, 31.

7. *they sojourned.*] Gk. παρῴκησαν, Heb. גּוּר; cf. *v.* 8. Abraham's stay in Mesopotamia at Charran was a sojourning (Gen. xi. 31 *seq.*; xii. 1–4). The same expression fitly describes Israel's temporary settlement in Egypt, *v.* 10 (Gen. xlvi. 6 *seq.*; Ps. cv. 23). The *permanent* settlement in Canaan is called κατοικεῖν (*vv.* 9 and 16) and κατοικίζεσθαι (*v.* 19); Heb. יָשַׁב.

they would not follow.] Gk. οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν ἀκολουθῆσαι; Heb. לֹא אָבוּ לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרֵי. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 18; Hos. ii. 7, xi. 10. "To go or walk after" a god, means to serve him. Vulg. *noluerunt sequi deos;* O. L. *noluerunt obedire diis.*

the gods of their fathers.] At Ur there was a great temple of Sin, the Moon-god. Inscriptions of the old Babylonian kings Ur-Ba'u, Dun-gi, Kudur-mabuk, &c., and finally of Nabuná'id (Nabonidus), the last king of Babylon, have been found on the spot. Hommel fixes the date of Ur-Ba'u and his son Dun-gi, at circ. 2870 B.C. Cf. Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, "Your fathers . . . served other gods."

which were in the land of Chaldea.] Οἱ ἐγένοντο. The relative refers to "fathers;" see Josh. *l. c.* But Cod. 58 adds, ἔνδοξοι, "honoured." So Syr. ܕܗܘܘ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܫܕܝܐ, "which they were honouring in the land of the Chaldees;" and O. L. *qui fuerunt in terra Chaldaeorum honorificè.* The relative then refers to their gods. Cf. Josh. xxiv. 14.

8. *For (and) they left the way of their ancestors.*] καὶ ἐξέβησαν. Heb. prob. ויסורו מדרך. Cod. 58, ἐξένευσαν = סוּר in Judg. iv. 18. (Tromm. gives ἐκβαίνω only for עָלָה, "to go up.") Syr. "but turned aside from *the gods* of their fathers." O. L. *sed declinaverunt de via parentum suorum.* Vulg., *deserentes itaque caeremonias patrum suorum.* Cf. the use of the word "way" in Acts ix. 2; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4. Here it denotes a mode of worship or peculiar cultus. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 3, "the way of the kings of Israel," *i.e.* the cultus of the Baals.

the God of heaven.] See Tobit x. 12: and cf. Judg. vi. 19; xi. 17. The expression is common in the later books of the O. T., *e.g.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2, v. 11, 12; Dan. ii. 37, 44. It means the god who is enthroned in heaven (cf. Ps. ii. 4; Dan. ii. 28, iv. 37). Cf. the very ancient title of Anu, Zi-anna, "spirit of heaven," by which he is invoked at the end of the Sumerian exorcisms.

There is not much verisimilitude in this speech of *the Ammonite* Achior. Mesha the Moabite, a really historical personage, boasts of the victories which he had won by help of Chemosh over Israel and Jehovah.

the God whom they knew.] Perhaps "found out," "came to know" (Thucyd. i. 132); or "acknowledged," "recognised" (1 Cor. xvi. 18). Heb. prob. ידע (Ezek. xi. 10, 12). The Gk. ἐπέγνω is also used for הֵכִיר. So Syriac. O. L. *et adoraverunt Deum caeli, Deum quem cognoverunt.*

so they cast them out from the face of their gods.] The subject changes to the Chal-

Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many days.

9 Then [c]their God commanded them to depart from the place where they sojourned, and to go into the land of Chanaan: where they dwelt, and were increased with gold and silver, and with very much cattle.

10 But when a famine covered all the land of Chanaan, [d]they went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, while they were nourished, [e]and became there a great multitude, so that one could not number their nation.

11 [f]Therefore the king of Egypt rose up against them, and dealt subtilly with them, and brought them low with labouring in brick, and made them slaves.

12 [g]Then they cried unto their God, and [h]he smote all the land of Egypt with incurable plagues: so the [i]Egyptians cast them out of their sight.

[c] Gen. 12. 1.
[d] Gen. 46. 6.
[e] Exod. 1. 7.
[f] Exod. 1. 8–14.
[g] Exod. 2. 23.
[h] Exod. 7. 8, & 9, & 10, & 12.
[i] Exod. 12. 31, 33.

dæans. Heb. ויגרשום מלפני אלהיהם. Syr. "and he caused them to go forth," *i.e.* God.

"From the face of their gods" = out of the land, which was conceived as the dwelling of the gods. Traces of this local conception of Deity are found in the O. T., *e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 18, 20, 23. "The Lord removed Israel out of his sight (from before his face)." הסיר מעל פניו is explained by "Israel was carried away out of his own land." Cf. *vv.* 12 and 16.

The Jewish tradition tells of a persecution in consequence of which Abraham fled to Charran. See Josephus, 'Antiq.' i. 6. 5. The Talmud relates that Nimrod cast him into a fiery furnace for refusing to worship his idols.

9. *from the place where they sojourned.*] Gk. *ἐκ τῆς παροικίας αὐτῶν. παροικία = παροίκησις*, the act of sojourning in a foreign land. Here it is the *place* of sojourning, the land of the *πάροικος*. In Gen. xii. 1, Mesopotamia is spoken of rather as the permanent home of Abraham's family. Cf. Deut. xxvi. 5: "A wandering Aramean was my father" (Heb.).

The Heb. was prob. מְגוּרֵיהֶם, Gen. xxxvi. 7, or מ"מְבֵית; cf. the Syr. "from the house of their inheritance." Cf. also Ps. cxix. 54: בְּבֵית מְגוּרָי.

were increased.] The Syriac gives the meaning: "grew rich in . . ." The Vulg. omits this half of the verse. Cf. Gen. xiii. 2: "And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."

10. *But when a famine covered . . . Egypt.*] Lit.: And they went down into Egypt, for a famine had covered the face of the land of Canaan. (Gen. xliii. 15.) The Heb. of the second clause prob. was כִּי הָרָעָב הָיָה עַל כָּל־פְּנֵי אֶרֶץ כ', Gen. xli. 56.

while they were nourished.] Gk. *μεχρὶς οὗ διετράφησαν*. Gen. vii. 3; l. 20, 21. The A. V. is right. Dereser's "until they found sustenance again" is wrong. Grotius, reading *διεστράφησαν* with Cod. 248, Co. Ald., explained "donec male tractari coepere;" De Wette, "until they returned," which would rather be *ἀνέστρεψαν*, Josh. vii. 3. Syr. "and they dwelt there, and were nourished," ܘܬܬܪܒܘ.

so that one could not number.] Gk. *καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν*. Cf. Syriac: "and there was not a number to their tribes." For the fact, see Exod. i. 7. Vulg.: descenderunt in Aegyptum, illicque *per quadringentos annos* sic multiplicati sunt, ut dinumerari eorum non posset exercitus. Cf. Exod. xii. 40.

11. *dealt subtilly with them . . . in brick.*] Gk. *καὶ κατεσοφίσαντο αὐτοὺς ἐν πόνῳ καὶ πλίνθῳ καὶ ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτούς*: "And they (*i.e.* the Egyptians; or indefinitely, people) overreached them with (or through, by) toil, and with brick(-making), and brought them low." The first verb occurs in three other passages of Scripture, viz. ch. x. 19; Exod. i. 10; and Acts vii. 19. The Syriac prob. comes nearest to the Hebrew: "And the Egyptians arose against them, and *dealt* wisely with them (ܘܚܟܡܘ; cf. נִתְחַכְּמָה לוֹ, Exod. i. 10), and made them serve in clay and bricks, and brought the people low, and made them slaves." So Cod. 58, Old Lat. Cf. בְּחֹמֶר וּבִלְבֵנִים, Exod. i. 14. The Vulg. also has *in luto* [Codd. x. 58, *πηλῷ*] *et latere.*

12. *with incurable plagues.*] See Exod. vii. *seq.* Gk. *ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἦν ἴασις*, "in which there was no healing:" Heb. וְאֵין לָהֶם מַרְפֵּא, Jer. xiv. 19; Syr., "to which there was not healing." Vulg. only *plagis variis.* There may be a reference to the powerlessness of the magicians, whose arts availed not to avert the more terrible plagues from their own persons (Exod. ix. 11).

cast them out of their sight.] *I.e.* drove them out of the country. See on *v.* 8 *supra.* Cf. Exod. xii. 39: "They were thrust out of Egypt" (the same Heb. verb as in Gen. iii. 24).

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13 And [k]God dried the Red sea before them,

14 And [l]brought them [‖]to mount Sina, and [m]Cades-Barne, and cast forth all that dwelt in the wilderness.

15 [n]So they dwelt in the land of the Amorites, and they destroyed by their strength all them of Esebon, and [o]passing over Jordan they possessed all the hill country.

16 [p]And they cast forth before them the Chanaanite, the Pherezite, the Jebusite, and the Sychemite, and

[k] Exod. 14. 21.
[l] Exod. 19. 1.
[‖] Gr. *into the way of the wilderness of Sina.*
[m] Numb. 20. 1.
[n] Numb. 21. 24, 25.
[o] Josh. 3. 16.
[p] Josh. 12. 8.

13. The Vulgate here, probably following the Chaldee Midrash, interpolates three verses, describing the Israelite passage of the Red Sea, and the overwhelming of the Egyptians by the waters.

14. *And brought them to mount Sina.*] Gk. καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὁδὸν τοῦ Σινᾶ. Syr. "and made them come into the way of Mount Sinai." Some MSS. have ὄρος for ὁδόν.

Cades-Barne.] Κάδης Βαρνή, *i.e.* Kadesh-Barnea, or simply Kadesh (so Syriac). See Deut. i. 2; Num. xxxii. 8; Josh. x. 41.

and cast forth all that dwelt in the wilderness.] *I.e.* God cast them forth before Israel. So Codd. 52, 64, 248; Co. Ald., Syr., Vet. Lat. Fritzsche edits, "and *they* cast forth."

The Vulgate omits from Cades-Barne to the end of *v.* 15. After bringing Israel into the *deserta Sina montis . . . in quibus nunquam homo habitare potuit, vel filius hominis requievit*, it tells of the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah, and of the supply of bread from heaven during forty years. It continues: "Wherever they advanced without bow and arrow, and without shield and sword, their God fought for them victoriously. And there was none that triumphed over that people, save when it departed from the worship of the Lord its God. But whensoever they worshipped another, besides their own very God, they were given over to spoiling, and to the sword, and to reproach. But whensoever they repented that they had departed from the worship of their God, the God of heaven gave them valour for resistance." Cf. *vv.* 17, 18. The whole passage presents evident traces of the Chaldee original. The statement that the Israelites advanced *unarmed* to the conquest of Canaan is mere Haggada. Yet it contains the true thought that their material weapons were as nothing compared with the spiritual and moral forces which were arrayed on their side—the stern purity and strenuous faith and manly vigour acquired by their long discipline in the desert, which assured them of victory over the effeminate races of Canaan. Cornelius à Lapide quotes S. Jerome, Epist. xiii.: "Nostris peccatis barbari fortes sunt, nostris vitiis Romanus fugatur exercitus"—a profound truth, applicable not only to the falling empire of his day, but to all political and social systems in all ages of the world.

15. *the Amorites.*] The name prob. means Highlanders: cf. the rare Heb. אֲמִיר, *cacumen arboris* (Isa. xvii. 6, 9).

of Esebon.] Cod. 58 adds καὶ Βασανίτας, "and the Bashanites." See Num. xxi. 33–35. Codd. 19, 108 read καὶ πάντας (om. 108) τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας, "and all the Gibeonites." The Syriac has: "and the sons of Heshbon they destroyed by their might." Cf. Num. xxi. 26 *seq.* Heshbon was the Amorite capital. Bissell strangely says: "The chief city *of the children of Ammon* was Heshbon." Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 1; xii. 27.

they possessed all the hill country.] ἐκληρονόμησαν. Heb. יָרַשׁ, "to take possession of." The hill-country of Judah and Ephraim (see Josh. xi. 16), not Gilead and Bashan (Churton), for they took possession of it after passing over (διαβάντες) the Jordan.

16. *before them.*] ἐκ προσώπου αὐτῶν, Codd. 19, 23, 44, 58, al. ἀπὸ πρ., which is prob. right. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 18, מֵעַל פָּנָיו, which is so rendered by the LXX. Cf. *vv.* 8, 12 *supra*.

The list of the nations of Canaan which follows may be compared with that in Gen. xv. 19–21; and that in Exod. iii. 8, 17, which recurs, with a different order of names, in Josh. xi. 3, xii. 8.

The Vulgate gives the six nations mentioned in Exod. and Josh., but in a different order.

The Sychemite (καὶ τὸν Συχέμ) of our list does not appear in either of the ancient ones. Perhaps the author remembered "Shechem the son of Hamor *the Hivite*" (Gen. xxxiv. 2; cf. xxxiii. 18), and substituted Shechemite for *Hivite*, which appears in the Vulgate and Syriac. This is intelligible, as another reference to the revenge of Simeon, from whom Judith and Ozias are made to descend: ch. vi. 15; ix. 2. The mention of the Sichemite undoubtedly gains point, if it be supposed that Hyrcanus had recently taken Sichem, when the book was written. Cf. note on ch. iv. 4.

The Gergesites or Girgashites are mentioned in the list of Gen. xv., but not in those

all the Gergesites, and they dwelt in that country many days.

17 And whilst they sinned not before their God, they prospered, because the God that hateth iniquity was with them.

[q] Judg. 2. 11. & 3. 7, 8. 18 But [q] when they departed from the way which he appointed them, they were destroyed in many battles very sore, [r] and were led captives into a land that was not their's, and the temple of their God was cast to the ground, and their cities were taken by the enemies.

[r] 2 Kings 25. 9, 10, 11.

19 But [s] now are they returned to their God, and are come up from the

[s] Ezra 1. 1, 3.

of Exod. and Josh. Cf. also Gen. x. 16; Josh. xxiv. 11.

in that country.] Gr. ἐν αὐτῇ, "in it;" Heb. בָּהּ, a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν. So the Syriac, ܒܗ.

17. *And whilst they sinned not before their God.*] ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτῶν. Judg. iii. 12; 2 Kings viii. 18, xii. 2. Heb. בְּעֵינֵי, "in the eyes of."

they prospered.] Gk. ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἀγαθά. So the Syriac: "with them were good things." Vulg. *erant cum illis bona.* Cf. Sirach vi. 10.

because the God that hateth iniquity was with them.] Gk. ὅτι θεὸς μισῶν ἀδικίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν, "because a god hating iniquity is with them." Their conditional prosperity is thus explained by the peculiar character of their god.

Cod. 58 reads: ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῶν μισῶν ἀδικίαν ἐστιν. The Vulgate gives the same sense: *Deus enim illorum odit iniquitatem.* The Syriac varies the sense again: "because God is he that hateth iniquity." Cf. Ps. v. 4, 5.

18. *he appointed them.*] διέθετο αὐτοῖς. This verb usually renders the Heb. כָּרַת, "to conclude (properly, cut) a covenant." Perhaps צִוָּה, "he commanded," was the word here, as in Josh. vii. 11. The Syr. has ܦܩܕ, i.e. *mandavit.* Cf. Ps. cv. 8, 9. Or, perhaps, נָתַן, "he gave:" cf. Vulg. *quam dederat illis Deus;* and Hos. xi. 8.

they were destroyed.] ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν. Fritzsche remarks that the word is used *relatively*, for that the destruction was not total. Cf. 2 Kings xiii. 7, ἀπώλεσεν: and Ps. lxxviii. 34, "when he slew them, then they sought him."

very sore.] ἐπὶ πολὺ σφόδρα. Rather, "for a very long while." ἐπὶ πολὺ occurs thus, Wisd. xviii. 20; Thucyd. v. 16. Cf. also Isa. lv. 7: ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀφήσει, as rendering of יַרְבֶּה לִסְלֹחַ, "He will multiply to pardon." This would give the sense of "often." In chap. x. 7 the phrase ἐπὶ πολὺ σφόδρα recurs, in the sense of "very greatly;" cf. A. V. "very sore," a rendering preferred here by De Wette and others.

The Syriac omits the phrase; the Vulgate has *exterminati sunt praeliis a multis nationibus.*

and were led captives.] It is quite obvious that the Babylonian exile (588 B.C.), and the return under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (536 B.C.), and again under Ezra (458 B.C.), are referred to in *vv.* 18, 19. Consequently the plot of the story is not prior but subsequent to those events. Corn. à Lapide notes that the *total* captivity of the Jews was that effected by Nebuchadnezzar, from which they returned by the edict of Cyrus; whereas that which happened under Manasseh was only partial, as was also that of the Ten Tribes in the time of Hezekiah.

the temple of their God was cast to the ground.] ἐγενήθη εἰς ἔδαφος. "Factum est in pavimentum," C. à L.; "solo aequatum," Vatablus. This clause and the next are omitted by the Vulgate, perhaps because S. Jerome perceived the contradiction involved in connecting a story of the *post-exilic* age with Nebuchadnezzar. Old Lat. *devenit templum dei illorum ad solum;* and *templum dei ipsorum factum est in planitie.* Cf. ch. xvi. 5. The Syriac has: ܘܗܘܬ ܠܒܗܬ, "became for a trampling." This suggests that the Heb. was הָיָה לְמִרְמָס, which is so rendered by the Peshito at Isa. v. 5. Cf. Mic. vii. 10. It is obviously a forced construction to refer these words to a supposed desecration and partial destruction of the Temple by Manasseh. The phrase denotes that trampling under foot which would follow on *levelling with the ground*, not mere desecration, as Nickes and other Romish expositors maintain. The Jews feared that their temple would be treated as others had been: ch. iv. 1; ix. 8. Bellarmine and Serrarius consider the words an interpolation, ostensibly because they are not in the Vulg., really because they contradict the hypothesis of the early date of this "history."

19. *they . . . are come up.*] This phrase is properly used of going up from the lowlands of Babylonia to Jerusalem. Cf. Ezra i. 3, 5. The Vulgate wrongly connects it with the "hill country:" *et ascenderunt montana haec omnia.*

from the places where they were scattered.]

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places where they were scattered, and have possessed Jerusalem, where their sanctuary is, and ‖ are seated in the hill country; for it was desolate.

‖ Or, *have their dwellings.*

20 Now therefore, my lord and governor, if there be any error in this people, and they sin against their God, let us consider that this shall be their ruin, and let us go up, and we shall overcome them.

21 But if there be no iniquity in their nation, let my lord now pass by, lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them, and we become a reproach before all the world.

22 And when Achior had finished

ἐκ τῆς διασπορᾶς οὗ διεσπάρησαν ἐκεῖ. Διασπορά is here the *land* or *place* of their dispersion (Fritzsche). It was a common designation of the Jews scattered abroad in foreign lands; cf. John vii. 35. So the Syriac: "they were gathered from the places where they were scattered." The redundant *οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ* no doubt represents the Heb. אֲשֶׁר–שָׁם. Cf. ch. viii. 22; Rev. xii. 14.

for it was desolate.] *ὅτι ἦν ἔρημος.* The Syriac renders: "And dwelt in the mountain which had been wasted." Vulg. omits. I do not see the point of Fritzsche and Bissell's note: "Sie brauchten also nicht derselben sich wie Jerusalem's weiter zu bemächtigen." The restored exiles settled in the hill-country because it was depopulated, and they wished to repeople it.

20. *Now therefore.*] *καὶ νῦν.* וְעַתָּה, the usual Heb. mode of drawing a conclusion.

my lord and governor.] The Greek *δέσποτα κύριε* recurs in ch. xi. 10. The compound expression is perhaps more humbly submissive than either term by itself would be. But the Syriac has only "my lord;" the Vulg. *mi domine;* and *δέσποτα* is wanting in Codd. 44, 58, 108, al., and Vet. Lat. The Heb. was prob. אֲדֹנִי, "my lord." As Fritzsche points out, *δέσποτα κύριε* sometimes renders the divine title אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה; *e.g.* Gen. xv. 2: cf. Isa. i. 24.

if there be.] *εἰ μὲν ἐστιν.* This is the one sole occurrence of the particle *μέν* in the whole book. The Heb. may have been אִם יֵשׁ חטא; cf. Syriac ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܛܗ.

error.] Gr. *ἀγνοήμα*, an unwitting offence; Gen. xliii. 13, מִשְׁגֶּה, "a mistake." Volkmar paraphrases "Kein Abfall vom Gesetz (Keine *ἀνομία*)." The cognate *ἀγνοία* is used for אָשָׁם, "guilt" (Gen. xxvi. 10; cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 13); and for פֶּשַׁע, "revolt," "offence" (Ps. xxiv. 7); and for שְׁגָגָה, "a sin of ignorance," "an error" (Lev. v. 18). Cf. Tobit iii. 3. "The Hebrew notion of sin is that of blunder or dereliction, and the word is associated with others that indicate error, folly, or want of skill and insight (1 Sam. xxvi. 21). This idea has various applications, but, in particular, a man is at fault when he fails to fulfil his engagements, or to obey a binding command; and in Hebrew idiom the failure is a 'sin,' whether it be wilful failure, or be due to forgetfulness, or even be altogether involuntary" (Robertson Smith, 'Prophets of Israel,' p. 102).

let us consider that this shall be their ruin.] So the Syriac renders. The Vulgate omits. Gr. *καὶ ἐπισκεψόμεθα ὅ, τι ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον τοῦτο*, "then we will see to it, what this offence in them is." Cf. the use of דָּרַשׁ in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, where the LXX. has *διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπεσκέψω.* But this Gk. verb most frequently renders פָּקַד. Dereser, therefore, translates: "Then we will punish this offence in them, whatever it be." But the Heb. may have been simply וְנִרְאֵינוּ, "let us see." The *καὶ* introducing the apodosis is a common Heb. construction.

overcome them.] *ἐκπολεμήσομεν αὐτους*, "fight with them," "attack them." Heb. וְנִלָּחֲמֵנוּ בָם: Exod. i. 10; Judg. ix. 52. So Syriac: "and let us go up and fight with them;" which is probably the meaning.

21. *lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them.*] Rather, Lest their Lord and their God defend them. The word "defend," Gk. *ὑπερασπίσῃ*, "to hold a shield over," "to shield," is the Heb. גָּנַן: cf. 2 Kings xix. 34; xx. 6, וְגַנֹּתִי עַל־הָעִיר. It recurs in ch. vi. 5.

Cod. x. omits *ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν καὶ.* So Vulg. and Syr.

and we become.] *καὶ ἐσόμεθα.* Barbarous Gk., but very good Hebrew. כֵּן יָגֵן עֲלֵיהֶם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְהָיִינוּ.

The idea that national reverses betokened the anger of the national deity was common to all the Semitic races. But Achior's recognition of the *supremacy* of the God of Israel is as unhistorical as his intimate knowledge of Biblical history.

22. *And when Achior had finished.*] Rather, "And it came to pass when A. had finished." One or two MSS. omit *ἐγένετο.*

these sayings, all the people standing round about the tent murmured, and the chief men of Holofernes, and all that dwelt by the sea side, and in Moab, spake that he should kill him.

23 For, *say they*, we will not be afraid of the face of the children of Israel: for, lo, it is a people that have no strength nor power ‖for a strong battle.

‖ Gr. *against a mighty army.*

24 Now therefore, lord Holofernes, we will go up, and they shall be a prey to be devoured of all thine army.

CHAPTER VI.

3 *Holofernes despiseth God.* 7 *He threateneth Achior, and sendeth him away.* 14 *The Bethulians receive and hear him.* 18 *They fall to prayer, and comfort Achior.*

AND when the tumult of men that were about the council was ceased, Holofernes the chief captain of the army of Assur said unto Achior and all the Moabites before all the company of other nations,

2 And who art thou, Achior, and the hirelings of Ephraim, that thou

murmured.] Gr. καὶ ἐγόγγυσε. The καὶ is used as in *v.* 20. Hebrew syntax *coordinates* clauses which Western speech prefers to *subordinate.* Some MSS. omit καὶ, and so the Syriac. Cf. ch. vi. 1.

spake that he should kill him.] Or, proposed to cut him to pieces; cf. ch. vi. 2, for the construction. Gk. εἶπαν . . . συγκόψαι αὐτόν. In Xen. 'Symp.' viii. 6, and elsewhere, συγκόπτω means "to thrash soundly." In the LXX. of Gen. xxxiv. 30, it renders הִכָּה, "to smite." The Syr. has "to cut him off," ; the Vulg. *cogitabant interficere eum.* The Heb. may have been וַיֹּאמְרוּ לְהַכּוֹתוֹ.

23. *of the face.*] Fritzsche edits ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. But the expression of the A. V. is almost certainly original, as representing the ordinary Heb. construction with verbs of *fearing* (יָרֵא מִפְּנֵי): Jer. i. 8. It is preserved in Codd. 58, 52, al., and Old Lat., ἀπὸ προσώπου. The word פְּנֵי, "face," may have been omitted in some MSS., before the similar בְּנֵי, "sons."

for, lo, it is a people that have no strength.] A mendacious assertion, if the reference be to the times of the Judæan monarchy; but perfectly suitable as a description of the feeble colony of restored exiles, whom the Persian sovereigns allowed to rebuild Jerusalem. Cf. the gibes of Sanballat and Tobiah (Neh. iv. 2, 3). The Vulgate puts the case even more strongly: *homines inermes, et sine virtute, et sine peritia artis pugnae.* But this at least would not be true of Nehemiah's gallant warrior-builders (Neh. iv. 13 *seq.*). Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 20: "I have counsel and strength for the war." The Syr. here has: "for it is a people in which is no strength for war." (The margin is incorrect.)

24. *a prey to be devoured.*] Literally, for food. The Gk. phrase εἰς κατάβρωμα recurs, ch. x. 12. Cf. Num. xiv. 9, ὅτι κατάβρωμα ἡμῖν ἐστιν = Heb. כִּי לַחְמֵנוּ הֵם; Ps. xiv. 4. The word "food" has fallen out of the Syriac text. The Vulgate omits this verse, and concludes the chapter thus: "That, therefore, Achior may own that he is deceiving us, let us go up into the mountains: and when their mighty men have been taken prisoners, then let him be stricken through with the sword along with them: that every nation may know that Nebuchadnezzar is god of the earth, and besides him there is none other." Cf. Isa. xiv. 13, 14; xlvii. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

1. *the council.*] ἡ συνεδρία. So Codd. iii., x. Common text, συνεδρεία. The word recurs in *v.* 17 and ch. xi. 9. Cf. Xen. 'Mem.' iv. 2, 3 (a circle of friends; "friends in council"). τὸ συνέδριον is a more usual expression. The readings constantly fluctuate between -ία and -εία (L. and S. *s. v.*).

and (to) all the Moabites.] Syr. omits. The "sons of Moab" seems to denote the peoples east of the Jordan as distinct from those of the west, who are included in the term rendered "other nations." See next note. The Moabites are made so prominent because of their traditional hostility to Israel. Cf. v. 22, 23, and Num. xxii.–xxv.; Deut. xxiii. 3, 4; Judges iii. 12 *seq.*; 2 Kings xiii. 20, xxiv. 2; Ps. lxxxiii. 6; Zeph. ii. 8 *seq.*

all the company of other nations.] ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἀλλοφύλων, "before all the people of (*the*: Codd. 19, 108, &c.) aliens." לִפְנֵי כָּל־מִשְׁפְּחוֹת בְּנֵי נֵכָר. Cf. Isa. lxi. 5; Num. i. 20, 22. The LXX. renders the Heb. *Pĕlishtîm*, Philistines, by Ἀλλόφυλοι (Judg. iii. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 3; 1 Macc. iii. 41). We may therefore understand here the peoples of the coast. The Syriac has only "before all the people." Vulgate: "Now it came to pass, when they had ceased to speak, Holofernes being exceedingly angry, said unto Achior."

2. *and the hirelings of Ephraim.*] καὶ οἱ μισθωτοὶ τοῦ Ἐφραΐμ. This phrase occurs

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hast prophesied among us as to-day, and hast said, that we should not make war with the people of Israel, because their God will defend them? and who is God but Nabuchodonosor?

3 He will send his power, and will destroy them from the face of the earth, and their God shall not deliver them: but we his servants will destroy them as one man; for they are not able to sustain the power of our horses.

4 For with them we will tread them under foot, and their mountains shall be drunken with their blood, and their fields shall be filled with their dead bodies, and their footsteps shall not be able to stand before us, for

Isa. xxviii. 1, 3, for Heb. *drunkards of Ephraim* —a confusion of שִׁכּוֹר, *ebrius*, with שָׂכִיר, *mercenarius*. Perhaps, therefore, the Heb. term here was *drunkards*. If the reading Ephraim is sound, we must assume that the usual designation of the northern kingdom is applied somewhat infelicitously to Judah; so that Achior and his followers are contemptuously called Jewish hirelings (or drunkards). But the Ammonites were not more friendly to the restored community of Jerusalem than the Moabites (cf. Neh. iv. 3, 7). In *v.* 5 Achior is addressed as "an hireling of *Ammon*," and Codd. 19, 108 read so here. The Syriac has: "Who art thou, Achior, and all the sons of Moab and the hirelings of Ammon?" Cf. Cod. 58, καὶ τί σὺ Ἀχιὼρ καὶ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Μωὰβ καὶ οἱ μισθωτοί σου υἱῶν Ἀμμών. Similarly Vet. Lat. Ephraim, therefore, is probably an error of transcription. The Vulgate omits.

thou hast prophesied.] An ironical expression: "hast played the prophet." Cf. 2 Chron. xi. 2 *seq.*; xiii. 4 *seq.*; xv. 1 *seq.*

as to-day.] καθὼς σήμερον. Heb. כַּיּוֹם.

make war with the people.] τὸ γένος . . . πολεμῆσαι. The usual late construction; = to make war upon, besiege. Polyb. xi. 19. 3. Classical, ἐπί τινα, πρός τινα. Instead of τὸ γένος Ἰσραήλ, the common expression would be υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ. But the Vulg. has *gens Israel*, and the Syr. "the people of Israel" (wrongly rendered in Walton "cum *filiis* Israel").

and who is God but Nabuchodonosor?] The Gk. has the article, ὁ Θεὸς, so that the sense is: And who is *the true* god, &c. The Heb. הָאֱלֹהִים: cf. 1 Kings xviii. 39. "Jehovah is the true God!" (Heb.) The Syriac adds, "the King of all the earth." So Cod. 58, and Vet. Lat. (codd. Reg. and Germ.).

3. *his power.*] τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ = δύναμις. Heb. חֵיל (so Syr.).

and their God shall not deliver them.] Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 32–35; xix. 12, 13 (the similar language of Sennacherib's envoys to Hezekiah). Cf. also 1 Macc. vii. 34; 2 Macc. xv. 32.

will destroy them as one man.] Gk. πατάξομεν, "will smite." See Num. xiv. 15: "If thou kill this people as one man." Fritzsche says the idea is, "so powerless will they be." But the phrase seems to convey rather the notion of *total extermination*. Nero is said to have wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might behead them all at one stroke. Vulg. *cum percusserimus eos omnes sicut hominem unum.*

for they are not able to sustain the power of our horses.] The Syriac has: "and they will not stand before *the neighing* of our horses," ; cf. Jer. v. 8; Vet. Lat. foaming (*spumam*), or force (*vim*); Jer. viii. 16, מְצָהֲלָה. This word, or a cognate form, may have stood in the Heb. text. The prophets of the O. T. often allude to horses as the strength of invading armies. Cf. Isa. v. 28; Hab. i. 8.

4. *For with them we will tread them under foot.*] This is the reading of Codd. 52, 64, al. (καταπατήσομεν). The common text has κατακαύσομεν, "we will burn them up," which is unsuitable. Fritzsche adopts κατακλύσομεν, "we will dash over, or deluge, or overwhelm them:" cf. Wisdom x. 4, 19; Heb. שָׁטַף, Dan. xi. 26. So Codd. 19, 55, 44, al. The Syriac uses a general expression: "because we will destroy them" (נאבד), and omits "with them." So Codd. x., 58, Vet. Lat. (*delebimus*).

their mountains shall be drunken with their blood.] This figure is used in Isa. xxxiv. 7: "Their land shall be drunk (A.V. soaked) with blood," וְרִוְּתָה אַרְצָם מִדָּם: cf. Jer. xlvi. 10; Deut. xxxii. 42.

The Syriac seems to have read τὰ ὅρια, "their borders," instead of τὰ ὄρη.

and their footsteps shall not be able to stand before us.] καὶ οὐκ ἀντιστήσεται τὸ ἴχνος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν. וְלֹא תַעֲמֹד כַּף רַגְלָם לְפָנֵינוּ. Cf. Josh. i. 3; Judg. ii. 14, "The sole of their foot shall not stand fast before us," *i.e.* they shall run away. Or, perhaps עקבי רגליהם, "the heels of their feet." The Syr. has . Cf. עֲקֵבוֹת,

they shall utterly perish, saith king Nabuchodonosor, lord of all the earth: for he said, None of my words shall be in vain.

5 And thou, Achior, an hireling of Ammon, which hast spoken these words in the day of thine iniquity, shalt see my face no more from this day, until I take vengeance of this nation that came out of Egypt.

6 And then shall the sword of mine army, and the multitude of them that serve me, pass through thy sides, and thou shalt fall among their slain, when I return.

7 Now therefore my servants shall bring thee back into the hill country, and shall set thee in one of the cities of the passages:

8 And thou shalt not perish, till thou be destroyed with them.

9 And if thou persuade thyself in

Ps. lxxvii. 19, *τὰ ἴχνη σου*. Fritzsche explains the phrase as poetically said for "they will withstand us *with no footstep*, not at all." Wahl: "So little will they sustain our onset, that not even their footprints will remain;" *i.e.* They will take to flight in such haste when they descry us, that you would not believe that they had ever stood in our way. Churton suggests that the phrase may express contempt for a people who fought on foot, without chariots or horses. The sense may be: The traces of their feet shall not remain before us; we will sweep away every vestige of them from the face of the earth. The words which follow, "For (rather, but: *ἀλλὰ*) they shall utterly perish," favour this interpretation. Bissell renders: "And not by one step shall they withstand us," which does not represent the Greek.

"Utterly perish" is *ἀπωλείᾳ ἀπολοῦνται*, an imitation of Heb. אָבֹד יֹאבֵדוּ. So Syriac.

for he said, None of my words shall be in vain.] This is the reading of Codd. 64, 243, 248, &c. (*μου* for *αὐτοῦ*). Fritzsche edits: *εἶπε γὰρ, οὐ ματαιωθήσεται τὰ ῥήματα τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ* (Codd. x. 19, 108 read *τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ*); *i.e.* For he spake; the words of his sayings (or mouth) will not be annulled. The Syr. has: "Said N. the lord of all the earth, whose words shall not return backward." The Heb. may have been ולא ישובו אליו דברי פיו ריקם; cf. Isa. lv. 11.

5. *And thou.*] Rather, But thou; *σὺ δὲ*. Syr. ܘܐܢܬ.

an hireling of Ammon.] See on *v.* 2 *supra*. "Ammonite hireling!" a term of abuse, implying that Achior's good offices had been bought by those whose cause he had so earnestly pleaded.

this nation that came out of Egypt.] Gk. *τὸ γένος τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου*. The Syriac supplies the verb: "the people *that came up* from Egypt." So Cod. 58, *τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων*, and Vet. Lat. It is not necessary to insist on rendering *γένος*, "race" (Bissell), for it probably represents the Heb. עַם, "people" (so Syriac). Holofernes means to call the Jews a nation of *slaves;* and, perhaps, as Wolff suggests, to controvert their Chaldean descent (ch. v. 6).

6. *the sword.*] Gk. *ὁ σίδηρος*. Trommius gives three passages of Job in which the Heb. חֶרֶב, "sword," is so rendered by the LXX. The Syriac has ܚܪܒܐ, "sword."

the multitude.] *ὁ λαὸς*, the reading of the MSS., is probably a corruption of *ἡ λόγχη*, "the spear;" Vet. Lat. *lancea*. Syriac ܠܢܛܨ, *lancea;* the Heb. רמח, Neh. iv. 13. Fritzsche edits *ὁ χαλκὸς* in the same sense.

pass through.] *διελεύσεται*. Cod. 58, *εἰσελεύσεται*. So Syriac. The Heb. עָבַר might be rendered by either. Cf. Ps. cxxiii. 4, 5, and Luke ii. 35 (Syr.).

when I return.] Whenever I return, namely, from the expedition against the Jews. Holofernes threatens what he will do when he returns victorious. Cf. Judg. viii. 7, 9; 1 Kings xxii. 27, 28.

7. *Now therefore.*] Simply, *καὶ*, "and."

shall bring thee back.] *ἀποκαταστήσουσί σε*. Fritzsche says this term is here used inexactly for the simple idea of *placing* or *carrying* away (*hinstellen, fortbringen*); cf. *v.* 10 and 2 Macc. xv. 20. But may there not be a covert insinuation that Achior has already been in the enemy's camp? The Syriac, however, has: "And my servants shall lead thee to-day, and leave thee in one of the cities of Israel."

in one of the cities of the passages.] *τῶν ἀναβάσεων, i.e.* in or near one of the ascents or passes leading up into the hill-country; and accordingly one of the nearest cities of the enemy. Cf. ch. iv. 8 *supra*. Others explain less suitably, one of the cities to which you have to ascend, *i.e.* situated on the hills.

8. *And thou shalt not perish, &c.*] Holofernes spares him that he may be brought to realise fully the folly of his words, when destruction falls upon his assumed friends.

9. *And if thou persuade thyself in thy mind.*]

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thy mind that they shall not be taken, let not thy countenance fall: I have spoken it, and none of my words shal be in vain.

10 Then Holofernes commanded his servants, that waited in his tent, to take Achior, and bring him to Bethulia, and deliver him into the hands of the children of Israel.

11 So his servants took him, and brought him out of the camp into the plain, and they went from the midst of the plain into the hill country, and came unto the fountains that were under Bethulia.

12 And when the men of the city saw them, they took up their weapons, and went out of the city to the top of the hill: and every man that used a sling kept them from coming up by casting of stones against them.

13 Nevertheless having gotten privily under the hill, they bound Achior, and cast him down, and left him at the foot of the hill, and returned to their lord.

Lit.: And if, indeed, thou hopest in thine heart. Syr.: "*Because* thou hast thought (or hoped) in thine heart." So Cod. 58, *ἐπεί*.

let not thy countenance fall.] *I.e.* Be not discouraged; despair not. Cf. Gen. iv. 5, 6; 1 Sam. xvii. 32. The Gk. is *συμπίπτειν*, and the word refers to the change of facial expression. The Syr. has: "and thy face shall not look upon good things." But the Gk. is preferable. Holofernes is so sure of victory, that he interprets Achior's visible dismay in the same sense. So the Vulgate, for it adds: *et pallor qui faciem tuam obtinet abscedat a te, si verba mea haec putas impleri non posse.*

shall be in vain.] Gk. *διαπεσεῖται*, "shall fall to the earth." Heb. נָפַל, "to fall." A figure derived from the falling of dead things to the ground. Cf. 2 Kings x. 10. So Syriac.

10. *that waited in his tent.*] *οἳ ἦσαν παρεστηκότες.* Heb. העומדים, "who were standing (by)." So Syr. Not "stood around" (Bissell). Cf. 2 Kings v. 16.

to Bethulia.] *εἰς Βετυλούα.* Cod. 58, *Βατυλωα*; 44, *ἐν Βαιτηλουα*; 64, 243, Co. Ald. *Βετουλουα*; 74, *ἐν Βαιτυλουα*; 106, *εἰς Βαιτηλουα*; 108, *Βαιτουλιαν.* Cf. note on ch. iv. 6 *supra.*

11. *So his servants took him.*] Syriac, "And a man took him."

the plain.] *τῆς πεδινῆς*, the level ground. *Supra*, *τὸ πεδίον.* Syr. omits. Wolff says the plain is the *Wâdy Baisân*, which the Assyrians entered from the Ghôr, after crossing the Jordan. The "fountains under Bethulia" he identifies with *Ain Jâlud*, the ancient fountain of Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 1), S.S.E. of which are the ruins of *Beit Ilfa.* Cf. chap. iv. 7.

went.] *ἀπῆραν.* Heb. וַיִּסְעוּ, Num. xxxiii. 7, *et saepius.* Bissell wrongly renders, "and *bore him* from the midst," &c. The verb is intransitive.

12. *the men of the city.*] After these words the Gk. adds, *ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους.* Fritzsche assumes this to be "a nearer definition of *πόλεως*," *i.e.* a description of its position. But in that case not only would the omission of the article be harsh, but the construction would be absolutely incorrect, as we should expect a dative *ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ*, not an accusative. The words are evidently accounted for by the wandering of a copyist's eye to the next line, where they properly occur after *τῆς πόλεως.* Here they are rightly omitted by Cod. 58, Syr., Vet. Lat.

and every man that used a sling . . .] The A.V. paraphrases the second half of the verse. Literally it is: "And every slinger (*ἀνὴρ σφενδονητὴς*) held fast their ascent (*i.e.* their way up), and shot with stones at them." Trommius gives but one other instance of *διακρατέω*, "to hold a place," viz. 3 Esd. iv. 50. Fritzsche edits *διεκράτησαν.* Codd. 58, 23, 44, &c., read the singular. The Syriac connects "every slinger" with the former clause, and continues: "and they took the ascent."

13. *Nevertheless having gotten privily.*] The subject is changed from the defenders of the pass to the convoy of Achior. The Gk. is *καὶ ὑποδύσαντες ὑποκάτω τοῦ ὄρους.* Cf. Hdt. iv. 75, "to slip in under;" also Hdt. i. 31, "to go under;" Arist. 'Wasps,' 205, "to creep under." The Vulgate has: *illi autem divertentes a latere montis.* The Syriac, "And they got them away from thence" (Matt. iv. 12), presupposes *ἀποχωρήσαντες*, the reading of Cod. 58.

and cast him down, and left him at the foot of the hill.] It is not quite correct to say that "the Gk. text describes it as if he was bound and then rolled down a steep place at the foot of the mountain" (Churton). The words are, *ἔδησαν τὸν Ἀχιὼρ καὶ ἀφῆκαν ἐρριμένον ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ ὄρους—i.e.* "They bound A. and left him cast under the root (*i.e.* at the foot) of the mountain." The word *ῥίπτω* is used here as in Gen. xxi. 15, "And she cast the child under one of the shrubs;" and is

14 But the Israelites descended from their city, and came unto him, and loosed him, and brought him into Bethulia, and presented him to the governors of the city:

15 Which were in those days Ozias the son of Micha, of the tribe of Simeon, and Chabris the son of Gothoniel, and Charmis the son of Melchiel.

16 And they called together all the ancients of the city, and all their youth ran together, and their women, to the assembly, and they set Achior in the midst of all their people. Then Ozias asked him of that which was done.

17 And he answered and declared unto them the words of the council of Holofernes, and all the words that he had spoken in the midst of the princes of Assur, and whatsoever Holofernes had spoken proudly against the house of Israel.

18 Then the people fell down and

the more appropriate, as Achior was bound hand and foot, to prevent his escape. Cf. the Syriac: "And they bound A., and left him cast under the mountain." The Vulgate says: "ligaverunt Achior *ad arborem* manibus et pedibus." Cf. Job xxviii. 9, for the Heb. שֹׁרֶשׁ, "root," of a mountain.

14. *came unto him.*] The Greek is ἐπέστησαν αὐτῷ (or ἐπ' αὐτὸν, as in Codd. iii. 64, al., and Ecclus. xli. 22), "stood over him;" and so the Syriac renders. The Midrash (Jellinek ii. 12) has: "And the king came into the squares of Jerusalem, bound with fetters of iron. And he found there the *captains of the host of Israel*, Uzziah ben Micah and Carmi."

15. *Ozias the son of Micha.*] *I.e.* Uzziah, the son of Micah; Heb. עֻזִּיָּה בֶּן־מִיכָה. Volkmar lays needless stress on the fact that these common names denote "My strength is Jah," and "Who is like Jah?" respectively. Like Judith herself, Ozias is of the tribe of *Simeon*, who is glorified as an avenger of Israel, ch. ix. 2. Probably, the whole population of Bethulia is understood to be Simeonite. There were Simeonites in the north as well as in the south (2 Chr. xv. 9, xxxiv. 6; cf. Gen. xlix. 7). This minute touch indicates the author's learning in the antiquities of his people (Scholz).

Chabris the son of Gothoniel.] The name Chabris recurs, chap. viii. 10; x. 6. The common reading here is Abris; but the Syriac ܚܒܪܝ, Chabri, indicates a Heb. חברי, Chabri or Chebri (Num. xxvi. 45), which we find in the Midrash. So Cod. 58, χαβρὶς; Vet. Lat., *Chabris*. Fritzsche edits χαβρεὶς, after Codd. iii. x. 55.

Chabri might be a contraction of Chabrijah, *socius meus est Jah*, or *Jah est socius*. Volkmar sees in this name the חֲבוּרָה, the secret society of new Zealots calling themselves *Chabērîm* (not *Chabrîm*), i.e. *socii, sodales*, who according to him were the life and soul of the new revolt of Judea. For this sect or club of hot patriots, he quotes Grätz, 'Gesch. Isr.' iv. 85, who bases his account on 'Tosifta Demai,' 3, 4, and 'Bechoroth,' 30. Gothoniel is in the LXX. equivalent to Othniel, Heb. עָתְנִיאֵל (Josh. xv. 17), *God's lion*. The Heb. faucal sound *'ayin* is represented by the Gk. gamma, as in the words Gaza, Gomorrah, and many others. Syr. Anathna'el—a corrupted form.

Charmis the son of Melchiel.] Charmis is the Hebrew כַּרְמִי, Carmi (Gen. xlvi. 9). Volkmar objects to this as leaving the name without symbolic force, and proposes חֲרְמִיָּה, *devoted to Jah*, a name unknown to Heb. literature, and which would rather suggest the meaning *my cherem is Jah*, than *I am devoted to Jah*. Moreover, the *Cheth* is soft, and the proper Gk. equivalent would be Ἐρμίας, not Χαρμεῖς. Cf. Num. xiv. 45; Josh. xii. 5, 14, xv. 30; 1 Chron. iv. 30. I do not understand Volkmar's assertion, "Die Codd. führen vielmehr auf חרמיה." The Codd. have Χαρμεὶς (ii., x.); Χαλμεὶς (iii.); Χαρμὶ (44, al.); vulgo, Χαρμίς. Melchiel, the Heb. מַלְכִּיאֵל, *My king is El* (Gen. xlvi. 17). The Syriac has: Mansha'el. Cod. 58, Μοχισὴλ; x. ὁ τοῦ Σελλὴμ,—variants which illustrate the Protean changes to which proper names are subject in ancient MSS.

16. *and their women.*] Cod. 58 adds καὶ τὰ παιδία. So the Syriac, "and their women and their sons;" and Vet. Lat.

asked him of that which was done.] Literally, Asked him the event, τὸ συμβεβηκός. So the Syriac: "asked him what had happened" (Luke xxiv. 14).

17. *the princes of Assur.*] Fritzsche edits "the princes of the sons of Assur." υἱῶν is wanting in Codd. 58, 64, al., Syriac; but it is probably original. Assurbanipal calls his subjects "sons of Assur."

spoken proudly.] ἐμεγαλορρημόνησεν. Heb. הִגְדִּיל; Ezek. xxxv. 13. Syriac, ܐܬܪܘܡܡ, "magnified himself."

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worshipped God, and cried unto God, saying,

19 O Lord God of heaven, behold their pride, and pity the low estate of our nation, and look upon the face of those that are sanctified unto thee this day.

20 Then they comforted Achior, and praised him greatly.

21 And Ozias took him out of the assembly unto his house, and made a feast to the elders; and they called on the God of Israel all that night for help.

18. *cried unto God.*] Fritzsche omits "unto God;" and so the Syriac, which has: "And *all* the people fell *upon their faces*, and worshipped God, and answered and said." Cf. the Vulgate: *Omnis populus cecidit in faciem, adorantes Dominum, et communi lamentatione et fletu unanimes preces suas Domino effuderunt, dicentes.* The Syriac looks original.

19. *behold their pride.*] Gk. *κάτιδε τὰς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτῶν*, "look down upon their disdainful dealings" or "displays of disdain." This plural occurs in Ps. lxxiv. 3 (LXX.). The Syriac has the singular, which may be right. So the Vulgate: *Intuere superbiam eorum.* In Heb. the plur. of an abstract noun is often used in such a sense; *e.g.* Ps. xi. 7, "righteousness" is צְדָקוֹת, "righteous dealings;" LXX. *δικαιοσύνας.* Instead of *κάτιδε* (Deut. xxvi. 15), the Codd. x. 19, 108 read *ἐπίβλεψον.* Cf. Lam. v. 1; Hab. i. 13; 1 Sam. i. 11; chap. ix. 9 *infra.* Bissell is wrong in rendering *κάτιδε* "behold," and *ἐπίβλεψον* "behold to punish." The idea of punishing is contained not in the verb but in the context. (He seems to have misunderstood Fritzsche.) Moreover, *ἐπίβλεψον* occurs in the next line in the sense of "Look in pity upon . . .;" cf. ch. xiii. 4.

low estate.] Gk. *ταπείνωσιν.* The same phrase recurs ch. xiii. 20.

The meaning is *depressed condition.* Cf. Luke i. 48. The Heb. is עָנְיִי; see 1 Sam. i. 11 and LXX.

those that are sanctified unto thee.] *τῶν ἡγιασμένων σοι.* Heb. מְקֻדָּשֶׁיךָ, Isa. xiii. 3; 2 Chron. xxvi. 18. God's hallowed ones were not only the sacerdotal classes and persons under special religious obligations, such as the Nazarites (Grotius), but the collective Jewish people as the chosen of God. The Vulgate has: *et faciem sanctorum tuorum attende.* This suggests the Heb. קְדֹשֶׁיךָ, "thy saints:" cf. Deut. xxxiii. 3; Ps. xvi. 3. But the Syriac reads: "and look upon thy sanctuary" (ܩܕܫܟ). Cf. ch. iv. 3, 12. This may be right. It only involves different vowel-points in the former Heb. word.

this day.] Gk. *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ. I.e.* Look upon us in the present time of peril. Bissell wrongly connects the phrase with "those that are sanctified unto thee," as if some special act of sanctification had been done that day.

The Vulgate adds: "And shew that thou forsakest not them that trust in thee (*praesumentes de te*); and them that trust in themselves, and boast of their own bravery, thou dost abase."

20. *they comforted.*] *παρεκάλεσαν*, 2 Sam. xii. 24; Ruth ii. 13; = נָחַם. So the Syriac and Vulgate: *consolati sunt Achior.* Cf. *Παράκλητος*, Intercessor, or Comforter, as a designation of the Holy Ghost. In the Vulgate (after the Chaldee) this short verse is expanded thus: "The weeping, therefore, being ended, and the prayer of the peoples all day long being finished, they comforted Achior, saying: The God of our fathers, whose might thou hast declared, will himself give thee this recompense, that thou rather shalt see *their* destruction (and not they thine). But when our God shall have given this deliverance (*libertatem*) to his servants, may God be with thee also in the midst of us; that thou and all thy friends may live with us, as it pleaseth thee." Cf. the Old Latin: *Dicentes, quomodo visum fuerit Deo de nobis, erit et tecum;* i.e. Thou shalt share our lot whatever it be.

21. *made a feast.*] Gk. *ἐποίησε πότον.* Heb. וַיַּעַשׂ מִשְׁתֶּה, Gen. xix. 3, and elsewhere. A *banquet* or *drinking* feast is the strict meaning. We must not here think of a carousal, but only of a friendly meal, given by way of according a hospitable reception to Achior. Cf. ch. xii. 10.

and they called on the God of Israel.] The Vulgate is more intelligible: *Postea* (after the feast) *vero convocatus est omnis populus, et per totam noctem intra ecclesiam oraverunt, petentes auxilium a Deo Israel.* The Syriac is: "And he (*i.e.* Ozias?) called unto the God of Israel all the night, that he might help them." The Heb. may have been the indefinite וַיִּקְרָא, "and one called;" *i.e.* the people of Betylua in general called for help.

The way in which Achior is left to fall into the hands of the Jews reminds us of Virgil's account of Sinon and the Trojans, 'Aen.' ii. 57 *seq.* Bissell remarks that "the unsuspecting confidence which is here accorded to

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Holofernes besiegeth Bethulia, 7 and stoppeth the water from them. 22 They faint, and murmur against the governors, 30 who promise to yield within five days.*

THE next day Holofernes commanded all his army, and all his people which were come to take his part, that they should remove their camp against Bethulia, to take aforehand the ascents of the hill country, and to make war against the children of Israel.

2 Then their strong men removed their camps in that day, and the army of the men of war was an hundred and seventy thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, beside the baggage, and other men that were afoot among them, a very great multitude.

3 And they camped in the valley

this Gentile Achior—as afterwards on the part of the Assyrians to Judith—is scarcely natural." Corn. à Lap. writes, with reference to this point: "Non tamen eum consiliis suis adhibuerunt, vel bello praefecerunt, quia transfugarum suspecta est fides, sic enim Judith ficte transfugiens ad Assyrios, Chusai ad Absalonem 2 Sam. xvii. Sinon ad Trojanos, Zopyrus Darii Hystaspis dux ad Babylonios, eos hostibus suis tradiderunt." And Volkmar considers the whole episode admirable (*trefflich*).

CHAPTER VII.

1. *all his people which were come to take his part.*] Gk. *παντὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ οἱ παρεγένοντο ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν αὐτοῦ.* The Syriac has: "all who came with him (ܥܡܗ) to help him." It is probable that the Gk. translator mistook עִמּוֹ, "with him," for עַמּוֹ, "his people." For the auxiliaries intended, see ch. v. 2 *supra.*

that they should remove their camp against Bethulia.] Gk. *ἀναζευγνύειν ἐπὶ Βετυλούα*, "to set out against Betylua;" "to break up camp, and march upon B." The word answers to the Heb. נָסַע, Exod. xiv. 15.

to take aforehand.] In the Gk. this is coordinate with the former clause: "And to pre-occupy the passes." The Vulgate abbreviates the verse: *Holofernes autem altera die praecepit exercitibus suis, ut ascenderent contra Bethuliam.* Codd. 19, 108 add *καὶ ποιεῖν προφύλακας*, "and to set a watch." Cf. Neh. iv. 9.

2. *Then their strong men removed their camps.*] Lit. "And there set out in that day every mighty man of them." The Syriac has the plural; Vulg. omits. Cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 52.

and the army of the men of war.] Gk. *καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν*, "and the force of them, namely, of the men of war." The Heb. may have been וְחֵילָם אַנְשֵׁי מִלְחָמָה, "and their force, men of war." But the Syriac has simply, "and all their force;" וְכָל־חֵילָם. Codd. 58, 249, and the Old Latin also omit "men of war."

an hundred and seventy thousand footmen.] The Syriac gives 172,000, and omits *footmen.* The Old Lat., according to Cod. Germ. 15, gives the same number; but Cod. Corb. and the Vulgate give 120,000, as in ch. ii. 15. In like manner, the Syriac, Old Latin, and Vulgate put the horsemen at 22,000 instead of 12,000,—the number given at ch. ii. 15, as well as by the common text here. Cod. x. reads "eight thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen." Volkmar justifies the common text by the remark that the footmen had continually increased since the outset: cf. ch. iii. 6. The total of the horsemen remained unaltered, the *ἱππεῖς τοξόται* being the proper guard of the Moorish proconsul Lusius Quietus, whom he identifies with Holofernes (p. 241). Wolff supposes that 50,000 troops, chiefly infantry, had come in as contingents from the seaboard cities, and from Moab, Ammon, and Edom. The variations are, however, more easily accounted for by the hypothesis that numeral signs have been corrupted in the course of transmission.

beside the baggage.] Gk. *χωρὶς τῆς ἀποσκευῆς.* The Syriac renders ܐܚܪ̈ܢ, as in 1 Macc. v. 13, 20; a word which represents the Heb. שָׁלָל, "little ones," in Gen. xxxiv. 29, xliii. 8, &c., and probably here also.

and other men that were afoot among them.] "Other" is not in the Greek, which is: *καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἦσαν πεζοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.* Instead of *πεζοὶ* Codd. 19, 108 read *πολλοί*; and Cod. 58 reads *παρεξοδευταί, i.e.* "travelling companions," a word not given in Trommius nor in Liddell and Scott, but supported by the Old Lat. *cum eis comitantes.* *Ἐν αὐτοῖς*, "among them," may refer to *τῆς ἀποσκευῆς*, by a construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν.* Then "the men who were on foot" denotes the people who accompanied the "baggage" on foot. But it may also refer to the army proper, and then the mixed multitude of ch. ii. 20 will be intended. Vulgate: *praeter praeparationes*

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near unto Bethulia, by the fountain, and they spread themselves in breadth ‖ over Dothaim even to Belmaim, and in length from Bethulia unto ‖ Cyamon, which is over against Esdraelom.

‖ *from Dothaim,* Junius.

‖ Gr. *Bean field.*

4 Now the children of Israel, when they saw the multitude of them, were greatly troubled, and said every one to his neighbour, [a] Now will these men lick up the face of the earth; for neither the high mountains, nor the valleys, nor the hills, are able to bear their weight.

[a] Numb. 22. 4.

5 Then every man took up his weapons of war, and when they had kindled fires upon their towers, they remained and watched all that night.

6 But in the second day Holofernes

virorum illorum, quos occupaverat captivitas, et abducti fuerant de provinciis et urbibus universae juventutis. This is not very clear Latin, but it seems to mean that Holofernes had swelled his ranks by carrying off all the warriors of the provinces through which he had marched. Cf. the Syriac: "and besides the men who came out unto them."

3. *by the fountain.*] ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς. Heb. עַל-עֵין הַמַּיִם, "by the fountain of the waters." Cf. Gen. xvi. 7. The Syriac has it so here.

they spread themselves in breadth over Dothaim even to Belmaim.] The Syriac has: *And the breadth of the camp was from Rauthim* (an error for Dauthîm) *even unto Abel-mehûtho* (an error for Abel-mehûlo, the Heb. אָבֵל כְּמְחוֹלָה, 1 Kings xix. 16. Lagarde edits Abûl-mehûlo in the Syriac here). Junius corrected ἐπὶ into ἀπὸ, so as to read "from Dothaim." Dothaim is, of course, Dothan: see on ch. iii. 9. In Codd. iii. x. al. the spelling is Δωθαείμ; in 58, Δοθαήλ. Belmaim or Belbaim (so Codd. ii. iii. 55, al.) is the same as Belmen, ch. iv. 4. Cod. x. has Ἀβελβαίμ; Codd. 19, 108, Ἀβελμαείν; 44, al., Βελμέν. The common reading is Βελθέμ. Lieut. Conder compares *Wâdy Bela'meh* near *Jenîn.*

even to.] So the common text (καὶ ἕως). Fritzsche omits καὶ, after Codd. iii. x. 19, 55, al. But the Syriac is in favour of it, and it accords with Heb. idiom (וְעַד).

and in length from Bethulia unto Cyamon.] Cyamon, in Gk. Κυαμών, means a "bean-field," *e.g.* Theophr. 'H. P.' iv. 8. 8. The Syriac has: *And its length was unto Kadmún* (ܘܐܪܟܗ ܠܩܕܡܘܢ) *opposite Jezreel.* "From Betylua" (Syr. Beth-pallû) has evidently fallen out of the text. The Old Lat. reads Chelmona, the Vulg. Chelmon; Cod. 58, Κελμών, instead of Cyamon. The pure Greek name can hardly be right. Movers conjectured Jokmeam, 1 Kings iv. 12 (Heb. יָקְמְעָם), the present *El-Kaimôn*, on the eastern slope of the Carmel range, about 15 miles N.W of Jezreel (Zerin). Eusebius calls it Καμμωνά; Jerome, Cimana. It was not the same as Camon, Judges x. 5 (Heb. קָמוֹן), which was probably in Gilead. Wolff, after Schultz and Ritter, identifies Cyamon with the present *Kûmîeh*, on the southern slope of Little Hermon, about three miles N.W. of *Beit Ilfa.*

The Vulgate defines the locality in a different manner: "*Et venerunt per crepidinem montis usque ad apicem*, qui respicit super Dothain, a loco qui dicitur Belma, usque ad Chelmon qui est contra Esdrelon." The italicized words suggest Jerusalem, as A. Scholz remarks: cf. Isa. xxxvii. 24, and *v.* 7 below. The expression "which looks over Dothan" may be compared with Num. xxiii. 28, "The top of Peor which looketh toward Jeshimon." The LXX. there renders Heb. הַנְּשְׁקָף, "which looketh forth," by τὸ παρατεῖνον, the verb of the present verse (παρέτειναν, "they spread themselves").

4. *Now will these men lick up the face of the earth.*] A reminiscence of the words of the Moabites when alarmed at the advances of Israel in the old times of the conquest of Canaan, Num. xxii. 4. "The earth" should be "all the earth" or rather "land." The Syriac omits the metaphor: "Now, neither all the face of the land, nor the high mountains, nor the wadys, nor the heights will bear their weight." The Vulgate diverges a good deal farther from the Greek text: "Now the children of Israel, when they saw the multitude of them, threw themselves down upon the earth, putting ashes upon their heads, with one mind praying that the God of Israel would shew his mercy upon his people." Cf. ch. iv. 11. For the expression "bear their weight," see Gen. xiii. 6.

5. *upon their towers.*] Syriac ܥܠ ܣܛܝܚ̈ܗ ܕܫܘܪ̈ܗ, "on the towers of their walls," *i.e.* the walls of Betylua. This is probably original. So the Old Latin and Cod. 58. The Vulgate explains thus: "And taking their weapons of war, they sat among places which lead to the track of a narrow path between hilly places, and were on guard all that day and night."

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brought forth all his horsemen in the sight of the children of Israel which were in Bethulia,

7 And viewed the passages up to the city, and came to the fountains of their waters, and took them, and set garrisons of men of war over them, and he himself removed toward his people.

8 Then came unto him all the chief of the children of Esau, and all the governors of the people of Moab, and the captains of the sea coast, and said,

9 Let our lord now hear a word, that there be not an overthrow in thine army.

10 For this people of the children of Israel do not trust in their spears, but in the height of the mountains

For the watch-fires, cf. 1 Macc. xii. 28, 29.

7. *the city.*] So Cod. 58, and the Syriac, and probably the Heb. original. Fritzsche edits "their city." Holofernes makes a cavalry reconnaissance of the locality.

came to the fountains.] Rather, "spied out the fountains." Ἐφοδεύω = חָפַר, "searched out," Deut. i. 22. The first four verbs in this verse are plural in the Syriac.

set garrisons of men of war over them.] The word rendered "garrisons" (παρεμβολὰς) is used by Polybius and other late Greek writers in the sense of *camp*. In Acts xxi. 34 it means *barracks, quarters* of troops. It is the usual rendering of the Heb. מַחֲנֶה, *camp, encampment, army* (cf. στρατόπεδον), in the LXX. What the Greek text, therefore, states here is that Holofernes posted troops of soldiers by the fountains to guard them.

In the Vulg. we read: *Porro Holofernes dum circuit per gyrum, reperit quod fons qui influebat aquaeductum illorum a parte australi extra civitatem dirigeret; et incidi praecepit aquaeductum illorum.* The passage is important, as confirming S. Jerome's statements that he used a Chaldee text. One can hardly conceive of his going out of his way to *invent* such details as these. Neither the Greek nor the Old Latin text mentions the spring and its aqueduct. Wolff identifies it with *Ain el Judeideh*, on the ridge above *Beit Ilfa*. But cf. the Midrash (Jellinek, ii. 12–22), which relates thus: "And Olofernes in his going round the mountain found the canals (סִילוֹנֵי) of water that were outside of the city, and commanded to 'root out, and to pull down,'" &c. (Jer. i. 10). The Vulg. continues: *Erant tamen non longe a muris fontes, ex quibus furtim videbantur haurire aquam, ad refocillandum potius quam ad potandum.* Then follow three verses corresponding to *vv.* 8–16 in the Greek. The Vulgate evidently implies the existence of a spring on the hill above the town, as well as of others in the valley below (see *vv.* 7, 12, 17 of the Greek). The latter Wolff thinks are the springs issuing from the conglomerate cliffs and meeting in the little pool called Goliath's Well, below Beit Ilfa. Dr. A. Scholz thinks that the Greek text betrays the hand of an editor. He says that Jerusalem is the only instance in all Palestine of a mountain fortress getting its water by an aqueduct in the manner described; and that the aqueduct from the pools of Solomon comes *from the South.* Thus the notice of the Vulgate leads to the supposition that in the original text the place besieged by Holofernes was called Betylua, but plainly described as Jerusalem. So far as the Greek text alone is concerned, the statement of *v.* 7 may be simply a summary anticipation of what is afterwards told at length in *vv.* 8–17.

and he himself removed toward his people.] The verb is the same as in *vv.* 1, 2, viz. ἀνέζευξε, and the meaning is correctly given by the Syriac: "and he himself returned to his people," *i.e.* went back to the army, leaving the guards at the springs.

8. *the chief of the children of Esau.*] Rather, the chiefs, or princes. The "children of Esau" are the Edomites, the near kindred and bitterest foes of the Israelites, and their prominence here, where the chosen people is again threatened with destruction, depends on such passages as Ezek. xxxv. 5 *sqq.*; xxxvi. 5. Here their malicious expectations are to be utterly frustrated. Cf. also Num. xx. 14; Deut. ii. 3; xxiii. 7, 8; Obadiah's prophecy; Amos i. 11, 12; Ps. cxxxvii. 7. The designation "children of Esau" occurs in Deut. ii. 22; 1 Macc. v. 3, 65. The Syr. has "the house of Esau."

9. *an overthrow.*] Fritzsche edits θραῦσμα, lit. "a fragment," "piece;" cf. ch. xiii. 7. Codd. 19, 108, 64, &c., read θραῦσις, "a breaking," which suits better. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 20, where the word is rendered "destruction." The Heb. may have been מַגֵּפָה, "smiting," "plague," "slaughter," which is rendered θραῦσις in Num. xvi. 48–50; 2 Sam. xviii. 7. But more probably it was שֶׁבֶר; cf. the Syriac ܫܒܪ, and Jer. iv. 6, vi. 1.

10. *mountains.*] Cf. Ezek. xxxv. 12, "Thy (Edom's) blasphemies . . . against the moun-

wherein they dwell, because it is not easy to come up to the tops of their mountains.

11 Now therefore, my lord, fight not against them in battle array, and there shall not so much as one man of thy people perish.

12 Remain in thy camp, and keep all the men of thine army, and let thy servants get into their hands the fountain of water, which issueth forth of the foot of the mountain:

13 For all the inhabitants of Bethulia have their water thence; so shall thirst kill them, and they shall give up their city, and we and our people shall go up to the tops of the mountains that are near, and will camp upon them, to watch that none go out of the city.

14 So they and their wives and their children shall be consumed with famine, and before the sword come against them, they shall be overthrown in the streets where they dwell.

15 Thus shalt thou render them an evil reward; because they rebelled, and met not thy person peaceably.

16 And these words pleased Holofernes and all his servants, and he appointed to do as they had spoken.

tains of Israel;" and xxxvi. 1, 2, 4, &c. Also Ps. cxxv. 1, 2.

wherein they dwell.] Gk. *ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.* This unclassical form of speech is simply an imitation of the ordinary Heb. mode of expressing the relative: אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה יוֹשְׁבִים בָּם: Cf. ch. v. 19; x. 2; xvi. 4.

11. *fight not against them in battle array.*] Do not proceed by pitched battle, but by blockade. The Gk. is *μὴ πολέμει* (note the tense; do not "carry on the war") *πρὸς αὐτοὺς καθὼς γίνεται πόλεμος παρατάξεως,* "as a war of battle-in-line goes on." The Syriac has simply: "Do not war with them as war is (usually) made." Cf. the Old Lat. *sicut pugnatur in bello;* and Cod. 58, *καθὼς πόλεμος πολεμεῖται.* "Perish" is "fall" in the Greek and Syriac.

12. *Remain.*] *Ἀνάμεινον.* The right reading is probably *ἀλλὰ μεῖνον,* according to Cod. 58, Syriac, and Old Lat.

and keep all the men.] Literally, "keeping every man;" *i.e.* not sacrificing any. *διαφυλάσσειν* here means not *to guard, protect,* as in ch. xiii. 16, Luke iv. 10, nor *to lay up in store,* as in ch. xi. 13; but *to retain.*

foot.] Lit. *root* (Syr. "from under the roots"): cf. ch. vi. 13.

13. *have their water.*] *ὑδρεύονται;* שָׁאַב, *aquam hausit,* Gen. xxiv. 11, 19, &c.

the tops of the mountains that are near.] Gk. *τὰς πλησίον κορυφὰς τ. ὀρέων.* Cod. 58 omits *πλησίον;* and so Old Lat. But Syr. has: "And we, *who are with thee,* will go up to the *top* of the mountains which are near."

to watch.] The Gk. is *εἰς προφυλακὴν* (cf. ch. x. 11; xiv. 2), "for an outpost" or "advanced guard." Cf. Thucyd. iv. 30. Syr. "and we will watch."

14. *consumed with famine.*] Lit. shall melt away in the famine; *τακήσονται ἐν τῷ λιμῷ.* The Heb. is not likely to have been מְזֵי רָעָב, "famine-sucked," which in Deut. xxxii. 24 the LXX. renders: *τηκόμενοι λιμῷ,* and to which Fritzsche refers. It was probably נְמַס בָּרָעָב, 2 Sam. xvii. 10, or נָמַק, Lev. xxvi. 39. The latter word might well describe the emaciation of want, as it describes the falling off of flesh through plague (Zech. xiv. 12).

Syr. ܢܫܬܟܠܘܢ, "they shall be consumed with . . ."

overthrown in the streets where they dwell.] Lit. laid low in the streets of their dwelling. *καταστρώννυμι* for שָׁחַט, prop. *ἔσφαξεν,* Num. xiv. 16 (A. V. "He hath *slain* them"). It is rare in the LXX. The Syr. has *fall,* which may be original; cf. Jer. xlix. 26. It omits "of their dwelling."

15. *render them an evil reward.*] Cf. Lam. iii. 64, תָּשִׁיב לָהֶם גְּמוּל; and Luke xiv. 12, 14.

thy person.] Rather, *thy face.* The Heb. was probably וְלֹא יָצְאוּ לְפָנֶיךָ בְּשָׁלוֹם: cf. 1 Chron. xii. 17, *καὶ Δαβὶδ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῶν;* and the Syriac, "And *came not forth to meet thee* in peace." In late Hebrew לִפְנֵי is equivalent to לִקְרַאת. The reading *οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν* (Codd. 52, 69, al.) can hardly be right.

16. *these words.*] Gk. *their* words.

he appointed.] This is the reading of Codd. iii. x. 55, 58, the Syriac and Old Lat. Instead of *καθὼς* Codd. iii. x. 55, 58, al. have *καθά,* which is a closer imitation of the Heb. כַּאֲשֶׁר.

συνέταξαν (or *-εν*) is not "resolved" (Bissell), but "commanded," "ordered." In

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17 So the camp of the children of Ammon departed, and with them five thousand of the Assyrians, and they pitched in the valley, and took the waters, and the fountains of the waters of the children of Israel.

18 Then the children of Esau went up with the children of Ammon, and camped in the hill country over against Dothaim: and they sent some of them toward the south, and toward the east, over against Ekrebel, which is near unto Chusi, that is upon the brook Mochmur; and the rest of the army of the Assyrians camped in the plain, and covered the face of the whole land; and their tents and carriages were pitched to a very great multitude.

19 Then the children of Israel cried unto the Lord their God, because their heart failed, for all their

the LXX. it is common for צִוָּה, *jussit*. Fritzsche is wrong in explaining the singular as indefinite: "*Man* bestimmte."

17. *Ammon.*] Codd. 19, 108, Old Lat., and Syriac read *Moab:* cf. *vv.* 8, 13, 18; and ch. v. 2, 5; vi. 1, 5. Comparing *vv.* 17, 18, with *v.* 8, it certainly looks as if the writer confused or identified Moab and Ammon with each other. The Gk. *παρεμβολὴ υἱῶν Ἀμμὼν* does not mean, as Bissell asserts, "a detachment of the children of Ammon;" it represents the Heb. מַחֲנֵה בְנֵי עַמּוֹן, and the A. V. is correct: cf. verse 13, from which it appears that the *whole* body of the auxiliaries in question is intended.

in the valley.] Here and elsewhere the Syriac retains the Gk. term: ܐܠܘܠ, *i.e.* *αὐλῶνι*.

of the waters.] Cod. 58 and Syr. omit.

18. *Then the children of Esau went up with the children of Ammon.*] *And the sons of Esau and the sons of Ammon went up.* Codd. iii. x. 44, al. read *οἱ υἱοὶ Ἡσαῦ*. Fritzsche omits the article and renders: *some of the sons of Esau and the rest of the sons of Ammon.* But in that case we should have expected a preposition, to represent the Heb. מִבְּנֵי עֵשָׂו. The article in *οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν* refers to the previous mention of the *υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν* in *v.* 17. The Heb. would be anarthrous in both cases. Cod. 58 and the Old Lat. read: *the sons of Ammon and the sons of Esau* (*υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν καὶ υἱοὶ Ἡσαῦ*); and the latter adds: *et cum eis plebis Assyriorum duodecim millia.* So the Syr.: "and with them sons of Asshur twelve thousand."

they sent.] Syr. "he sent."

Ekrebel.] The common reading is Ἐκρεβήλ. Fr. edits Ἐγρεβηλ after Codd. ii. x. 23 al. Codd. 19, 108 have Ἀκραβήλ; the Syriac ܐܟܪܒܐ. This points to the Talmudic עקרבת, the Ἀκραβαττὰ of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 3, 5), the Acrabi of Eusebius and Jerome, now the village of *Akraba*, about ten miles S.E. of Nablûs. It gave its name in the Roman age to the district of Acrabatene in Central Palestine.

Chusi.] Fritzsche edits *χοὺς*, Chus. Codd. 19, 108 read Οὔζ. The Syriac has ܟܘܫ, Cush; the Old Lat., Chus. The form *χουσὶ* (*εἰ*) is gentilic; and Movers may be right in connecting it with כּוּתִי, "Cuthite," *i.e.* the Samaritans. The letter *tau* was pronounced like *s* by the later Jews; and the Samaritans are regularly styled by the contemptuous name of Cuthites or Cuthaeans in the Talmud. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30, for the origin of the term.

the brook.] Rather, *the watercourse*, or *torrent bed*, or *gully;* Arab. *Wâdy*, Heb. נַחַל, Gk. *χείμαρρος*. The name "Mochmur" is prob. corrupt. The Syriac reads Peor; the Old Lat., Machur; and in Cod. Germ. 15, Pochor (*i.e.* Peor; cf. *Φογὼρ* in LXX. of Num. xxiii. 28). Schultz, who identifies Chusi with the present *Jurish*, suggests the *Wâdy Makhfûriyeh*, which Wolff accepts. A. Scholz, Michmash, about 8 miles N. of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem folk joined in the pursuit of the Assyrians (xv. 5), which they could hardly have done, had the Plain of Esdraelon been the scene of the rout.

and their tents and carriages were pitched to a very great multitude.] Rather, "And their tents and baggage (*αἱ ἀπαρτίαι*: cf. ch. ii. 17; iii. 10) were pitched in (*i.e.* among, with) a great throng (*i.e.* of camp-followers), and they (*i.e.* the entire army, camp-followers and all) came to a very great multitude." Syriac: "And their tents and their baggage were encamping among them, and were very many." For *ὄχλος* of camp-followers, cf. Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 4, 26.

19. *the Lord their God.*] Fritzsche edits *κύριον Θεὸν αὐτῶν*, anarthrous, as in Heb. usage: יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, "Iahweh their God." But Codd. x. 58, 23, 44, al. have *κυρίου τὸν Θεὸν αὐτῶν*. It is well known that *κύριος* without the article, in the LXX. and N. T., represents the sacred NAME of the God of Israel, like the Syriac ܡܪܝܐ, *dominus*.

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enemies had compassed them round about, and there was no way to escape out from among them.

20 Thus all the company of Assur remained about them, both their footmen, chariots, and horsemen, four and thirty days, so that all their vessels of water failed all the inhabitants of Bethulia.

21 And the ‖ cisterns were emptied, and they had not water to drink their fill for one day; for they gave them drink by measure.

‖ Or, *pits.*

22 Therefore their young children

their heart failed.] Or, "their spirit was fainthearted," a phrase occurring in Ps. lxxvii. 3 (LXX.): Heb. תִּתְעַטֵּף רוּחִי, "my spirit fainteth" (A. V. is overwhelmed). Cf. Ecclus. iv. 9.

had compassed them.] Cf. the story in Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 7, 32, concerning the Samaritans, who, when Vespasian was marching through their territory on his way to Jerusalem, occupied the top of Gerizim to the number of 11,600 strong, and were beset by the Romans a whole day; and, though suffering terribly from heat, hunger, and thirst, for the most part preferred death to submission.

there was no way.] The Gk. is οὐκ ἦν, "it was not possible." So the Syr. ܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܦܟܐ.

20. *company.*] The rendering of συναγωγή, which is the reading of Codd. 23, 44, 64, al. Fritzsche edits παρεμβολή, "camp;" so Cod. 58; Syr. "camps."

about them.] The Gk. is κύκλῳ αὐτῶν, answering to the Heb. סְבִיבוֹתָם; Syr. ܒܡܛܠ ܗܘ.

four and thirty days.] Codd. 19, 108 read: ἡμ. δεκατέσσαρας καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. The Syriac has, "two months and four days;" with which Old Lat., Cod. Germ. 15, agrees: *diebus quatuor et mensibus duobus.* The Vulgate says: "cumque ista custodia *per dies viginti* fuisset expleta." Volkmar finds in the ordinary reading an important corroboration of his peculiar theory about the subject of the book. The 34 days of the siege, together with the 5 days of expectation (*v.* 30 *infra*), and the 2 days immediately preceding the blockade, make 41 days, or 1 month and 11 days; and the invaders had before encamped a whole month between Geba and Scythopolis, ch. iii. 10. The result is about 2½ months for the whole war, which he asserts was the duration of the Judean campaign of Lusius Quietus, which began early in June of Trajan's 19th year (cf. ch. iv. 5), and ended with Trajan's death 9–10 August of the same year. But see the Introduction.

The improbability that so great a force would lie idle round such a fortress for 39 days is evident. Moreover, as Volkmar observes, if the Assyrians were able to blockade the place so completely as to cut off all exit, this is hardly consistent with the statement of ch. iv. 6, 7, which implies that Betylua commanded the approaches to Judea. Why did not Holofernes detach a sufficient force to invest the place, and pass on with the rest of his army to Jerusalem? Obviously the story concentrates itself upon a single fortress for the sake of dramatic effect. Cf. ch. iv. 4 *sqq.*, where other points of resistance are enumerated.

all their vessels of water failed.] *I.e.* by running dry. Fritzsche remarks: "Einfacher stände *πάντα τὰ ὕδατα.*" But the point of the Greek is that the temporary supplies which they had in their vessels were exhausted by the end of the time specified. For the verb (ἐξέλιπε, cum accus. pers.) cf. Prov. iv. 21, *ὅπως μὴ ἐκλίπωσί σε αἱ πηγαὶ κ.τ.λ.* (LXX.). Cf. also ch. xi. 12 *infra.* Syriac: "And the inhabitants of Beth-pallu emptied their water-vessels" (ܘܒܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܦܠܘ ܐܦܟܘ ܢܘܕܝܗܘܢ); cf. Sirach xxi. 10, 14, where the same Syr. word is used. It properly means *pit, well, cistern,* as in ch. viii. 31. Payne Smith renders it *vas, hydria,* in the present passage.

21. *the cisterns.*] Gk. οἱ λακκοί; Heb. בּוֹרוֹת, pits in which the rain-water was collected. The Syriac has a word strictly meaning *skins* (1 Sam. i. 24); but also used of any kind of *vessel* (Luke xxii. 10). Cod. 58 adds: καὶ οἱ λακκίσκοι αὐτῶν, a word not given in Liddell and Scott. So the Old Lat. *putei et cisternae.*

their fill.] Lit. unto fulness: εἰς πλησμονήν. Heb. לְשֹׂבַע. Exod. xvi. 3.

by measure.] Cf. Ezek. iv. 16, "They shall drink water by measure" (Heb. בְּמִשׂוּרָה); that is, in miserably small quantities, in order to make them last as long as possible. The Syriac runs thus: "And their skins (or water-pots) were emptied, and there was not left unto them water to drink, and their boys and their women fainted (were stricken, ܡܬܚܠܫܝܢ, Judges iv. 21) because there was not left unto them water to drink and to be satisfied one day; because by measure they used to give them water (cf. John iii. 34). And their boys and their women and their youths fainted (or were troubled; cf. Gen. xli. 8) sore, and

were out of heart, and their women and young men fainted for thirst, and fell down in the streets of the city, and by the passages of the gates, and there was no longer any strength in them.

23 Then all the people assembled to Ozias, and to the chief of the city, both young men, and women, and children, and cried with a loud voice, and said before all the elders,

[b] Exod. 5. 21.

24 God be [b] judge between us and you: for ye have done us great injury, in that ye have not required peace of the children of Assur.

25 For now we have no helper: but God hath sold us into their hands, that we should be thrown down before them with thirst and great destruction.

26 Now therefore call them unto you, and deliver the whole city for a spoil to the people of Holofernes, and to all his army.

27 For it is better for us to be made a spoil unto them, than to die for thirst: for we will be his servants, that our souls may live, and not see the death of our infants before our eyes, nor our wives nor our children to die.

failed from thirst, and fell in the streets of the city, and in the entries of the gates, and there was not in them strength."

22. This verse consists of reminiscences of the Lamentations, *e.g.* Lam. ii. 11, "The children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city;" *ib.* 19, "Thy young children that faint for hunger in the top of every street;" *ib.* 21, "The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets; my virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword;" *ib.* iv. 4, "The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst." The Vulgate omits the verse.

were out of heart.] This is right. The verb is ἀθυμέω: cf. Col. iii. 21. Not "swooned" (Churton), for which in Lam. ii. 11 the word is ἐκλείπειν, as here, and in Luke xvi. 9 (strictly, to fail, be wanting).

by the passages of the gates.] Rather, *in the passages*, &c. The Heb. was דֶּרֶךְ, "way," cf. Prov. vii. 8; or פֶּתַח, "entry," combined with שַׁעַר, "gate," as in Judges xviii. 16, 17; or פִּתְחֵי מָבוֹא, Prov. viii. 3. Cf. the Syriac quoted above.

23. "The chief of the city" (τοὺς ἄρχοντας) are the same as "the elders," *i.e.* the Gerusia. The Vulgate omits both.

both young men.] Rather, the young men (οἱ νεανίσκοι).

24. *God be judge between us and you.*] This phrase occurs in Gen. xvi. 5, xxxi. 53.

ye have done us great injury.] Lit. ye did in us great wrong, by not speaking peaceable things with the sons of Asshur. This is pure Hebrew idiom. For the latter phrase, cf. Jer. ix. 8, "One speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth." Heb. *speaketh peace with.* The Syriac renders quite literally. Cf. also the Vulgate: *Judicet Deus inter nos et te, quoniam fecisti in nos mala, nolens loqui pacifice cum Assyriis.*

25. *For now.*] Rather, "And now."

we have no helper.] Fritzsche edits οὐκ ἔστι βοηθὸς ἡμῶν. But Cod. x. has βοηθῶν ἡμῖν; and Codd. 58, 108, ὁ βοηθῶν ἡμῖν. This is nearer the Heb. idiom: אֵין עֹזֵר לָנוּ. Cf. 2 Kings xiv. 26; Job xxx. 13.

God hath sold us into their hands.] Heb. phrase. Cf. Judges ii. 14, x. 7; 1 Sam. xii. 9. The idea is: God hath delivered us into their power, as truly as if he had sold us to them for slaves. Cf. the Syriac, "The Lord hath *delivered* us into their hands."

thrown down.] τοῦ καταστρωθῆναι. Cf. note on *v.* 14 *supra*. Syriac, "that we might be consumed before them."

26. *call them unto you.*] ἐπικαλέσασθε αὐτούς. Not "entreat them" (Gaab). The Syriac has simply, "call them;" but the Vulgate, "Et nunc congregate universos *qui in civitate sunt* ut sponte tradamus nos omnes populo Holofernis."

for a spoil.] εἰς προνομήν. Syriac, "for captives and booty."

27. *a spoil.*] διαρπαγήν. "Than to die for thirst" is omitted by Fritzsche. It is found in Codd. 52, 64, al. (ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν δίψῃ), but is merely an exegetical addition. The Syriac gives the verse thus: "Because it is good for us that we become unto them servants and handmaids, that our soul may live, that we see not with our own eyes the death of the children and the women and the sons, while their soul fainteth."

we will be his servants.] Rather, "we shall become slaves:" ἐσόμεθα εἰς δούλους imitates the Heb. נִהְיֶה לַעֲבָדִים.

that our souls may live and not see.] Lit. "and our soul will live (Gen. xii. 13; xix. 20), and we shall not see," &c.

before.] With; ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν. Heb. בְּעֵינֵינוּ.

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28 We take to witness against you the heaven and the earth, and our God and Lord of our fathers, which punisheth us according to our sins and the sins of our fathers, ‖ that he do not according as we have said this day.

‖ Or, *lest he do,* meaning Holofernes.

29 Then there was great weeping with one consent in the midst of the assembly; and they cried unto the Lord God with a loud voice.

30 Then said Ozias to them, Brethren, be of good courage, let us yet endure five days, in the which space the Lord our God may turn his mercy toward us; for he will not forsake us utterly.

31 And if these days pass, and there come no help unto us, I will do according to your word.

32 And he dispersed the people,

to die.] ἐκλειποῦσας τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, lit. fainting, pining away as to their souls (an accusative of "nearer definition"). Cf. *v.* 22 *supra;* ch. viii. 31.

28. *We take to witness against you the heaven and the earth.*] This adjuration is obviously borrowed from Deut. iv. 26, "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish."

and our God and Lord of our fathers.] So the Greek. But κύριον τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν represents no Hebrew phrase. Probably therefore, Codd. 19, 108, and the Syriac are right (τὴν γῆν καὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν τῶν πατ. ἡμ.), "And the Lord (Heb. Jehovah) the God of our fathers."

punisheth us according to our sins.] ἐκδικεῖ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰς ἁμ. For the construction cf. Hos. xii. 2. The Heb. would be "visiteth upon us our sins" or "according to our sins." The Syriac omits "and the sins of our fathers." So Cod. 58.

that he do not according as we have said this day.] Lit., "in order that he may not do according to these sayings on this day." Fritzsche thinks the subject is God, who, as it appeared, was resolved to give them up into the power of the Assyrians (*v.* 25). The suppliants say, We adjure you by all that is held sacred to prevent the results we have described (*v.* 27) by an instant surrender (*v.* 26). Another mode of understanding this somewhat obscure clause is suggested by the margin, "in order that Holofernes may not do," &c. So Churton, "that Hol. kill us not with thirst and great destruction" (*v.* 25).

Perhaps the subject is indefinite, "in order that *one* do not," *i.e.* "in order that it may not be done"—a common Hebrew construction: cf. Isa. vi. 10. In any case ἵνα appears to be used elliptically, like ὅπως, with a notion of warning, ὅρα or βλέπε being understood, as in Mark v. 23. What the Hebrew was is another question. Codd. x. 23 omit μή, and the Old Lat. has *ut faciatis;* the Vulgate, *Contestamur hodie caelum et terram . . . ut jam tradatis civitatem in manu militiae Holofernis, et sit finis noster brevis in ore gladii qui longior efficitur in ariditate sitis,* as if all they desired was that short work might be made with them. Syriac, "to do (gerundial infin.) according to these words on the day of this day." This may be original.

29. *Then there was great weeping, &c.*] Rather, "And there arose a great weeping in the midst of the assembly—of all together." Cf. Exod. xix. 8. Ὁμοθυμαδὸν is יַחְדָּו = *una.* The Syriac puts this phrase at the end of the next clause, "And they cried unto the Lord with a loud voice all of them together." The Vulgate, after its Chaldee original, adds what they said—a cento of thoughts and expressions from Ps. cvi. 6; 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; Ps. cxv. 2; Joel ii. 17. "We have sinned with our fathers, we have dealt wrongfully, we have done iniquity. Do thou because thou art good have mercy upon us, or with thine own scourge punish our iniquities, and deliver not them that confess thee over unto a people that knoweth thee not; that they say not among the nations, Where is their God? And when, tired with these clamours, and wearied with these lamentations, they had become silent, Ozias rose, bathed in tears, and said," &c., as in *v.* 30.

30. *in the which space the Lord our God may (will) turn his mercy toward us.*] That is, by sending us rain. Cf. ch. viii. 31, where Ozias begs Judith to pray for this result. Rain and the consequent fertility of the soil were especially regarded as the gift of Jehovah. Cf. Joel ii. 23, 24; Hos. ii. 21 *sqq.*; Jer. xiv. 22; 1 Kings xvii. (The Syriac has, "Perchance the Lord our God will turn," &c.)

utterly.] εἰς τέλος, a translation of the Heb. לָעַד, "for ever." Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, where the LXX. also gives καταλείψει, "forsake," for הִזְנִיחַ "cast off," "reject."

31. *and there come no help unto us.*] Cod. 58: καὶ μὴ γενήται βοήθεια ἐφ' ἡμῖν. So the Old Lat. *non fuerit super nos adjutorium;* and the Syriac, "And if five days pass, and there become not to us help." At the end Syr. has: "we will do (so Vulg.) according to these words." Cf. 1 Sam. xi. 3.

32. *he dispersed.*] The Gk. is ἐσκόρπισε. Cf. John xvi. 32: "Ye shall be scattered every

every one to their own charge; and they went unto the walls and towers of their city, and sent the women and children into their houses: and they were very low brought in the city.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The state and behaviour of Judith a widow.*
12 *She blameth the governors for their promise to yield,* 17 *and adviseth them to trust in God.* 28 *They excuse their promise.* 32 *She promiseth to do something for them.*

NOW at that time Judith heard thereof, which was the daughter of Merari, the son of Ox, the son of Joseph, the son of Oziel, the son of Elcia, the son of Ananias, the son of Gedeon, the son of Raphaim, the

man to his own." The Vulgate omits this verse.

every one to their own charge.] ἕκαστον (so Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat., and probably the Heb. Fritzsche omits) εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρεμβολήν, "each to his own quarters:" cf. Acts xxi. 34. The Syr. has: "each to his own tent, and to the wall and towers of the city," omitting αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον. So Cod. 58 and Old Lat.

and sent.] *I.e.* he sent. So Fritzsche, after Codd. ii. x. 55, 19, 108. Other MSS. have the plural (iii. 23, 44, al.). Cod. 58 has ἀπέλυσε. Syr. ‹ܫ.

they were very low brought.] Lit. they were in much affliction (ταπεινώσει). Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat., add "very much" (σφόδρα, as so often in this book).

CHAPTER VIII.

1. *Now at that time Judith heard thereof.*] Gk. καὶ ἤκουσεν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουδίθ. Cod. 58, the Syr., and Old Lat. have a quite different reading for καὶ ἤκουσεν, viz.: καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατοικοῦσα κ.τ.λ., which looks original. Syriac: "And in those days there was dwelling in the city Judith," &c. As she is here mentioned for the first time, her pedigree and personal history up to this point are given (vv. 1–8), and then at verse 9 the thread of the main story is taken up again.

"Judith," Gk. Ἰουδίθ (or Ἰουδείθ, according to Codd. iii. x. 58, al., which merely indicates that the *i* is long), is the Heb. יְהוּדִית, "Jewess," "woman of Judah," the fem. form of Jehudi, Heb. יְהוּדִי, "Jew" or "Judean." Both occur as proper names in the O. T. According to Gen. xxvi. 34, Esau married "Judith, d. of Beeri the Hittite;" and in Jer. xxxvi. 14, 21, "Jehudi" is a messenger of the princes of Judah. This being so, we need not take the name of the heroine of our book allegorically. The formal statement of her genealogy, by which the writer obviously meant to give a historical colouring to his narrative, is also against this. Cf. the similar introduction of Ezra in the book which bears his name (Ezra vii. 1–7).

Volkmar is wrong in stating "יהודית verhält sich zu יהודה wie Frau zu Mann, und kann sowohl eine Jüdin als Judäa überhaupt, sei es als Land oder Volk, bezeichnen, in weiblicher Gestalt." As we have seen, the masc. correlative of *Judith* is *Jehudi;* and the proper term for Judea, "whether as land or people," is יְהוּדָה, and not יְהוּדִית.

Merari.] See Gen. xlvi. 11. The name of the third son of Levi, and of a principal subdivision of the tribe. It does not occur as the name of any other individual in the O. T.; and the Midrash is probably right in giving *Beeri* (Gen. xxvi. 34), which was also the name of Hosea's father (Hos. i. 1). Beeri (בארי) might easily be corrupted into Merari (מררי).

Ox.] Gk. Ὠξ, which is not Heb. Perhaps the Syriac gives the right form, namely, Uz, Heb. עוּץ (*ûs*), Syr. ‹ܥܘܨ. But cf. 1 Chron. i. 42, where, as in Gen. xxxvi. 28, the LXX. write Ὠς. The Old Lat. has Ozi, and Cod. 19 Ὠζ, which may point to Heb. עֻזִּי, Uzzi (1 Chron. vii. 2).

Oziel.] The Heb. עֻזִּיאֵל, Uzziel (1 Chron. vi. 2). So Syr. Vulg. Ozias, *i.e.* Uzziah.

Eleia.] Heb. חִלְקִיָּה, Hilkiah (2 Kings xviii. 18). Codd. 44, 74, 76, al. read Ἐλκανὰ, Elkanah; so the Syr. Codd. 19, 108, Ἐζεκίου, Hezekiah. Vulgate, Elai, which might be a corruption of Elkai, *i.e.* חִלְקַי, Helkai, a contraction of Hilkiah (Neh. xii. 15).

Ananias.] The Heb. חֲנַנְיָה, Hananiah. Syr. Hanan (1 Chron. iii. 19). This and the next three members are wanting in the Vatican MS. But Codd. iii. x. 23, 52, al., Old Lat., Syriac, and Vulgate contain them.

Gedeon.] Heb. גִּדְעוֹן, Gideon (Judg. vi. 11; Heb. xi. 32). The Syr. has Gibeon (a mistake in one letter).

Raphaim.] Gk. Ραφαΐν. This is the Heb. רְפָאִים, Rephaim, which was not an individual name, but that of a race of giants: cf. Gen. xiv. 5; 2 Sam. xxi. 16, 18, 20. The Syr. gives the doubtful form *Daphnin*, which probably arose out of a confusion of Heb. *r* and *d*,

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son of Acitho, the son of Eliu, the son of Eliab, the son of Nathanael, the son of ‖ Samael, the son of Salasadai, the son of Israel.

‖ Or, *Samaliel.*

2 And Manasses was her husband, of her tribe and kindred, who died in the barley harvest.

3 For as he stood overseeing them that bound sheaves in the field, the heat came upon his head, and he fell on his bed, and died in the city of Bethulia: and they buried him with his fathers in the field between Dothaim and Balamo.

such as often occurs. The Vulgate has Raphaim. Perhaps the original name was Raphaiah or Raphael.

Acitho.] Ἀκιθών: instead of which non-Hebrew form Fritzsche edits Ἀχιτὼβ (Ahitub), from Codd. x. 19, 108, and the Syriac and Old Lat. So Vulg. Achitob (cf. 1 Chron. vi. 7).

Eliu.] Gk. Ἠλιού, אֵלִיָּה, Elijah (2 K. i. 8). The Syr. has the strangely corrupted form *Na'in.* Vulg. omits. Fritzsche adds *υἱοῦ* Χελκίου, "son of Chelcias," *i.e.* Hilkiah (the same name often recurs in genealogies), which is wanting in Codd. iii. 64, 243, 249, Co. Ald. The Syriac has Malchiah; Old Lat. and Vulg., Melchiæ; and Cod. 58, Μελχία. This is perhaps right = Malchijah, 1 Chron. ix. 12; Heb. מַלְכִּיָּה.

Eliab.] See 1 Sam. xvi. 6. Cod. x. Ἐνὰβ; Old Lat. Enar; Vulg. Enan; Syr. Gîr (!).

Nathanael.] Heb. נְתַנְאֵל. A.V. Nethaneel (1 Chron. ii. 14; John i. 46). Syr. Nethaniah, Vulg. Nathaniae; an equivalent name (2 Kings xxv. 23).

Samael.] Sammael, סַמָּאֵל, is the Rabbinical designation of the angel of death. Fritzsche edits Σαλαμιὴλ, *i.e.* שְׁלֶמִיאֵל, Shelumiel (Num. i. 6; ii. 12). The Syriac has Samuel; the Vulg. and Old Lat. Salathiel. Cod. x. gives Σαμαμιὴλ; Codd. 248, Co., Σαμαλιήλ.

Salasadai.] This should be Sarasadai, or more accurately, Σουρεισαδδαΐ (Cod. 108), *i.e.* Zurishaddai, Heb. צוּרִישַׁדַּי. Shelumiel, son of Zurishaddai, was tribal prince of Simeon, Num. i. 6; ii. 12. Judith was of the tribe of Simeon, ch. ix. 2. The Old Lat., Vulg., and Syriac omit this name. The Vulg. has, "the son of Simeon, son of Reuben;" the Syr. more correctly, "the son of Simeon, son of Israel." Bethulia may have been occupied by a Simeonite clan. Cf. the migrations of that tribe, 1 Chron. iv. 39 *seq.*

In the whole list Ewald thinks there must have originally been, as usual, twenty names: different MSS. omit single members of the lengthy list. But there are twenty-four names from Levi to Jehozadak in 1 Chron. vi. 1–14. Cf. also the other lists in that chapter.

2. *And Manasses, &c.*] Rather, "And her husband Manasses was of her tribe and of her clan, and he died in the days of barley-harvest." Volkmar observes that Manasses was a favourite name in the age of the Apocrypha. Cf. Tobit xiv. 10, and the Prayer of Manasses. He sees in Judith's husband the symbol of the virile strength of Judea, which was stricken down in the fatal time of the first great outbreak against Rome, which began in harvest (Joseph. 'B. J.' ii. 14. 3). The word *πατριά*, A.V. "kindred," is the rendering of the Heb. בֵּית אָב or מִשְׁפָּחָה, which are synonymous terms denoting father-house or clan, *i.e.* a collection of kindred families. Codd. 19, 108, 71, and the Syriac omit *καὶ τῆς πατριᾶς αὐτῆς.* The Vulg. has only: "And her husband was Manasses, who died," &c. It was the rule for a woman to marry within her own tribe and clan. Cf. Tobit i. 9. The object was to prevent the alienation of land from one tribe to another. Cf. Num. xxxvi.

3. *For as he stood.*] That which is told of Manasses appears to be a reminiscence of the story of the death of the Shunammitish woman's son, 2 Kings iv. 18 *sqq.* Lit. the Gk. says: "For he stood over him that was binding the sheaf." The singular is used in a collective sense, as often in Hebrew. Codd. iii. x. 19, 64, al. correct it into the plural. Cf. the Syriac, "for he was standing over the reapers in the field;" and the Vulgate, *Instabat enim super alligantes manipulos in campo.*

the heat.] Gk. *καὶ ὁ καύσων*, "and the summer heat." Cf. Matt. xx. 12, where the labourers in the vineyard speak of "the burden and *heat* of the day." Isa. xlix. 10: "neither shall the heat (Heb. שָׁרָב, *aestus*) nor the sun smite them." In the LXX. the word is also used of the hot blast of the sirocco, in full, *ἄνεμος καύσων*: cf. Jer. xviii. 17; Jon. iv. 9; where the Heb. is קָדִים, "the east wind." Fritzsche and Bissell assume this meaning here; but the former is more likely. A sunstroke is meant.

and he fell on his bed.] The Vulg. and Cod. x. omit this clause. But Syr. has it. It hardly means "took to his bed" (Bissell); but rather suggests that his strength gave way, when he had staggered to his bed.

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4 So Judith was a widow in her house three years and four months.

5 And she made her a tent upon the top of her house, and put on sackcloth upon her loins, and ware her widow's apparel.

6 And she fasted all the days of her widowhood, save the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel.

7 She was also of a goodly countenance, and very beautiful to behold:

in the city of Bethulia.] Gk. "in Betylua his city." So Syr. and Vulg.

they buried him with his fathers.] Cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 28; xxvi. 23.

Balamo.] Gk. Balamōn. So Codd ii. iii. x. 23, 55, al. Vulgo, Βελαμών. Cf. ch. iv. 4, Belmen. Gesenius (Thesaur. *s. v.* pag. 225*b*) connects Balamon with Baal-hamon, where Solomon had a vineyard (Cant. viii. 11). Cf. the Syriac, ܒܥܠܚܡܘܢ, *Be'elmûn*.—Wolff says Balamo or Belmen is *Ilâmeh*, three miles S.W. of *Zer'in*.

4. *four months.*] The Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) and Vulg. say *six*. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 18; Dan. xii. 7; Rev. xii. 14. Volkmar remarks that the half of the sacred number *seven* is thus "the usual time assigned for the duration of seeming God-abandonment." The time is reckoned from the death of her husband to the Assyrian siege of Betylua.

5. *And she made her a tent upon the top of her house.*] That is, when she became a widow. A tent or chamber on the housetop was the most private part of the dwelling. Such a place of retirement was built for Elisha by the Shunammite, cf. 2 Kings iv. 10 (Heb.). It was on the housetop that "Samuel communed with Saul, 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26. A corner of a housetop represents solitude or concealment, in Prov. xxi. 9. It was a place for mourning, Isa. xxii. 1, Jer. xlviii. 38, cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 33; also for prayer, Acts x. 9, Ps. cii. 7." (Churton.) Obviously Judith made her tent for the religious exercises described immediately. The Heb. word was perhaps סֻכָּה, "a booth;" as in Deut. xvi. 13, Neh. viii. 16 (LXX. σκηνή). Cf. the Syr. ܣܟܠܐ, *umbraculum, tabernaculum:* Isa. i. 8; Lev. xxiii. 34.

ware her widow's apparel.] Lit. the garments of her widowhood were upon her. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 14, בִּגְדֵי אַלְמְנוּתָהּ, "the garments of her widowhood." The phrase recurs chh. x. 3, xvi. 8.

The Vulgate again varies from the other texts: "And in the upper part of her house she made her a secret bedchamber, in which she tarried shut up with her maids."

6. *she fasted all the days of her widowhood.*] Like the Muhammadans, the Jews fasted from morning till evening, and only partook of food after sundown. Judith is represented as prolonging her mourning for her husband beyond the usual month. Cf. Luke ii. 37; 1 Tim. v. 5.

the eves of the sabbaths.] The word is προσάββατον, "the *fore-sabbath*," *i.e.* the evening of the day before the Sabbath, also called παρασκευή, "preparation:" cf. Mark xv. 42. At sunset on Friday the Sabbath began. Ps. xcii. is inscribed in the LXX.: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου. The "eves of the new moons" is a similar expression: προνουμηνιόν. Both are omitted in Cod. 58, the Syriac, and Vulgate.

Fasting on festivals was naturally forbidden. Judith is represented as observing the legal prescription with more than usual strictness, in that she interrupted her fast not only on festivals, but also on their eves. "Cautio diligentior addiderat προεόρτια et προσάββατα, nimirum *in sepimentum legis*, ne quid pridiani luctus in animo restaret diebus gaudio dicatis" (Grotius).

Instead of χωρὶς προσαββ. the Old Lat. has *praeter caenam puram*. It omits καὶ προνουμηνιῶν, except in Cod. Germ. 15.

"The feasts"—ἑορταὶ—are the other fixed festivals; "the solemn days," or rather "rejoicings," "festivities"—χαρμοσυναὶ—are extraordinary occasions of gladness. The Heb. was probably שִׂמְחָה. Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 6; Jer. xxxiii. 11. The Syriac is ܥܘܢܝ, Num. x. 10. Cod. 58 adds καὶ μνημοσύνων, the Syr. ܘܠܙܟܪܢ, the Old Lat. *et memoriae*, i.e. "and days of remembrance," "commemorations."

7. *of a goodly countenance, and very beautiful to behold.*] The same Greek occurs in Gen. xxix. 17, for יְפַת תֹּאַר וְיִפַת מַרְאֶה, "fair of form and fair of look." Esther was a prototype of Judith, in that she was beautiful (Esth. ii. 7) and pious (Esth. iv. 16), and the saviour of her people. Volkmar quotes the Sibylline verses (Sib. v. 259 ff.) to prove that Judith is Judea, and remarks, "Die liebliche Judäa wird gerade in dieser Zeit (*i.e.* Trajan's) eine Gestalt die vorschwebt und die man anredet." But this might equally well be alleged of the times of the Babylonian Exile. In general, his mode of identifying Judith with Judea (pp. 245 *sqq.*) is forced and fanciful. Cod. 58 adds after ὄψει, "*and wise in heart and good in understanding*,

and her husband Manasses had left her gold, and silver, and menservants, and maidservants, and cattle, and lands; ‖ and she remained upon them.

‖ Or, *and she kept them.*

8 And there was none that gave her an ill word; for she feared God greatly.

9 Now when she heard the evil words of the people against the governor, that they fainted for lack of water; for Judith had heard [a] all the words that Ozias had spoken unto them, and that he had sworn to deliver the city unto the Assyrians after five days;

[a] ch. 7. 30, 31.

10 Then she sent her waiting-woman, that had the government of all things that she had, to call Ozias and Chabris and Charmis, the ancients of the city.

11 And they came unto her, and

and she was very rich because her husband," &c. Similarly the Syriac and Old Lat.

Manasses.] After the words *vir ejus* the Old Lat. interpolates a pedigree which is obviously a duplicate of that of Judith: *filius Joseph, filii Achitob, fil. Melchis, fil. Elia* (or Heliab), *fil. Nathanahel, fil. Syrrasadac* (or Sarisada or Surisoda), *fil. Symeon, fil. Israel.*

had left.] Gk. *ὑπελείπετο*, "was leaving;" Vulgr., *reliquerat;* Syr., "left."

For what follows, see Gen. xiii. 2; xxiv. 35; 2 Kings v. 26. "Men-servants" is *παῖδας*. Cf. also Isa. lii. 13, *ὁ παῖς μου*, "my servant;" Job i. 8.

and she remained upon them.] Gk. *καὶ ἔμενεν* (Codd. iii. x. 19, 108, al. *ἔμεινεν*) *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (19, 108, *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*). The meaning perhaps is, She maintained the property; she was capable, as well as opulent. Syriac, "and she stood (*i.e.* continued) in them." Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 50, "Menelaus remained in authority," *ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς* (or *τῇ ἀρχῇ*, iii. 44, al.). The Heb. may have been וַתָּקֶם עֲלֵיהֶם, "and she was established over them," *i.e.* maintained her hold upon them. Cf. the Syriac and 2 Chron. xxi. 4. Churton explains: "As a virtuous and exemplary matron, she was 'a keeper at home' (Titus ii. 5) . . . dwelling amongst her own people, and caring for them (2 Kings iv. 13)." This would represent the Heb. וַתֵּשֶׁב בָּם, "and she dwelt in them." Vulg. omits.

8. *gave her an ill word.*] The Heb. phrase occurs Num. xiv. 36, A. V., "to bring slander upon . . . ," which renders the Gk. rather than the Heb.

for she feared God greatly.] In some rare cases, perhaps, piety is so evidently genuine as to obviate all suspicion and to disarm slander. But our Lord has said, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake" (Matt. v. 11). Judith is represented as "fearing God" in the manner generally approved in her own and succeeding ages of Judaism. Grotius cites Ausonius:

"'Quae dos matronae pulcerrima?' 'Vita pudica.'
'Quae casta est?' 'De qua mentiri fama veretur.'"

Cf. also Plaut. 'Trinumm.' I. ii. 41 *sqq.*

9. *Now when she heard.*] Rather, "And she heard . . . because they fainted. And Judith heard . . . Ozias spake, how he sware," &c.

For "they fainted," Syr. has "their soul was grieved;" and after "Ozias spake unto them," it continues, "that he hearkened unto them, and sware unto them that after five days they were going to deliver the city to the sons of Asshur." So Cod. 58, *ὡς ἐνωτήσατο* (Gen. iv. 22) *καὶ ὤμοσεν, κ.τ.λ. παρα δώσειν τ. πόλιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἀσσούρ.*

10. *her waiting-woman.*] The Gk. is *τὴν ἅβραν αὐτῆς*, perhaps "her pretty one," "her favourite," the Lat. *delicata.* The word occurs in fragments of Menander. It is commonly connected with *ἁβρὸς*, "pretty," "soft," "dainty," &c. But some old grammarians call the word foreign, and write it *ἄβρα* (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*). This rather suggests the Assyrian *abru*, Aramean חַבְרָא, Heb. חָבֵר, *sodalis, socius.* The Syriac version here has adapted *παραστάτις*, "helper." Cf. Targ. Judg. v. 29. LXX. for Heb. נַעֲרָה, *ἡ παῖς, ancilla:* Gen. xxiv. 61; Exod. ii. 5; Esth. ii. 9; iv. 4, 16. In Exod. ii. 5 for אָמָה, *ancilla.*

that had the government of all things that she had.] Or, who was set over all her belongings. Cf. Eliezer, the steward of Abram (Gen. xv. 2; xxiv. 2); and Joseph as overseer of the house of Potiphar (Gen. xxxix. 4).

For *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς*, cf. Gen. xii. 5: 1 Chron. xxviii. 1; Heb. רְכוּשׁ, "substance." Cod. 58 reads, *ἐπὶ τοῖς ταμείοις αὐτῆς*, "over her storehouses." Cf. the Syriac ܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ.

Ozias.] Codd. ii. iii. x. 19, al. omit *Ὀζίαν καὶ*. So also Syr., Vet. Lat. (cod. Corb.), and Vulg. But Ozias was the chief "governor" of the city (ch. vi. 15), and he answers Judith, *v.* 28

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she said unto them, Hear me now, O ye governors of the inhabitants of Bethulia: for your words that ye have spoken before the people this day are not right, touching this oath which ye made and pronounced between God and you, and have promised to deliver the city to our enemies, unless within these days the Lord turn to help you.

12 And now who are ye that have tempted God this day, and stand instead of God among the children of men?

13 And now try the Lord Almighty, but ye shall never know anything.

14 [b]For ye cannot find the depth of the heart of man, neither can ye perceive the things that he thinketh: then how can ye search out God, that hath made all these things, and [b] 1 Cor. 2. 11.

infra. The Midrash (Jellinek, ii. 12 *sqq*.) says: "Judith the widow, the daughter of Beeri, when she heard that Uzziah had promised to surrender the city after five days, sent to call the priests Chabri and Carmi."

11. *O ye governors of the inhabitants of Bethulia.*] Cod. 58, the Syr., and Vet. Lat. have "*and* the inhabitants," &c., but the interview was a private one. Instead of ἐν βετυλουα, Cod. 58 has την βατυλωαν.

your words . . . are not right.] εὐθῆς, Hellenistic for εὐθύς. See Thom. Magist. p. 383.

touching this oath.] Lit. "And ye ratified the oath which ye spake between God and you, and said that ye would surrender the city," &c. Codd. iii. 19, 23, al. read ὅρκον τοῦτον ὃν κ.τ.λ. "this oath," as A.V. The Syr. has: "And ye ratified the oaths which *they* sware between you and God." "Ratified" or "established" in the Gk. is ἐστήσατε = Heb. הֲקִימֹ: cf. the Syr. ܐܩܝܡܬܘܢ. Cf. Gen. vi. 18; ix. 9, 11.

The oath of Ozias is not mentioned in ch. vii. 31, but is referred to again in ch. viii. 30.

the Lord turn to help you.] Cod. 58 reads: "The Lord our God turn for help upon us." Similarly Syr. and Old Lat. Codd. ii. iii. x. 249, Ald. have "you," as A.V.

12. *who are ye.*] In comparison with God. They had tempted Him, by fixing a time within which He must display His power; thus implying that even He could not save beyond that limit. Prescribing conditions to the Almighty, making presumptuous proof of His power and goodness, is exactly what is meant by the phrase "tempting God." Cf. Matt. iv. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 41 *sqq*.

stand instead of God.] Rather, "set yourselves above God." Gk. ἵστασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Θεοῦ. To prescribe conditions to God is to claim a certain superiority to Him.

The Old Lat. has: *Et adsistitis pro Deo in medio filiorum hominum;* the Syriac, "And ye have become gods among the sons of men." Cod. 58 and the Vulg. omit. "The children of men," Heb. בְּנֵי אָדָם, implies the impotence of the elders before God. They were only mortal men, like those around them. Cf. Isa. xxxi. 3: "Now the Egyptians are men, and not God."

13. *And now try the Lord Almighty.*] Rather, "And now it is the Lord Almighty that ye are proving." ἐξετάζω for בָּחַן, *exploravit*, Ps. vii. 9. In Mal. iii. 15 the same Heb. word means "to tempt God."

but ye shall never know anything.] Lit. "and nothing will ye find out ever." Their demand of help within five days was a futile attempt to force the hand of the Almighty, and to compel Him to disclose His inscrutable purpose. Cod. 58: "And it is the mind (νοῦν for νῦν) of the Lord Almighty that ye are tempting, and none shall know it ever." So the Syriac and Old Latin.

"The Lord Almighty," Κύριον παντοκράτορα, represents Heb. יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, Jehovah Sabaoth, "The Lord of hosts," as in 2 Sam. vii. 8, 26, 27; and many other places.

14. *ye cannot find.*] Gk. εὑρήσετε, answering to the Heb. impf. (fut.), which is sometimes potential. See Driver's 'Heb. Tenses,' ch. iii. §§ 23, 37. Cod. 58, εὑρεθήσεται: so Syr. and Old Lat.

neither can ye perceive the things that he thinketh.] Gk. καὶ λόγους τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ οὐ διαλήψεσθε, "and thoughts of his understanding ye cannot seize (or grasp)." For λόγους Cod. 58 has διαλογισμούς, which is probably right, as representing Heb. מַחֲשֶׁבוֹת: cf. Ps. lvi. 5. The Syriac has the same word. "If you cannot read men's thoughts, much less can you hope to penetrate the secret counsels of the Most High." Cf. Jer. xvii. 9; Rom. xi. 33, 34; 1 Cor. ii. 11, 16; Prov. xxv. 3; Ps. xxxvi. 6; Job xi. 7, 8. On the ground of 1 Cor. *l. c.* Bleek tried to shew that Judith is quoted in the N. T.

The phrase "the words of his thought" may be compared with the Heb. אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ, "he saith in his heart," *i.e.* he thinketh.

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know his mind, or comprehend his purpose? Nay, my brethren, provoke not the Lord our God to anger.

15 For if he will not help us within these five days, he hath power to defend us when he will, even every day, or to destroy us before our enemies.

16 Do not bind the counsels of the Lord our God: for God is not as man, that he may be threatened; neither is he as the son of man, that he should be wavering.

17 Therefore let us wait for salvation of him, and call upon him to help us, and he will hear our voice, if it please him.

18 For there arose none in our age, neither is there any now in these

[c] 1 Cor. 2. 16.

‖ Or, *engage.*

[d] Numb. 23. 19.

Nay, my brethren.] Gk. *μηδαμῶς ἀδελφοί.* Fritzsche says this is the answer to the preceding question. But then why not *οὐδαμῶς*? Surely the sense is rightly given by the A.V.: "By no means (do so), brethren." Or the *μηδαμῶς* may be regarded as simply strengthening the *μή* which follows: "In no wise, brethren, provoke ye," &c. Cf. 'Oed. Col.' 278. The Syriac has only one negative particle here.

15. More exactly: "Because if He be not willing to help us in the five days, He hath the power to shelter in what days he chooseth, or also to destroy us before the face of our enemies." Cod. 58 omits the first clause, *ὅτι ἐὰν . . . βοηθῆσαι ἡμῖν*, but the Syriac has it. "To shelter"—*σκεπάσαι*—probably represents the Heb. גָּנַן (2 Kings xix. 34; xx. 6); at least that root is used in the Syriac here, which concludes the verse thus: "*He* is able, when he willeth, to protect us, and to break our enemies before us." The emphatic *He* of the second clause—Gk. *αὐτὸς*—represents the Heb. הוּא. So Syr.

16. *Do not bind.*] Gk. *ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐνεχυράζετε.* "But, for your part, take not in pledge (or distrain not) the counsels," &c. Cf. Dem. 762. 4. Fritzsche says the word means *auspfänden*, "to distrain," and is used figuratively in the sense of "to force." The Old Lat. renders: *nolite ignorare* (a scribe's error for *pignorare*, "to pledge, pawn"), or *nolite praepignerare.* The Syriac: "Do not pledge the purpose of the Lord God" (ܠܐ ܬܫܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܢ).

From the middle of *v.* 12 to this point the Vulgate varies thus: "And who are ye who are tempting the Lord? Your words are not such as to provoke pity, but rather to rouse anger and kindle indignation. You have fixed a time for the Lord's compassion, and according to your own will you have appointed Him a day. But because the Lord is patient, let us repent in this very matter, and crave His pardon with floods of tears."

God is not as man, &c.] In this sentence it is evident that the translator had in his mind the inaccurate LXX. rendering of Num. xxiii. 19. The Heb. there, rightly rendered by A.V., "God is not a man that he should lie, neither the (a) son of man that he should repent," is thus misconstrued in the LXX.: *οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς διαρτηθῆναι, οὐδ' ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀπειληθῆναι.* Our present passage simply transposes the two verbs. The Syriac has: "Because He is not as a man that He should be revealed (ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܬܓܠܐ), nor as a son of man that He should be minished" (or made inferior: ܘܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܬܙܥܪ), Exod. v. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 13. *Διαρτηθῆναι* means "to be suspended," both lit. and metaph. Here the sense is rightly given by A.V.: that He should waver, or hesitate in His purpose, owing to your presumption: *ut animo pendeat.*

The common reading *διαιτηθῆναι* was explained by Grotius, Wahl, and others: "ut in jus vocetur = ut ad judicium subeundum cogatur." The verb *διαιτᾶν* has the secondary sense, "to be umpire," and "to determine or decide a matter;" but the idea of bringing God before a tribunal to answer for His failure to help within the specified time does not suit the context. Schleusner, followed by De Wette, renders, "that He should be prevailed upon by prayer." But a verb *διαιτέω* is unknown; and the Old. Lat. *extollitur*, and S. Cyprian's quotation of Num. xxiii. 19, which has *suspenditur* (Cypr. 'Testim. contr. Jud.' ii. 20), support the reading *διαρτηθῆναι*, which is that of Codd. 19, 23, 44, 55, al., and is established by the LXX. of Num. *l. c.* Vulg.: "For not as a man will God threaten, nor like a son of man will He be inflamed unto wrath." It continues thus: "And therefore let us humble our souls unto Him, and, being disposed in a humble spirit, serving Him, Let us say weeping unto the Lord that, according to His own will, He should shew His mercy upon us: that, as our heart is troubled at their arrogancy, so also we may boast ourselves in our humility."

17. *salvation of him.*] *τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν.* Heb. prob. יְשׁוּעָתוֹ, "his salvation." So Syr.

voice.] Some MSS. have *δεήσεως*, "prayer," as in ch. ix. 12. Syr., "our voice."

18. *For there arose none in our age.*] Or, "For there hath not arisen in our genera-

days, neither tribe, nor family, nor ‖people, nor city, among us, which worship gods made with hands, [e]as hath been aforetime.

19 For the which cause our fathers were given to the sword, and for a spoil, and had a great fall before our enemies.

20 But we know none other god, therefore we trust that he will not despise us, nor any of our nation.

21 For if we be taken so, all Judea

‖ Or, *town.*

[e] Judg. 2. 11. & 4. 1. & 6. 1.

tions." The aorist here represents a Hebrew perfect, and may well be rendered accordingly. "Our generations," *i.e.* according to Heb. idiom, "our contemporaries;" cf. Gen. vi. 9.

What follows may be translated, "Neither is there at the present day either a tribe or a fatherhouse, or a clan or a city of us, that worship gods made with hands, as it happened in the former days."

The "fatherhouse" (Gk. *πατριὰ*, Heb. בֵּית אָב) and the "clan" (Gk. *δῆμος*, Heb. מִשְׁפָּחָה) represent subdivisions of the tribe. For the latter, cf. Num. i. 20, 22, 24, *et passim.* Fritzsche, therefore, is wrong in making *δῆμος* equivalent to the German *Gau*, Lat. *pagus*, as opposed to *πόλις*, "city." In Heb. "fatherhouse" and "clan" are synonyms. The Syr. ܓܢܣܐ (*gens*) and the Old Lat. *populus* render the Gk. *δῆμος*, not the Heb. מִשְׁפָּחָה. For "the former days," cf. Num. vi. 12; Heb. x. 32.

The statements made in this and the two following verses harmonize with those of chh. iv. 3; v. 18, 19, which fix the plot of the story in the time subsequent to the Return from the Babylonish Exile. The restored community never relapsed into the old idolatries of the kingly period.

gods made with hands.] The LXX. of Isaiah renders the Heb. אֱלִילִים, "idols," by *τὰ χειροποτήτα*, "the things made with hands," in Isa. ii. 18, x. 11, xix. 1, and elsewhere. That may have been the term here. But cf. also Ps. cxv. 4, "Their idols are silver and gold, *a work of human hands;*" Isa. ii. 8; Mic. v. 13.

19. *For the which cause.*] Gk. *ὧν χάριν*: cf. *τοῦ χάριν*, "for what reason?" (Aristoph. 'Plut.' 53), and *ἀνθ' ὧν*, "wherefore = in return for which proceedings" (Aesch. 'Prom.' 31). The Vulg. well: *Pro quo scelere dati sunt in gladium.* The Heb. was prob. עַל־כֵּן or לָכֵן, "therefore."

had a great fall.] In the Gk. a cognate accusative, *ἔπεσον πτῶμα μέγα.* So the Syriac, ܢܦܠܘ ܢܦܠܬ ܪܒܬܐ, Heb. וַיִּפְּלוּ מַפֶּלֶת גְּדוֹלָה, "And they fell a great fall." Like the Gk. *πτῶμα*, the Heb. noun also signifies "corpse" (Judg. xiv. 8); but that meaning does not suit here.

our enemies.] "*Their* enemies," the reading of Cod. 44, al., and Syriac, Old Lat., and Vulg., is more natural, though Fritzsche thinks otherwise.

The allusion is to the final overthrow of the kingdom of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar—a catastrophe to which all the prophets had pointed as the sure result of perpetually renewed apostasy (Isa. vi. 11, 12).

20. Cod. 58 omits verses 18, 19, and begins this one with *ἕτερον γὰρ Θεὸν οὐκ ἔγνωμεν, κ.τ.λ.*

But we know.] The *we* is emphatic, being opposed to "our fathers." Gk. *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔγνωμεν* (Codd. iii., x., 52, 55, 58, al.), or *ἐγνώκαμεν* (Codd. 23, 44, al.). The common text has *ἐπέγνωμεν.* The Heb. וַאֲנַחְנוּ לֹא יָדַעְנוּ might be rendered by either of the verbs; but *ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . οὐκ ἴσμεν* would be best. Cf. for the phrase, Deut. xxix. 26, xxxii. 17; Isa. xxvi. 13. "To know" in this sense is to *recognize* and *regard.* "Beside him" (*πλὴν αὐτοῦ*, Vulg. *praeter ipsum*) should be added at the end of the clause. Cf. Isa. xliv. 8.

despise us.] Or, "overlook, disregard us:" *ὑπερόψεται ἡμᾶς.*

nor any of our nation.] The Gk. is *οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν*, which Fritzsche explains, like the A.V., by an elliptic *τινά*, comparing Isa. lviii. 7, "And that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh," which the LXX. renders: *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψει*, "and thou shalt not overlook one of the kindred of thy seed." Cod. 58 supplies more than this: *οὐδ' ἀποστήσει τὸ σωτήριον ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*, "nor *remove his saving mercy* from our nation." So the Old Lat.: *nec auferet salvationem et misericordiam suam a nobis et a genere nostro.* Codd. 19, 108 get rid of the difficulty by *οὐδὲ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν.* Fritzsche says, "Die W. *οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν* fehlen im Syr." But that version gives the verse thus: "But *we* know not a God besides Him, that He should turn away His face *from our people:*" ܠܐ ܢܛܐ.

21. *For if we be taken so.*] The *οὕτως* probably belongs rather to the following verb. Translate, "For when we are taken (lit. *in* or *through* our being taken—a common Heb.

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shall lie waste, and our sanctuary shall be spoiled; and he will require the profanation thereof at our mouth.

‖ Or, *fear.* 22 And the ‖ slaughter of our brethren, and the captivity of the country, and the desolation of our inheritance, will he turn upon our heads among the Gentiles, whereso-ever we shall be in bondage; and we shall be an offence and a reproach to all them that possess us.

23 For our servitude shall not be directed to favour: but the Lord our God shall turn it to dishonour.

24 Now therefore, O brethren, let us shew an example to our brethren,

construction), all Judea will in that case be brought low." The Heb. may have been וְנָמוֹט, "then will totter." This verb is rendered κλιθήσεται in Ps. civ. 5: cf. Ps. xlvi. 8: also Aesch. 'Pers.' 929:—

> Ἀσία δὲ χθὼν, βασιλεῦ γαίας,
> αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

Or we might compare the phrases κλίνειν πρὸς φυγήν, "to turn to flight," like the Lat. *inclinatur acies* (Polyb. i. 27. 8); and the Homeric Τρῶας δ' ἔκλιναν Δαναοί (Il. v. 37).

κλιθήσεται is the reading of Codd. 19, 23, 44, 64, al., in some of which it is spelt κληθήσεται, owing to Itacism. The common reading καθήσεται, "will sit," is explained by Gaab, Schleusner, and De Wette, *se subjiciet*, i.e. *quieta sedebit*. But the context requires something stronger. Fritzsche suggests καυθήσεται, "shall be consumed," but considers κλιθήσεται original. The Syriac gives the general sense very well: "Because, if we be delivered up, all Judah will be delivered up also." So Cod. 58: ἐν γὰρ τῷ ληφθῆναι ἡμᾶς ληφθήσεται πᾶσα κ.τ.λ.; and Old Lat. Judith argues that there is ground of hope in the fact that the fall of Betylua would involve that of the whole country. God would not permit *that*.

and he will require the profanation thereof at our mouth.] Cod. 58 omits this and all that follows to the end of *v.* 25. The meaning is, God will make us answerable for the desecration of His sanctuary. "He will seek from our mouth the profanation thereof;" *i.e.* He will demand of us the reason of it.

Instead of "our mouth"—στόματος—Codd. ii. iii. x. 55, 19, 108 have αἵματος, and so the Syriac: ܕܡܐ ... ܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܥܠ ܕܡܐ, "The Lord will exact their pollution from our blood;" that is, He will take vengeance on us for it. So Old Lat. Fritzsche calls this "a wholly abortive correction," due to the fact that στόματος was not understood; and he points out that it is not in accordance with Hebrew idiom: cf. Gen. ix. 5; Ezek. iii. 18. The phrase was "to seek (or exact) the blood of a man from the hand of a man." Wahl therefore can hardly be right in explaining ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν by reference to the oath of Ozias to surrender the city after five days' delay (*v.* 11; ch. vii. 31). The sense is not "*Judea* will require" (Churton); the subject is the same as in *v.* 22, "will he turn:" cf. *v.* 23, "the Lord our God shall turn."

22. *will he turn upon our heads.*] The phrase and construction are the same as in Judges ix. 57: "And all the evil of the men of Shechem did God render [return, requite] upon their heads [upon their own head]." Cf. 1 Kings ii. 33; 1 Sam. xxv. 39. The sense, therefore, is: God will requite us as the guilty authors of our country's ruin with extreme sufferings in the land of our captivity.

we shall be an offence.] ἐσόμεθα εἰς πρόσκομμα: cf. Isa. viii. 14, "And he shall be for a stone of stumbling"—Heb. אֶבֶן נֶגֶף. In Exod. xxiii. 33 πρόσκομμα represents the Heb. מוֹקֵשׁ, *snare*. The same idea, that of *obstacle* or *hindrance*, underlies both Hebrew expressions, as is evident from Isa. viii. 14, where both occur. Cf. Ecclus. xvii. 19; xxxi. 7, 35. We shall become objects of offence, a butt of scorn and abuse to our enslavers.

to all them that possess us.] Rather, "before them that get possession of us." The word is κτωμένων, not κεκτημένων. Syr. "before all our neighbours"—probably a corruption of "our captors"—ܩܛܝܢ for ܩܢܝܢ.

23. *directed to favour.*] As in the case of the captive Jehoiachin (2 Kings xxv. 27 *sqq.*), and of the whole nation under Cyrus and Artaxerxes (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 *seq.*; Ezra and Neh. *passim*). Cf. also the stories of Joseph, Daniel, and Esther. "He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives," Ps. cvi. 46.

turn it to dishonour.] εἰς ἀτιμίαν θήσει αὐτήν. Hos. iv. 7; Isa. xxii. 18 (where the Greek is wrong). The verse well illustrates the thought that God's providence extends to all conditions of life—the most depressed as well as the most exalted. Exile and slavery do not terminate His influence for good or for evil. He can and does overrule even the seemingly irresponsible and arbitrary will of the foreign conqueror.

24. *Now therefore.*] And now (in conclusion).

because their hearts depend upon us, and the sanctuary, and the house, and the altar, rest upon us.

25 Moreover let us give thanks to the Lord our God, which trieth us, even as he did our fathers.

26 Remember what things he did to [f] Abraham, and how he tried Isaac, and what happened to [g] Jacob in Mesopotamia of Syria, when he kept the sheep of Laban his mother's brother.

27 For he hath not tried us in the fire, as he did them, for the examination of their hearts, neither hath he taken vengeance on us: but the Lord

[f] Gen. 22. 1.

[g] Gen. 28 7.

let us shew an example to our brethren, because, &c.] Fritzsche would translate: "Let us prove to our brethren that their life depends . . . Let us demonstrate it by our deeds—namely, by saving them and the sanctuary." But the A.V. seems to give a better sense. The verb ἐπιδείκνυμαι may mean *to display one's powers* or *qualities*—e.g. σοφίαν, ἀρετήν (cf. Xen. 'Anab.' i. 9. 16)—and may be used absolutely (cf. Plat. 'Phaedo,' 235 B). For ἐξ ἡμῶν κρέμαται (ἐκκρέμ.: Codd. 19, 108, al.) ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν, cf. Gen. xliv. 30, where the Heb. נַפְשׁוֹ קְשׁוּרָה בְּנַפְשׁוֹ, "his life is bound up in his life," is so rendered by the LXX. The meaning of ψυχὴ seems to be the same here; though the Heb. term לֵב, לֵבָב, "heart," "courage," is sometimes rendered ψυχὴ: cf. Isa. vii. 2, 4; xiii. 7. The A.V. understands the latter sense: "their hearts," *i.e.* their courage, "depend on us;" but "the slaughter of our brethren," *v.* 22, favours the former, and so the Syriac.

the sanctuary.] Greek τὰ ἅγια; cf. *v.* 21. The term includes what follows, "the house," *i.e.* the temple building, and "the altar," *i.e.* the great altar of sacrifice. The Syr. has ܩܕܫܐ, "the sanctuary." Wahl explains *officia sacra, cultus divinus;* but the Heb. was probably קֹדֶשׁ, which is rendered τὰ ἅγια in Zeph. iii. 4, Mal. ii. 11, and elsewhere, not עֲבֹדַת בֵּית ה": cf. 1 Chron. ix. 13. Wolff argues that this mention of the Temple proves that ch. iv. 3, v. 18, 19, are interpolations, as the Temple was not rebuilt for some twenty years after the Return—an argument which is more than doubtful. But the passage is good against Volkmar's theory, which supposes that, at the time when Judith was written, the Jews had only an altar on the holy site.

rest.] ἐπεστήρικται, for which Fritzsche edits ἐπεστήρισται, from Codd. ii. x. 55. Cf. Ps. lxxi. 6, "Upon thee have I been supported from the womb;" also Judg. xvi. 26, 27. Compare with the whole verse 1 Macc. iii. 58 *sqq.*

25–27. Let us thank our God, who is trying our faith, not punishing our sins; because trial is a proof of His favour. Cf. Deut. viii. 5; Heb. xii. 5, 6; Ps. xciv. 12.

25. *Moreover.*] Rather: On account of all this, therefore: Greek παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα. Codd. 19, 108 have the easier διά. Syriac: "And besides all these things, we shall please God," &c.

26. *what things . . . how . . . what.*] Greek ὅσα, *how much.*

Isaac.] Fritzsche says the sole reference is to the intended offering of him. But the traditional trials of Isaac were in part the same as Abraham's: cf. Gen. xxv. 21 with xvi. 1; and xxvi. 1–11 with 12. For other trials of Isaac, see Gen. xxvi. 34, 35 (the Hittite marriages of Esau); cf. xxiv. 3, 4, and xxvii. (the fraud practised upon him by Rebekah and Jacob, and the consequent exile of the latter). The Syriac has: "Remember all that he did with Abraham and Isaac." So Cod. 58 and Old Lat.

Mesopotamia of Syria.] The LXX. reading of Heb. פַּדַּן אֲרָם (not עֲרָם, as Fritzsche, ? misprint) in Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 6, 7, &c.: cf. Hos. xii. 13, πεδίον Συρίας=Heb. שְׂדֵה אֲרָם. Cod. 58 and the Syriac omit τῆς Συρίας. The latter has *Bêth-Nahrin*, cf. Assyrian *mât-Nahrî* or *Na-i-rî*. That Padan-Aram really means, as Hos. *l. c.* implies, "the plain, or open country, of Aram," appears also from comparison of the Assyr. *padânu*, which in II. R. 62, 33 explains the usual ideograph for *iqlu*, "field," and *ginû*, "garden" (GAN=*padânu*).

27. *tried us in the fire.*] The Greek is ἐπύρωσεν, "he burnt," "tested by fire," a word used by the LXX. to render Heb. צָרַף, "to melt or smelt" gold and silver; and so "test" men by trial, δοκιμάζειν. Cf. Ps. xii. 6, xxvi. 2; Zech. xiii. 9.

neither hath he taken vengeance on us.] The whole verse literally rendered would run somewhat thus: "Because not—as them he tested by fire for proof of their heart—also us he not punished; but for admonition the Lord scourgeth those who draw nigh unto Him." Both negatives belong to the verb "punished," which is the emphatic word. The οὐ is repeated before ἐξεδίκησεν, owing to the parenthetic reference to the trial of the

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doth scourge them that come near unto him, to admonish them.

28 Then said Ozias to her, All that thou hast spoken hast thou spoken with a good heart, and there is none that may gainsay thy words.

29 For this is not the first day wherein thy wisdom is manifested; but from the beginning of thy days all the people have known thy understanding, because the disposition of thine heart is good.

30 But the people were very thirsty, and compelled us to do unto them as we have spoken, and to bring an oath upon ourselves, which we will not break.

patriarchs. The sense is: Let us give thanks, because, as was the case with our ancestors, what we have suffered is in the way of trial, not of vengeance. The last clause states a general truth about the Divine dealings, applicable to both cases. Cf. Heb. xii. 6: "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."

to admonish them.] Greek εἰς νουθέτησιν. Quoted by S. Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' ii. 447. Codd. 58, 243, al., εἰς νουθεσίαν, which occurs Wisd. xvi. 6; 1 Cor. x. 11. The former is used by Plato, *e.g.* 'Republ.' 399 B. The Syriac gives *vv.* 26, 27 thus: "Remember all that He did, &c. when He examined (حسن) them for trial of their heart. And to us also it happened not for vengeance, but for chastisement, that the Lord smote us, because we are nigh unto Him." Cod. 58 has οὐκ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν instead of οὐκ ἐξεδίκησε; and so Old Lat.

28. *spoken . . . spoken.*] εἶπας . . . ἐλάλησας; Heb. אָמַרְתָּ—דִּבַּרְתָּ, i.e. *said . . . spoken.*

with a good heart.] ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ, *i.e.* with good intent.

that may gainsay.] The Greek ὃς ἀντιστήσεται, lit. "who will withstand," represents a Heb. participle (אֵין קָם עַל; cf. Syriac); so that A. V. need not be altered. The Vulgate gives *vv.* 20–27 thus: "Let us humbly await His comfort, and He will require our blood from the afflictions of our enemies, and will humble all the heathen that rise up against us, and the Lord our God will make them without honour. And now, brethren, since ye are elders among the people of God, and their life depends upon you, lift their hearts unto your speech, that they may remember that our fathers were tempted, that they might be tested whether they truly served their God. They should be mindful how our father Abraham was tempted, and, after having been tested by many tribulations, was made the friend of God. So Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and all they who pleased God, passed faithful through many tribulations. But they that received not temptations with the fear of the Lord, and uttered against the Lord their impatience and the reproach of their murmuring, were destroyed by the destroyer, and perished by serpents. And, for ourselves, therefore, let us not avenge ourselves for these things that we suffer; but reckoning these self-same punishments to be less than our sins, let us believe the scourges of the Lord, wherewith like slaves we are beaten, to have fallen out for our correction and not for our destruction."

29. *For this is not the first day, &c.*] Greek ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡ σοφία σου πρόδηλός ἐστιν. Syr.: "Because it hath not been from to-day (that) thy wisdom has been known." Cod. 58: ἐκ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. So Old Lat.

from the beginning of thy days.] Syr., "from the former days."

because the disposition, &c.] So the Syr.: "because good is the thought (بسعصا) of thine heart." Bissell strangely corrects, "*and that* the disposition," &c., remarking that "*Because* seems not to be just the force of καθότι here" (!). Doubtless it represents Heb. כַּאֲשֶׁר, "according as," "inasmuch as," "because." Cod. 58 omits the clause.

disposition.] The Gr. πλάσμα, cf. Old Lat. *figmenta*, is a literal reading of the Heb. יֵצֶר, *fictio*, and then *meditatio, cogitatio.* Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21.

30. *the people were very thirsty, and (they) compelled.*] The first verb is sing., the second plur. according to the usual Heb. construction. Codd. iii. x. 23, 44 alter the second to sing.

to do unto them as we have spoken.] Rather, "to do as we spake unto them." The Syr. has, "to do unto them as we said unto them, and they brought upon us the oath, and we cannot transgress it." Cf. Cod. iii. ἐπήγαγεν. Fritzsche edits ἐπαγαγεῖν from Codd. x. 19, 23, 44, 55, al. Old Lat. *inducere.* The common reading ἀπαγαγεῖν is meaningless. The Heb. was prob. וַיָּבִיאוּ עָלֵינוּ, "and they caused to come upon us." The whole of the last clause, καὶ ἐπαγ. . . . παραβήσομ. is omitted by Cod. 58. The excuse of Ozias is like that of Saul: 1 Sam. xiii. 11 *seq.*; xv. 21–24.

31 Therefore now pray thou for us, because thou art a godly woman, and the Lord will send us rain to fill our cisterns, and we shall faint no more.

32 Then said Judith unto them, Hear me, and I will do a thing, which shall go throughout all generations to the children of our nation.

33 Ye shall stand this night in the gate, and I will go forth with my waiting-woman: and within the days that ye have promised to deliver the city to our enemies the Lord will visit Israel by mine hand.

34 But enquire not ye of mine act: for I will not declare it unto you, till the things be finished that I do.

35 Then said Ozias and the princes unto her, Go in peace, and the Lord God be before thee, to take vengeance on our enemies.

we will not break.] Or, *may not, cannot*, answering to Heb. imperfect. So the Syr. ܠܐ ܢܬܒܛܠ ܠܟܬܝܒ. According to ancient ideas, an oath was inviolable even when it had been obtained by fraud (Josh. ix. 19, 20) or force. Otherwise vengeance would ensue. (So Fritzsche. Bissell, apparently misunderstanding him, "Even the *unnecessary* oath could not be broken." ? *der erschlichene* oder *abgenöthigte* Eid.) Cf. also Jephthah's "I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back" (Judg. xi. 35, quoted by Churton).

31. *pray thou for us.*] Cod. 58 adds: καὶ τάχα εἰσακούσεται ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. So the Syr. "Perchance the Lord our God will answer thee;" and Old Lat. (prob. original).

godly.] Greek εὐσεβής. This word renders צַדִּיק, "just," in Isa. xxiv. 16; xxvi. 7. But εὐσέβεια is used for "the fear of the Lord" in Isa. xxxiii. 6, xi. 2 (cf. Prov. i. 7); and the Syr. here has "fearing God." Probably, therefore, the Heb. was יראת אלהים: cf. Cod. 58, θεοσεβής, and Job i. 1, 8; ii. 3; ch. xi. 17. Vulg. "quoniam mulier sancta es, et *timens Deum.*" (It omits the rest of the verse.)

rain.] The rain. Not "the desired or the needful rain" (Fritzsche), but "the thing rain," as distinct from all other things (*generic* use of the article; so "the sun").

we shall faint no more.] οὐκ ἐκλείψομεν ἔτι. See on ch. vii. 22. Syr. ܘܢܬܬ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ, "and we shall not be consumed."

32. *I will do a thing.*] Syr. "I will do a thing of wisdom," ܐܥܒܕ ܚܟܡܬܐ. Cod. 58, πρᾶγμα σοφίας. So Old Lat. But cf. 1 Sam. iii. 11. Instead of this verse the Vulg. has: "And I said unto them: As ye know that what I have been able to say is of God, so prove ye whether what I have resolved to do is from God, and pray that God make my purpose firm." Volkmar refers to Esth. ix. 28.

the children of our nation.] Not literally "children," nor "descendants," but synonymous with "children of Israel," and so equivalent to "our fellow-countrymen."

33. *Ye shall stand.*] The *ye* is emphatic. Probably the καὶ ὑμεῖς of Codd. 19, 108 is correct. Cod. 58 has the better Greek, ὑμεῖς γάρ. The elders were to be at the gate to see that she kept her word, and to facilitate her egress.

waiting-woman.] See *v.* 10. The Syr. has "her maid," using the word ܛܠܝܬܐ, which appears in Mark v. 41 (Ταλιθὰ κοῦμι). This suggests Heb. נַעֲרָה. Vulg. *cum abra mea*, retaining the Greek word. Cf. Exod. xi. 5; Esth. iv. 4. Judith's promise does not consist with her rebuke of the Elders, unless it be assumed that she speaks under inspiration.

within the days.] Lit. in the days after which. Codd. 19, 108, "in the *five* days."

will visit.] ἐπισκέψεται. See ch. iv. 15. The καὶ before this word in Cod. 108 is probably original. Instead of "will visit Israel by mine hand," *i.e.* through my instrumentality, the Syr. has, "will deliver Israel as I hope." Cod. 58 adds, καθότι ἐγὼ πέποιθα. Similarly Old Lat. The Vulg. puts it less categorically: "And pray ye that, as ye have said, in five days the Lord may visit his people Israel."

34. *enquire not ye.*] But, on your part, ye shall not inquire. Old Lat. *non scrutabitis.* In Heb. this would be a strong prohibition, Ye must not inquire.

declare.] Fritzsche edits ἐρῶ. Codd. iii. x. 19, 52, al. have ἀναγγελῶ; 58, 248, Co. Ald., ἀπαγγελῶ; Old Lat. *renuntiabo.* Syr., "I am not going to reveal." Vulg. *et usque dum renunciem vobis, nihil aliud fiat nisi oratio pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.*

35. *Go in peace.*] Lit. go into peace. Judges xviii. 6; 1 Sam. i. 17; Luke vii. 50, viii. 48. The meaning is: go and prosper. Vulg. *vade in pace.*

the Lord God be before thee.] *Go* rather than *be.* Cf. Deut. ix. 3; Judges iv. 14;

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36 So they returned from the tent, and went to their wards.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Judith humbleth herself,* 2 *and prayeth God to prosper her purpose against the enemies of his sanctuary.*

THEN Judith fell upon her face, and put ashes upon her head, and uncovered the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed; and about the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem in the house of the Lord Judith cried with a loud voice, and said,

2 O Lord God of my father [a]Simeon, to whom thou gavest a sword to take vengeance of the strangers, [a] Gen. 34. 2, 25, &c.

2 Sam. v. 24. Jehovah went before the host of Israel to battle, according to these passages. So the Syr., which repeats the former verb: "And the Lord go before thee, and avenge us of our enemies!" But Vulg.: *et Dominus sit tecum.*

36. *the tent.*] *I.e.* the private chamber on the roof of Judith's house, *v.* 5. Cod. 58 makes this clearer: καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες κατέβησαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπορεύθ. κ.τ.λ. So Old Lat., but not the Syr.

their wards.] Or *stations,* διατάξεις; cf. Old Lat. *dispositiones.* The Syr. says, "to their houses;" perhaps because it seemed unsuitable to assign guard posts to the governors of the city. Cf. ch. vii. 32, "to their own charge." The Vulg. has simply: *et revertentes abierunt.*

CHAPTER IX.

1. *Then (but) Judith fell upon her face.*] Prostrated herself in prayer, like Moses, Num. xvi. 4. ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς is the reading of Cod. 58, and so Syr. and Old Lat. Fritzsche omits the pronoun. Cf. ch. iv. 11, "Thus every man . . . fell before the temple, and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord." Like Esther and like Judas Maccabæus, Judith arms herself with prayer (Volkmar). Cf. the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in the Greek Esther, ch. iv.

The verb ἐπέθετο, "put on," occurs also in ch. iv. 10; x. 3; xvi. 7.

uncovered the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed.] She made the rough garment of her mourning visible, by pulling off or rending what she wore above it: thus "spreading out her sackcloth before the Lord." Cf. 2 Kings vi. 30; xix. 1, 14; and ch. viii. 5 *supra.*

The verb ἐγύμνωσε, "laid bare," "stripped," represents Heb. נָלָה, as in Gen. ix. 21. (So Syr.) The Syr. says: She cast ashes upon her head, *and rent her mantle,* and the sackcloth wherewith she was clothed was revealed. Cod. 58: καὶ διέῤῥηξε τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτῆς. So Old Lat. This may be original, though perhaps it is only a correct gloss.

ἐνεδιδύσκετο, "was clothed," occurs in Luke viii. 27: cf. xvi. 19; Mark xv. 17; 2 Kings i. 24. Ἐνδεδύκει (Codd. x. 23, al.) and ἐδεδύκει (ii.) are false improvements. Cf. ch. x. 3.

and about the time, &c.] Lit. "and there was just being offered in Jerusalem in (εἰς) the house of God the incense of that evening. And Judith cried," &c.

The coincidence of the time of Judith's prayer with the hour of the evening incense—itself a symbol of prayer, Rev. viii. 3—may be compared with a similar coincidence related in 2 Kings iii. 20.

For the rubric of the morning and evening incense, see Exod. xxx. 7, 8. Cf. also Luke i. 9, 10. "The Lord" is the reading of Codd. iii. 55, al.; and "Lord" (*i.e.* Jehovah) of 58, the Syr., Old Lat., &c.

with a loud voice.] Add, *unto the Lord.*

2. *O Lord God of my father Simeon.*] See ch. viii. 1. What follows is an allusion to the joint revenge of Simeon and Levi upon Shechem and his people, for the rape of their sister Dinah, as recorded in Gen. xxxiv. In the original narrative Jacob is represented as strongly disapproving of the slaughter of the Shechemites, because he dreaded reprisals. Cf. the curse, Gen. xlix. 5–7; xlii. 24. The writer of the present pseudo-history, or didactico-historical romance, regards this ancient tale of vengeance on an alien community with the warm approval which was natural in and after the times of the Maccabean struggles, when hatred of "the heathen" had been intensified to the utmost by oppression and outrage. It is not necessary to attempt to reconcile or explain away the difference of feeling evident in the two narratives, which indeed appears also in the Targum, Gen. xlix. 5 *sqq.*: "Simeon and Levi are brethren, mighty men; in the land of their sojourn they did a mighty deed." But the final curse is not altered.

to whom thou gavest a sword.] Fritzsche edits ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν. The reading of Codd. 19, 108, ᾧ ἔδ. ῥομφ. ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, "in whose hand thou didst put a sword," better represents Heb. idiom. So the Midrash, Jellinek ii. p. 12.

to take vengeance.] Lit. "unto (*i.e.* with a

who loosened the girdle of a maid to defile her, and discovered the thigh to her shame, and polluted her virginity to her reproach; for thou saidst, It shall not be so; and yet they did so:

3 Wherefore thou gavest their rulers to be slain, so that they dyed their bed in blood, being deceived, and smotest the servants with their lords, and the lords upon their thrones;

view to) vengeance;" *εἰς ἐκδίκησιν.* Cf. "to defile her," lit. "for defilement," *εἰς μίασμα*; "to be slain," lit. "unto slaughter," *εἰς φόνον* (*v.* 3); and "to be captives," lit. "unto captivity," "to be divided," lit. "unto division" (*v.* 4). The preposition expresses the *result* of an action. Syr.: "who puttest in his hand a sword to take vengeance on the enemies."

loosened the girdle.] Greek *ἔλυσαν μήτραν*, "loosened or opened the womb." The Heb. פָּתַח, "he opened," is rendered by *λύω* in Isa. v. 27—*οὐδὲ λύσουσι τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν*—and elsewhere. But the Heb. פָּתַח רֶחֶם, *aperuit uterum cs.*, like its contrary סָגַר ר, *clausit uterum*, is apparently used only of Jehovah. See Gen. xxx. 22; 1 Sam. i. 5, 6. Grotius and others have therefore suggested *μίτραν*, "girdle," *i.e.* the maiden-girdle, or *ζώνη*, instead of *μήτραν* (a very slight change, on account of Itacism). The phrase *μίτραν λύειν* occurs Apoll. Rhod. i. 288; *μ. λύσασθαι*, Callim. Jov. 21. The word *μίτρα* occurs ch. x. 3; xvi. 8 *infra*; Bar. v. 2; but in the sense of *headdress, mitre, tiara*, and so in the LXX. generally: *e.g.* Exod. xxviii. 33; Zech. iii. 5. This is against its use here. Perhaps however the Heb. was פָּתְחוּ אָזוֹר (Isa. v. 27), and was rendered *ἔλυσαν μίτραν*, according to the classical rather than the LXX. usage of the term. Fritzsche inclines, upon the whole, to *μήτραν*. Codd. 19, 108 read *ἐλυμήναντο μήτρ.* Cf. Amos i. 11, *ἐλυμήνατο μητέρα*, al. lect. *μήτραν*; Heb. שִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו; and 4 Macc. xviii. 8. The Midrash has: "who polluted and defiled the nakedness of Dinah their sister," and omits the rest of *v.* 2 and all *v.* 3.

The Syriac, "they loosened the hair of a maiden," is surely not, as Fritzsche says, "a quid pro quo" = *μήτραν*; but rather supports the reading *μίτραν*, "headdress."

discovered the thigh to her shame.] Rather, *made bare a thigh unto shame.* The term *μηρὸς* is euphemistic, as the Syriac shews by using the same word as in Rev. xvi. 15; ܥܠܝܐ, *pudenda ejus.*

her virginity.] So Codd. 248, Co. *παρθενίαν.* Fritzsche edits *μήτραν*, "womb."

for thou saidst.] The "for" gives the reason for the divinely caused destruction of the ravishers of Dinah. "It shall not be so:" cf. Gen. xxix. 26; 2 Sam. xiii. 12, "It must not" or "ought not to be so done;" and esp. Gen. xxxiv. 7, where the same Heb. phrase (with a different order of words) is rendered by LXX. *καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται*—a passage which was evidently in the author's mind.

3. *so that they dyed their bed in blood, being deceived.*] The Greek text here is dubious. The construction evidently is, as the parallelism requires: "Wherefore thou gavest their rulers unto slaughter, And their bed unto blood" [*i.e.* bloodshed]. The doubt concerns the verb of the inserted relative clause. The common text, *ἣ ἠδέσατο τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν*, "which was ashamed of their guile," makes the Hivite prince's bed revolt against the illicit passion of its lord—a not very suitable idea. The parallelism rather demands that the bed should be considered a kind of accomplice in its master's guilt. Codd. 248, Co. have *ἠρδεύσατο*, "watered itself." L. and S. give no instance of the middle of *ἀρδεύω, irrigare*; and Trommius refers to this passage only. Another reading is that of 23, 64, 243, Ald. *ἠδεύσατο*, which Bissell explains "to wet," "soak," but of which I can find no other notice [? *ἐδεύσατο*]. Fritzsche edits his own conjecture *ἡδύνατο*, which he renders "sweetened," *versüsste*; but why the middle? Perhaps the writer formed an aor. mid. *ἠδήσατο*, "delighted in," from *ἀνδάνω*, fut. *ἀδήσω*; though *συνήδει*, "was privy to" [Dereser, Scholz], gives an excellent sense. Instead of *ἀπάτην αὐτῶν* Codd. iii. 52, 64, al. read *ἀπατηθεῖσαν*; and ii. x. 19, 23, 44, 55, al. *τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν* [*αὐτὴν*, 19, 108; om. x.] *ἀπατηθεῖσαν*—a conflate reading. Cod. 58 corrects the text thus: *ἡ ἐδέξατο τὴν ἀγαπηθεῖσαν*, "which received the beloved one." Syr.: "and their couch [ܣܛܪܘܡܢܐ = Greek *στρωμνήν*] which received the blood of thy beloved one."

the servants with their lords.] Lit. *slaves upon princes:* cf. Gen. xxxii. 11, "mother upon children" (Heb.). See the like phrase in *v.* 10 *infr.* "Im dichterischen Schwunge," says Fritzsche, "betrachtet Judith die Häupter der Sichemiten als Fürsten, ihre Leute als Knechte." But surely Shechem and his father *were* princes (see Gen. xxxiv. 2); in which case their subjects would be called their "servants," or rather "slaves." The Syr. has:

"And smotest slaves with their lords,
And princes with their thrones."

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4 And hast given their wives for a prey, and their daughters to be captives, and all their spoils to be divided among thy dear children; which were moved with thy zeal, and abhorred the pollution of their blood, and called upon thee for aid: O God, O my God, hear me also a widow.

5 For thou hast wrought not only those things, but also the things which fell out before, and which ensued after; thou hast thought upon the things which are now, and which are to come.

6 Yea, what things thou didst determine were ready at hand, and said, Lo, we are here: for all thy ways are prepared, and thy judgments are in thy foreknowledge.

7 For, behold, the Assyrians are multiplied in their powers; they are

4. *hast given.*] Rather, *Thou gavest.* For the thing related, see Gen. xxxiv. 27–29.

to be divided among thy dear children.] The Greek is: εἰς διαίρεσιν υἱῶν ἠγαπημένων ὑπὸ σοῦ. Syriac: "and all their booty they divided between thy beloved ones, who kept thy zeal." Midrash: "thy servants."

which were moved with thy zeal.] Lit. *who also* (or *both*) *were zealous with the zeal of* (for) *Thee;* a cognate accusative, as in the Heb. קִנְּאוּ אֶת־קִנְאָתֶךָ: cf. Num. xxv. 11; 1 Macc. ii. 58. So Midrash.

the pollution of their blood.] Codd. 19, 108: "the blood of their pollution," αἷμα μιάσματος αὐτῶν, which, according to Heb. idiom, means "their polluted blood." The blood of Simeon and Levi was polluted in Dinah. It is more likely that the actual defilement of their sister is referred to, than the prospective taint involved in the proposed intermarriages of the two races.

O God, O my God.] The Greek is the nominative case with the article—ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμός—which resembles the Heb. construction of the vocative: cf. Ps. xxii. 1 (LXX.); Matt. xxvii. 46. The Syriac has: "O my God, hear me, me also, who am a widow." The Greek is: "Also hear me, the widow." The former looks more original. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 38, "Bless me, me also;" *i.e.* me as well as my brother Jacob. So here: me as well as my forefather Simeon. The concluding touch—"the widow"—makes of her helplessness a special plea for help from "the Father of the fatherless, and the God of the widow."

5, 6. The thought of these fine verses is coloured by reminiscences of the "evangelical Prophet:" Isa. xli. 22, 23; xlii. 9; xliii. 9; xliv. 7; xlvi. 9 *sqq.*

Literally rendered, Fritzsche's Greek text says: "For it was Thou that wroughtest the things before those, and those things, and the things thereafter; and the things which are now, and the things to come, Thou thoughtest (*i.e.* devisedst: διενοήθης = חָשַׁבְתָּ; cf. 2 Chron. ii. 14), and (the things) came to pass which Thou hadst in mind (ἐνενοήθης), and (the things) presented themselves (παρέστησαν. Job i. 6) which Thou determinedst, and said, Lo, we are present" (a bold personification).

The divine activity pervades all events. was seen in the history of Israel previous to the episode recalled in *vv.* 2–4 (ἐκεῖνα, "those things" = the events of that episode); it was seen in that episode itself, and in all that followed, down to the present crisis, which equally with the yet hidden future is conditioned by the Will of God. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6–9. Cod. 71 omits the two verses; Codd. 58, 106 omit what we have translated. The Syriac has it thus: "Because *Thou* didst the former things, and the middle things, and also the things thereafter; because Thou thoughtest, and they became, and Thou consideredst, and they stood before thee. And Thou calledst, and they said, Lo, we are standing (here); because all Thy ways are prepared, and Thy creation is naked before thee" [reading κτίσις for κρίσις; see *infra*]. God's ways are "prepared" or "ready" (Greek ἕτοιμοι — Syr. ; *i.e.* there are no obstacles which can arrest the course of His Will; cf. the phrase, ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, Isa. xl. 3. But the parallelism suggests this sense: All Thy courses of action are predetermined; they are not still to be decided upon, but are already present in thy mind.

6. *thy judgments.*] So Codd. iii. 64, 248. Co. Ald. 58, αἱ κτίσεις; cf. Syr. and Old Lat. Fritzsche edits ἡ κρίσις σου, "thy judgment." This does not here mean "Strafgericht," with special reference to what follows, but "decision," "judicial determination," in general; or perhaps, rather, "manner of dealing," which clears up the parallelism. The Heb. term would be מִשְׁפָּט.

in thy foreknowledge.] Omit *thy.* The Greek is ἐν προγνώσει. This term occurs again in ch. xi., and nowhere else in LXX. Cf. the Syr. *supra*, and Acts xv. 18.

7. *are multiplied in their powers.*] The

exalted with horse and man; they glory in the strength of their footmen; they trust in shield, and spear, and bow, and sling; and know not that thou art the Lord that breakest the battles: the Lord is thy name.

8 Throw down their strength in thy power, and bring down their force in thy wrath: for they have purposed to defile thy sanctuary, and to pollute the tabernacle where thy glorious name resteth, and to cast

verbs of this verse are all aorists, representing Heb. perfects. "Powers" should be "power," *i.e.* "army," as often.

they are exalted with horse and man.] The Greek is *ὑψώθησαν ἐφ' ἵππῳ καὶ ἀναβάτῃ* (Cod. 58, *ἐφ' ἵππων κ. ἀναβατῶν*), "they have been (and are) lifted up upon (*i.e.* at) horse and rider;" *i.e.* make their boast in them. Heb. רָכְבוֹ בַסּוּס וגו׳: cf. Ps. lxxxix. 16; Exod. xv. 2; and the Syr. ܒܣܘܣ ܘܪܟܒܗ. Both Syr. and Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) read plur. "horses and riders."

they glory in the strength of their footmen.] Lit. "They have gloried (*ἐγαυρίασαν* = Heb. pf.) in the arm of footmen." The verb *γαυριάω*, prop. "to prance," is rare in LXX. In Ps. v. 11, Aquila's version has *γαυριάσουσιν* instead of *καυχήσονται* (LXX.) as rendering of Heb. יַעְלְצוּ, "Let them exult." The Heb. here may have been either עלץ, or התהלל, Jer. ix. 22, 23; or התפאר. For the expression "arm," Heb. זרע, cf. Jer. xvii. 5; Isa. ix. 20.

they trust.] Lit. they have hoped. The verb *ἐλπίζω* often renders Heb. בָּטַח, to trust, put one's hope in a person or thing; *e.g.* Ps. xliv. 6, "I trust not in my bow."

spear.] Greek *ἐν γαισῷ*: Codd. 19, 108, *δόρατι*. *Γαῖσος*, or *γαισὸς*, and *τὸ γαῖσον*, the Lat. *gaesum*, means a sort of *javelin* (Polyb. vi. 39. 3; xviii. 1. 4, &c.). According to Athenaeus, 273 F, the term is Iberian. In Josh. viii. 18, 26, it renders the Heb. כִּידוֹן. Cf. also 1 Sam. xvii. 6, 7. The Syr. has: "And (they are) strengthened with swords, and trust in bows and slings."

the Lord that breakest the battles, &c.] Adapted from the LXX. of Exod. xv. 3, where *κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ* is the curious rendering of "Jehovah is a man of war (יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 8), Jehovah is His name." *Συντρίβω* usually meant "to break in pieces;" and accordingly some interpret "who puttest an end to wars" (cf. Ps. xlvi. 9; lxxvi. 3). Fritzsche says the phrase is a free translation of the Heb. in the sense "who *decidest* wars." But the old Heb. phrase certainly conceived Jehovah as himself a warrior (cf. Ps. xxiv. 8–10). The idea appeared inappropriate to later thought. Hence the curious paraphrase or substitution found in the Greek versions. The Syr. has ܚܒܫ ܩܪܒ, "the cleaver of wars." The phrase recurs in ch. xvi. 3. Fritzsche connects *κύριος ὄνομά σοι* with the next verse—"du heisst und bist der seiende unveränderliche allmächtige Gott. Also solche wirf du nieder;" but this is contrary to the original passage (Exod. xv. 3), and weakens the emphasis of *σὺ ῥάξον*, which should evidently *begin* the next sentence.

8. *Throw down.*] There is an emphatic *thou* in the Greek and Syriac. The verb *ῥάσσω* is equivalent to *ἀράσσω*, to strike, dash, push. In Jer. xxiii. 33, 39, it renders נָטַשׁ, "to cast off." *Ῥάξαι ἀντὶ τοῦ καταβαλεῖν* (Photius). Cod. 58 has *κατάῤῥαξον* = *κατάραξον*, "dash down," "break in pieces," a phrase used of breaking and routing armies (*e.g.* Hdt. ix. 69; Thucyd. vii. 6). The Syr. is ܬܒܨ, "break in pieces."

bring down.] Rather, "shatter," "dash in pieces." The Greek *κάταξον* is from *κατάγνυμι*, not *κατάγω*. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11 (= Heb. מְחַץ, "crush;" A. V. "smite through").

Cod. 58 is fuller here: "Break down their strength, O Eternal (*αἰώνιε*), crush (*σύντριψον*) their multitude with (*ἐν*) thy power, smite (*πάταξον* pro *κάταξον*) their force in thy wrath." So the Syr., which has "King of worlds (or ages)" for "eternal," and repeats "break in pieces" (= *κάταξον*) instead of "smite," and omits "with thy power;" and the Old Lat.

the tabernacle where thy glorious name resteth.] Lit. the tent (or dwelling-place) of the resting of the name of Thy glory—a pure Hebraism = מְשֻׁכַּן מְנוּחַת שֵׁם כְּבוֹדֶךָ; cf. Isa. lxvi. 1, Ps. cxxxii. 14, lxxiv. 7, lxxii. 19, for the parts of this expression, which is not found in its entirety in O.T. Cf. also Ecclus. xxxvi. 18, where Jerusalem is called *πόλις καταπαύματός σου*; and Deut. xii. 11, "the place which Jehovah your God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there." The Syr. has: "Because they have wished to pollute the sanctuary of the glory of Thy name."

and to cast down, &c.] Fritzsche notes: "*καὶ* ante *καταβαλεῖν* delevi; abest a ii. iii.

down with sword the horn of thy altar.

9 Behold their pride, and send thy wrath upon their heads: give into mine hand, which am a widow, the power that I have conceived.

10 [b]Smite by the deceit of my lips the servant with the prince, and the prince with the servant: break down their stateliness by the hand of a woman.

11 [c]For thy power standeth not in

[b] Judg. 4. 21. & 5. 26.
[c] Judg. 7. 2. 1 Sam. 17. 47. 2 Chron. 14. 11. & 16. 8. & 20. 6.

x. 44, 55, 58, al." The construction, however (a climax), seems to require it, and the Syr. has it. "Sword" is again *σίδηρος*: Syr. "iron;" cf. Lat. *ferrum*, in the phrase "ferro et igne."

the horn of thy altar.] The Syriac has "horns." See Exod. xxvii. 2; Ezek. xliii. 15. To cut off the horns of the altar would be at once to mutilate and to profane it. But perhaps the phrase is figurative, and means "to abase thine altar," "shamefully overthrow it:" cf. the frequent expression "to lift up or exalt the horn of a person" (1 Sam. ii. 1, 10; Ps. lxxv. 4, 5; xcii. 10; cxlviii. 14); also Job xvi. 15, "I have defiled my horn in the dust;" Lam. ii. 3, "He hath cut off all the horn of Israel." In that case, the singular is not collective, as Fritzsche supposes.

9. *their pride.*] Codd. 19, 108 have the plur. *τὰς ὑπερηφανίας* = either their haughty doings, displays of haughtiness, or their exceeding haughtiness (intensive plural). See ch. vi. 19 *supra*.

send thy wrath.] Greek *ἀπόστειλον*, "send off," God's wrath being a messenger of vengeance. The original phrase occurs in the Song of Moses, with which we have already noted other points of contact (see Exod. xv. 7). Cf. Mark iv. 29.

upon their heads.] Greek *εἰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν*. The preposition prob. represents Heb. בְּ, as in 1 Kings ii. 33; Ps. vii. 16 (17); Amos i. 4, 12.

give into mine hand, which am a widow.] The German can imitate the Greek more closely: "Gieb in meine, der Wittwe, Hand." Lit. it is: "Put in the hand of me the widow the strength that I thought of;" *i.e.* the strength requisite for the execution of my purpose: an allusion, as it would seem, to her intended slaughter of Holofernes and the physical strength that feat would demand. Cf. the Vulg.: *Fac Domine ut gladio proprio ejus superbia amputetur.* The word *κράτος*, however, may have the more general meaning of *praise, glory*, or *victory*; cf. Ps. viii. 2, xxix. 1; Exod. xv. 2 (Heb. עֹז); and ch. viii. 32 *supra*: also Luke i. 51.

10. *by the deceit of my lips.*] The Greek is of a more Hebraic cast: *ἐκ χειλέων ἀπάτης μου*, "out of the lips of my deceit," *i.e.* through or with my deceiving lips. Cf. Ps. xvii. 1, שְׂפָתֵי מִרְמָה, "lips of deceit." The Syr. has: "with the deception of my lips;" the Old Lat. *ex labiis suasionis meae* (but Cod. Corb. and Vulg. *charitatis*, reading *ἀγάπης*). The only references in Trommius for *ἀπάτη* are Judith ix. 10, 13; xvi. 6. As to the morality of Judith's wiles, Arnald quotes, "Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?" Cf. Judg. iv. 18 *sqq.*; Num. xxxi. 16; 1 Sam. xvi. 2; 2 Kings vi. 18, 19.

the servant with the prince, and the prince with the servant.] Lit. bondman upon prince, and prince upon his servant: cf. note on *v.* 3 *supra*. But both *δοῦλος* and *θεράπων* render the Heb. עֶבֶד, *servus*, and the Syr. has simply, "smite man upon chief." There is an allusion in this first half of the verse (omitted in Codd. 58, 71) to the deceit by which Simeon and Levi overcame the Shechemites (*v.* 3 *supra*). The Vulgate has: *Capiatur laqueo oculorum suorum in me, et percuties eum ex labiis charitatis meae.* This may depend on S. Jerome's Chaldee MS. Cf. Midrash J. ii. "Let him be caught in the snare of his eyes, to love me; and make him sick with the sickness of desire for me."

break down their stateliness.] The Greek is peculiar: *θραῦσον αὐτῶν* (*αὐτοῦ*, 58) *τὸ ἀνάστημα* (so Codd. iii. 55, 236, 248, 249, co. Ald. The common reading is *ἀνάστεμα*, a very doubtful form: see Fritzsche, 'Das Buch Judith,' p. 177). The verb may be a reminiscence of Exod. xv. 6: "Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy" (*ἔθραυσεν* = Heb. תִּרְעַץ). Ἀνάστημα may mean *height, tallness*, of a mountain or a plant (Theophr.); or *loftiness, majesty*, e.g. *ἀνάστ. βασιλικὸν*, royal majesty (Diod. xix. 92); *ἀνάστ. ψυχῆς* (Longin. vii. 2). The Heb. was prob. קוֹמָה, *height, stature*, a term used metaphorically in Isa. x. 33: "The high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled." Cf. also Isa. xxxvii. 24. The LXX. does not render this word by *ἀνάστημα* anywhere else, but Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus have done so. Cf. ch. xii. 8 *infra*. The Syr. has: "And the prince—break thou his strength by the hand of a female" (ܒܝܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ, the word used in *v.* 11 *supra*). The Old Lat. has *substantiam*, as if the Heb. had been יְקוּם, which is rendered *ἀνάστημα* in Gen. vii. 4, 23. (But Cod. Corb. has *Allide surrectionem illorum.*)

by the hand of a woman.] So as to couple dishonour with ruin. Cf. Judges ix. 54.

multitude, nor thy might in strong men: for thou art a God of the afflicted, an helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the forlorn, a saviour of them that are without hope.

12 I pray thee, I pray thee, O God of my father, and God of the inheritance of Israel, Lord of the heavens and earth, Creator of the waters, King of every creature, hear thou my prayer:

13 And make my speech and deceit to be their wound and stripe, who have purposed cruel things against thy covenant, and thy hallowed house,

This detail is repeated, ch. xiii. 15; xvi. 6. Θήλεια = נְקֵבָה rather than אִשָּׁה. So Syr. The Old Lat. according to Codd. Reg. and Germ. has: *in manu viduae, ut sciant omnia regna quoniam tu es Deus.* The Vulgate amplifies: "*Da mihi in animo constantiam ut contemnam illum, et virtutem ut evertam illum:* Erit enim hoc memoriale nominis tui, cum manus feminae dejecerit eum." Cf. Midr.: "And put in my soul firmness to despise him, and in my hand might and power (כוח ואל) to destroy him." Cf. also Judges iv. 9.

11. See the marginal references, which are very apposite. Cf. also 2 Kings vi. 17; Ps. xx. 7; Eccles. ix. 11.

might.] ἡ δυναστεία; Heb. גְּבוּרָה, "prowess," "valour," Ps. lxxx. 2. Cod. 58 has "thy gift" (δόσις), and so the Syr. and Old Lat. Other readings are: δύναμις (Codd. 19, 108) and δεξία (x.).

the afflicted.] Or, *oppressed;* Greek ταπεινοὶ, Heb. prob. עֲנִיִּים. Cf. Luke i. 52. The article is wanting in the Greek before this, and the following class-names, because the *condition* and *character* of the persons spoken of are prominent in the speaker's mind.

the oppressed.] The Greek is ἐλαττόνων, "inferiors;" and the Heb. was prob. קְטַנִּים or צְעִירִים, "little, insignificant, feeble folk."

Syr. ܙܥܘܪ̈ܐ, *parvuli:* Matt. ii. 6; v. 19.

upholder.] ἀντιλήπτωρ. Cf. Luke i. 54, ἀντελάβετο. The LXX. uses the noun to render several Hebrew terms denoting *refuge* and *defender.* Cf. Ps. iii. 3; xviii. 2; lxxxviii. 26; xlii. 9.

a protector of the forlorn.] ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστὴς. The former term means persons *given up in despair, regarded as in hopeless plight,* e.g. by physicians, Plut. 'Pericl.' 13. Heb. אוֹבֵד, *perditus;* cf. the Syriac. The other term, σκεπαστὴς, one who *shelters,* occurs in Exod. xv. 2 and Ps. lxxi. 6. "Them that are without hope," should rather be *folk despaired of.* The word ἀπηλπισμένος is a later synonym of ἀπεγνωσμένος; and occurs in Isa. xxix. 19 as = אֶבְיוֹן, A.V. "the poor." For the other term see 2 Macc. ix. 22. (Cod. 58, the Syr., and Old Lat. omit σκεπαστὴς ἀπηλπισμένων.)

12. *I pray thee, I pray thee.*] Lit. *yea, yea;* Greek ναὶ, ναὶ, ὁ θεός κ.τ.λ. Cf. Matt. v. 37. The Syriac has: "Yea, O Lord, God of my father." Cod. 58, κύριε ὁ θεός. So Old Lat. At the end, as at the beginning of her prayer, she dwells on the deed of her forefather Simeon (*v.* 2).

God of the inheritance of Israel.] A phrase not occurring in O. T. Israel is often called God's "inheritance" or domain—נַחֲלָה—*e.g.* 1 Sam. x. 1, xxvi. 19; 2 Kings xxi. 14; Ps. xxviii. 9, lxxviii. 62; Isa. xix. 25. See ch. xiii. 5 *infra.* Here the meaning may either be this, or else that God is Israel's "inheritance" and peculiar property: cf. Josh. xiii. 33; Ps. xvi. 5. In either case, the point insisted on is that God is specially the God of Israel. The next words declare that the God of Israel is the Almighty Maker and Ruler of the world. "Lord (δέσποτα=אֲדוֹן) of the heavens and (the) earth" is nearly equivalent to the Saviour's "Lord (*κύριε*) of heaven and earth," Matt. xi. 25. The phrase is not found in O. T. "Creator of the waters" is added because earth and sky and sea comprise the visible world. This, too, is a non-Biblical phrase, but cf. Amos v. 8, ix. 6.

King of every creature.] So Codd. 58, 44, al. Syriac: "King of all creatures" (so also Rom. i. 25). Fritzsche edits β. πάσης κτίσεώς σου, "King of all thy creation;" another extra-Biblical phrase. The pronoun may have been omitted by some MSS. and Syr. and Old Lat., because it seemed to suggest that there were other creatures outside the dominion of God. For κτίσις cf. ch. xvi. 11; Wisd. xvi. 24; Ecclus. xvi. 18: and for κτίστης, Ecclus. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24.

13. *make my speech and deceit to be.*] Δὸς λόγον μου . . . εἰς τραῦμα κ.τ.λ., a common Hebraism: וְנָתַתָּ דְבָרִי לְפֶצַע; cf. Gen. xvii. 20, and ch. x. 8 *infra.* Instead of "my speech" the Syriac has "my craft"—ܐܘܡܢܘܬܝ. "Stripe" or *weal*—μώλωψ—is the Heb. חַבּוּרָה. Both "wound" and "stripe" occur in Gen. iv. 23 (the song of Lamech). Cf. also for the latter, 1 Pet. ii. 24.

who have purposed cruel things (σκληρὰ =

and against the top of Sion, and against the house of the possession of thy children.

14 And make every nation and tribe to acknowledge that thou art the God of all power and might, and that there is none other that protecteth the people of Israel but thou.

CHAPTER X.

3 *Judith doth set forth herself.* 10 *She and her maid go forth into the camp.* 17 *The watch take and conduct her to Holofernes.*

NOW after that she had ceased to cry unto the God of Israel, and had made an end of all these words,

2 She rose where she had fallen down, and called her maid, and went down into the house, in the which she abode in the sabbath days, and in her feast days,

3 And pulled off the sackcloth which she had on, and put off the garments of her widowhood, and washed her body all over with water,

קְשׁוֹת, Gen. xlii. 7, 30) *against thy covenant.*] A similar phrase occurs in Dan. xi. 28, "His heart shall be *against the holy covenant*"—another indication that our author is writing in Maccabean times. Cf. also Ps. lxxxiii. 3 *sqq.*

the top of Sion.] This phrase, not found elsewhere, is like Num. xxiii. 28, "the top of Peor;" Amos i. 2, "the top of Carmel." Instead of *κορυφὴ* Σ. (רֹאשׁ, *caput*) the usual expression was *ὄρος* Σ. (הַר, *mons*), and so the Syriac here.

14. *And make every nation and tribe to acknowledge.*] Lit. And make upon (=in) every nation and every tribe knowledge, that it may know, &c. Fritzsche edits *ἐπὶ παντὸς ἔθνους σου*, confining the reference to the *Jewish* people. But the universal scope is surely much more appropriate; cf. 2 Kings xix. 19, when Hezekiah prays for deliverance, "that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the Lord God, even thou only." Cf. also Ps. lxxxiii. 18. Codd. 58, 248, 249, and the Old Lat. omit the pronoun. The common text, found also in Cod. x., is *ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.* The Syriac has: "make thou unto all thy people and unto all the tribes, that they may know," &c. But the Vulgate: *Ut omnes gentes agnoscant quia tu es Deus, et non est alius praeter te.*

protecteth.] *ὑπερασπίζων*, for which see chaps. v. 20; vi. 5 *supra.*

CHAPTER X.

1. *Now after that.*] Lit. *and it came to pass when.* The narrative of chaps. x., xi. 1–5, is apparently modelled on the Greek Esth. v. 1–15.

made an end of all these words.] It is not necessary to supply λαλοῦσα or λαλῆσαι with *συνετέλεσε*: cf. 1 Sam. xxiv. 17; 2 Sam. xi. 19; 1 Chron. xvi. 2; 2 Chron. vii. 1. The verb here takes a direct accusative, as in Matt. vii. 28; Gen. ii. 2; 1 Kings vi. 9. The Vulgate omits the clause.

2. *She rose.*] The Greek is *καὶ ἀνέστη*; וַתָּקָם. Codd. 58, 44, al. and the Syriac and Old Lat. omit the conjunction.

where she had fallen down.] Lit. *from her fall—ἀπὸ τῆς πτώσεως—i.e.* her prostrate attitude (bodily posture, not local position). See ch. ix. 1. But the Syr. has ܠܘܬ ܗܘܬ ܒܗ, "from where she was prostrate;" and Vulg. *Surrexit de loco in quo jacuerat prostrata ad Dominum.*

went down.] From the roof: see ch. viii. 5.

the house.] Codd. x. 23, 55, 44, 58, and the Syriac and Old Lat. read "her house." Midrash J. ii. "*the palace* (היכל) of her house," which is suitable enough, if Judith is intended to suggest Salome the queen.

in the which she abode.] Greek, *ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν ἐν αὐτῷ.* For this mode of expressing the relative, see note on ch. vii. 10. She used to spend the sacred festivals in her house; ch. viii. 5. The Vulgate omits "and went . . . feast days."

3. *pulled off.*] *περιειλά(ε)το* or *περιείλε* (Codd. 19, 108, 44, &c.). Cf. Hdt. ii. 151, *π. τὴν κυνέην*, "to take off one's helmet." The verb means "to strip off all round," not "to roll up" (Churton). Vulg. *abstulit a se cilicium.* So the Midrash. With the verse generally, cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ruth iii. 3.

she had on.] *ἐνεδεδύκει*, "she had put on." But Codd. iii. 52, 64, al. *ἐνεδιδύσκετο*, "she was wearing;" cf. ch. ix. 1.

washed her body all over.] A good rendering of *περιεκλύσατο.* The verb is classical; cf. Thucyd. vi. 3; Arist. 'Mirab.' 91. It occurs in Tobit vi. 2. The Syriac says *her face;* cf. ch. xvi. 9. Midr. *her body.*

and anointed herself with precious ointment, and braided the hair of her head, and put on a ‖tire upon it, and put on her garments of gladness, wherewith she was clad during the life of Manasses her husband.

‖ Gr. *mitre.*

4 And she took sandals upon her feet, and put about her her bracelets, and her chains, and her rings, and her earrings, and all her ornaments, and decked herself bravely, to allure the eyes of all men that should see her.

precious ointment.] μύρῳ παχεῖ, "with thick oil, or unguent." Syriac, "and anointed (with) oil, with choice (oil);" cf. Wisd. ii. 7, where οἶνος πολυτελὴς is rendered "choice wine" (ܚܡܪ ܛܒ). Fritzsche quotes Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xiii. 2: "Prodigiosa cinnamomino pretia. Adjicitur cinnamo balaninum oleum . . .; unguentorum hoc crassissimum." Cf. Isa. xxviii. 1. Μύρον is probably the Heb. שֶׁמֶן: Amos vi. 6; Cant. i. 2. The reading of Codd. 19, 108, μύρῳ καλῷ, points to the שׁ״ט of Ps. cxxxiii. 2. The Greek μύρον may be connected with the Heb. מֹר, *myrrh*, which was used in making ointment: Esth. ii. 12; Cant. v. 5. The Midrash actually has: "with ointment of myrrh."

braided.] *Arranged, ordered.* The Gk. is διέταξε; but Codd. 19, 108 have διεξέ(η)νατο, *pectinavit* (so Old Lat.), and Cod. x. διέξανε. The Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) has *discriminavit*—*i.e.* she *parted.* Midrash: ותקלע את קלעת שערותיה, "and she braided the braids of her hair." The Syriac repeats "she anointed," ܐܬܡܫܚ.

a tire.] An old English word, probably connected with German *zier*, "ornament;" *zieren*, "to adorn:" cf. Isa. iii. 18. The Greek is μίτρα (see ch. ix. 2), and probably the Heb. was פְּאֵר (Zech. iii. 5; Isa. iii. 20), though the Midrash has כתר. The woman's *turban* is meant. In classical Greek, μίτρα denotes *a headband*, or *snood*, with which females tied up their hair, and also a certain Persian headdress or turban: see Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*; cf. ch. xvi. 8 *infra*. The Syriac transposes this clause with the first clause of *v.* 4 (μίτρα = ܟܣܝܬ).

her garments of gladness.] Lit. *the garments of her gladness*, which is Hebrew idiom for *her festal garments;* cf. Isa. lxi. 3, 10. Instead of ἐστολίζετο, "she used to dress," Cod. x. has ἐκοσμεῖτο, "she used to deck herself." Heb. simply לָבַשׁ, "to be clothed," as in Esth. iv. 4. (So the Midrash.)

4. *And she took sandals upon her feet.*] "Upon" should rather be "unto" or "for" (εἰς = ל). As a mourner, she had not worn sandals in the chamber on the roof: cf. 2 Sam. xv. 30; Isa. xx. 2, 4. Those she now put on would naturally be a beautiful pair; see the special mention of "her sandal" in ch. xvi. 9.

put about her her bracelets.] Or *anklets.* The Greek word χλίδων (*not* χλιδών. See Dindorf *ad* Aristoph. Fragm. 309) may mean either. The list of female ornaments here may be compared with the much longer one in the prophetic satire, Isa. iii. 16–24. In that passage (*v.* 20) χλίδων = עֲצָדָה, "a stepping-chain;" but in Num. xxxi. 50 χλίδων = אֶצְעָדָה, an armlet or bracelet, and so the Vulg. (*dextraliola*) and the Syriac (ܣܒܠܬܐ) here. The Old Lat. has *periscelides*, "anklets."

chains.] τὰ ψέλια (so Codd. iii. x.; vulgo, ψέλλια). In Isa. iii. 20, as here, this term follows τοὺς χλίδωνας. The word means *armlet* or *anklet.* Lat. *armilla.* In Num. xxxi. 50 ψέλιον = צְמִיד; cf. Gen. xxiv. 22, "*bracelets* for her hands." Syriac: ܣܒܠܬܐ; i.e. *periscelides* or *armillae ejus.*

earrings.] τὰ ἐνώτια. The Heb. נֶזֶם is so rendered by LXX. and Vulgate (*inaures*), even in Gen. xxiv. 47 and Isa. iii. 21, where it means a *nose-ring.* It may have had that meaning in the Heb. here. The Syriac has ܩܕܠܐ, *inaures ejus.* Midrash: עגילים.

ornaments.] Or *adornment*—κόσμος = עֲדִי. Exod. xxxiii. 4–6. Midrash: וכ׳ד קשוטיה, "and her twenty-four ornaments" (*vid.* Isa. iii. 18 *sqq.*).

decked herself bravely.] Cf. Isa. iii. 18, "bravery" = finery. So Hamlet speaks of "This *brave* o'erhanging firmament." The Greek ἐκαλλωπίσατο σφόδρα, "adorned herself exceedingly," is classical; cf. Plat. 'Symp.' 174 A. Heb. הִתְיַפָּה: Jer. iv. 30; cf. Jer. x. 4. The Vulgate improves the text to this effect: *Cui etiam Dominus contulit splendorem: quoniam omnis ista compositio non ex libidine, sed ex virtute pendebat: et ideo D. hanc in illam pulchritudinem ampliavit, ut incomparabili decore omnium oculis appareret.*

to allure.] Greek εἰς ἀπάτησιν, "for beguiling;" cf. ch. ix. 13. But Cod. 58, εἰς ἁρπαγὴν; and so the Syriac, *ad arripiendos oculos hominum* (ܠܡܚܛܦ ܥܝܢܐ); and Old Lat.

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5 Then she gave her maid a bottle of wine, and a cruse of oil, and filled a bag with parched corn, and lumps of figs, and with fine bread; so she ‖ folded all these things together, and laid them upon her.

‖ Or, *wrapped*, or, *packed*.

6 Thus they went forth to the gate of the city of Bethulia, and found standing there Ozias, and the ancients of the city, Chabris and Charmis.

7 And when they saw her, that her countenance was altered, and her apparel was changed, they wondered at her beauty very greatly, and said unto her,

8 The God, the God of our fathers,

On the other hand, Codd. iii. x. εἰς ἀπάντησιν, "to meet," an easier reading. Ch. xvi. 9, "Her sandal *ravished* his eye" (ἥρπασεν), confirms ἁρπαγὴν here.

5. *a bottle of wine.*] ἀσκοπυτίνην οἴνου, *a leathern canteen* of wine: Antiph. Mel. i.; Menander Καρχ. 6, and LXX. Πυτίνη (ῑ) was a flask covered with plaited osier, like a Florence oil-flask. See Pollux, x. 73; vii. 174. Codd. x., 58, ἀσκόν. Vulg. *ascoperam* = ἀσκόπηραν, "a leather travelling-bag" (Suet. 'Nero,' 45). Old Lat. *ascopam*. Syriac, ܒܨܠܐ, *utrem*. Midrash: נאד חלב וחמת יין, "*a skin of milk* and a bottle of wine." The "skin of milk" may be a trace of an older narrative.

cruse of oil.] καψάκην (Codd. ii. iii. x. 71, 74, 76; vulgo, καμψάκην) ἐλαίου.

The word is related to κάψα or κάμψα, and occurs in 1 Kings xvii. 12, 14, 16, as the rendering of Heb. צַפַּחַת, *ampulla*, "vial" or "cruse" for oil. Κάμψα is a *basket, casket* (Hesych.). Photius and Suidas write κάψα. Cf. Lat. *capsa, capsula*. Midrash: צלוחית.

a bag.] πήραν, "wallet:" Matt. x. 10; and ch. xiii. 10, 15 *infra*. (Fritzsche: *Reisebrotsack*.)

parched corn.] Greek ἀλφίτων, "peeled or pearl-barley," "barley-groats," or "barley-meal," the Lat. *polenta;* and so Old Lat. and Vulg. *polentam;* Syr. ܦܠܐܢܛܐ. The LXX. sometimes has this word for Heb. קָלִי, *tostum*, i.e. green ears of corn, wheat or barley, roasted and rubbed out in the hand—a practice still in vogue with the Arabs. See Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' *s. v.* Fritzsche says, "'Αλφιτον ist Gerstengraupen, τὰ ἄλφιτα die Brode daraus." But this is questionable, and "bread" is mentioned in the next line. Midrash: קמוח, "meal."

lumps of figs.] Rather, *a cake of figs*—παλάθη = Heb. דְּבֵלָה; 1 Sam. xxv. 18. Codd. 74, 76, and the Syr. and Vulg. have plur. Cod. x. and Midrash omit.

fine bread.] Rather, *pure loaves.* "Καθαρῶν," says Fritzsche, "is wanting in 44, 71, 74, 76, Syr., Old Lat., Vulg., but is certainly genuine." Everything belonging to the heathen was considered "unclean:" cf. ch. xii. 1, 2; Dan. i. 8; Tobit i. 11; Gen. xliii. 32; Amos vii. 17 ("a polluted land," *i.e.* a heathen or foreign land).

so she folded all these things together.] Rather, *And she packed up all her vessels* or *things*. After the "pure loaves," Codd. 19, 108 add "and cheese;" so Vulg. *et caseum;* 58, "and she threw into it cheese" (so Syr. and Old Lat.). Heb. גְּבִינָה (Job x. 10, only); so the Midrash. "Packed up" is περιεδίπλωσε, for which Liddell and Scott refer to this passage only. The Syr. renders ܐܣܪ, "bound up," "tied round;" the Vulg. omits the whole clause.

6. *Thus they went forth.*] Codd. 19, 108, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἀμφότεραι. Cod. 58, καὶ ἐξῆλθοσαν οἱ δύο ἅμα καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν. So Syr. and Old Lat. Cf. Gen. xxii. 6–8; 2 Kings ii. 6. For "the ancients," see ch. viii. 10.

7. The Greek of this verse stands thus in Fritzsche: Ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὴν, καὶ ἦν ἠλλοιωμένον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβεβληκυῖαν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν κ.τ.λ. He explains the clause καὶ ἦν ἠλλοι. τὸ πρόσ. αὐτῆς as a parenthesis, giving the reason for the following ἐθαύμασαν. But the construction is in that case decidedly awkward, as τὴν στολὴν μεταβεβ. evidently depends on εἶδον, and is equally part of the reason for the elders' wonder. If ἦν be omitted, and μεταβεβ. αὐτῆς be transposed (according to Codd. x. 19, 108, 236, 76), we get the sense: "Now when they saw her, and her countenance altered and her apparel changed, they wondered, &c." The καὶ introduces the apodosis, as so often: see ch. v. 20. Μεταβεβλ. is passive; cf. the middle use in classical Greek, *e.g.* Plat. 'Rep.' 553 A; Hdt. viii. 109. The Syr. is: "And they saw the change of her countenance and the covering of her garments, and they wondered greatly at her beauty." Wolff says they did not expect to find her still so charming, as she was from thirty to forty-five years old (?).

8. *The God, the God of our fathers.*] The first ὁ θεὸς should be omitted, with Codd. ii. iii. x. 55, 58, 44, al., the Syr., and Old Lat.

give thee favour, and accomplish thine enterprizes to the glory of the children of Israel, and to the exaltation of Jerusalem. Then they worshipped God.

9 And she said unto them, Command the gates of the city to be opened unto me, that I may go forth to accomplish the things whereof ye have spoken with me. So they commanded the young men to open unto her, as she had spoken.

10 And when they had done so, Judith went out, she, and her maid with her; and the men of the city looked after her, until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more.

11 Thus they went straight forth in the valley: and the first watch of the Assyrians met her,

12 And took her, and asked her, Of what people art thou? and whence

give thee favour.] So Codd. 58, 11, and the Syr. and Old Lat. (δῴη σοι χάριν). But Fritzsche rightly edits δῴη σε εἰς χάριν, "give (or make) thee into favour"—which represents a different Heb. phrase, viz. יִתֶּנְךָ לְרַחֲמִים; see Neh. i. 11 and ch. ix. 13 *supra;* Gen. xvii. 20, xlviii. 4.

enterprizes.] τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα = *studia, instituta;* Heb. מַעֲלָלִים, "actions," Deut. xxviii. 20. Syr. ܥܒܕܟ̈ܝ, "thy deed of craft." Vulg. *omne consilium tui cordis.*

to the glory.] εἰς γαυρίαμα, *i.e.* resulting in the "glory" or pride of Israel. For the word see ch. xv. 9, ix. 9 (the verb); Isa. lxii. 7. For ὕψωμα, "exaltation"—רוֹמְמוּת—see ch. xiii. 6, xv. 9; Isa. xxxiii. 3. The Syr. has ܫܒܚܐ, "praise," and ܪܘܡܡܐ, "exaltation."

Then they worshipped God.] So Codd. 23, 44, 52, 55, al. But 58, Syr., Old Lat. refer the action to Judith only. She prob. bowed her head or prostrated herself in pious assent to the prayer of the Elders. Καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησε (Cod. 58). Movers thinks the Greek translator mistook וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֱלֹהֶם, "and she bowed herself unto them," *i.e.* to the elders, for וַתִּשְׁ֫ לֵאלֹהִים, "and she bowed herself unto God." This is unlikely. Cf. ch. viii. 10 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*

9. *to accomplish the things whereof.*] εἰς τελείωσιν τῶν λόγων ὧν ἐλαλήσατε, "unto fulfilment of the words which ye have spoken." Cf. Luke i. 45.

as she had spoken.] Rather, *as they spake* (*i.e.* promised): see ch. viii. 35. "She spake" is the reading of Codd. iii. x. 64, al. and the Syriac. "She spake unto them:" Codd. 19, 108.

The Vulgate gives the passage *vv.* 6–9 thus: "And when they had come to the gate of the city, they found Ozias in waiting and the elders of the city, who, when they had seen her, were lost in admiration of her beauty; yet without asking her any questions, they let her pass through, saying: 'The God of our fathers give thee favour, and confirm all the purpose of thy heart with His courage, that Jerusalem may make her boast of thee, and thy name be in the number of the holy ones and the just.' And they that were there said all with one voice: So be it! so be it!"

10. *looked after her.*] *Were,* or, *continue looking;* ἀπεσκόπευον. Cod. 58 has καὶ ἐπεσκόπευσαν οἱ ἄνδρες κ.τ.λ. The forms in -εύω for -έω are post-classical: Lobeck, 'Phryn.' p. 591. Ἀποσκοπέω means *to look away from all things else and at a single object.* The word does *not* "contain the idea of looking down from above" (Bissell). Cf. Soph. 'Oed. Tyr.' 746; 'Oed. Col.' 1195.

and till she had passed.] The *and* is wanting in the Greek, except in Codd. 19, 108, 249, which read καὶ διῆλθε, omitting ἕως. Fritzsche explains διῆλθε—"bis sie hindurchging, hindurchzugehen anfing;" and this is doubtless right. The Heb. was probably an imperfect עַד אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲבֹר. See Gen. xxvii. 44, 45. The Syr. has: "And when the twain had come to the valley, they saw her no more." The incident of the townsfolk gazing after the departing heroine is highly dramatic; and the way in which "the mountain" and "the valley" are spoken of seems to indicate a real locality known to the author.

Cod. 58 reads: ὡς δὲ διήλθοσαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα (an error for αὐλῶνα; repeated in Old Lat. *atrium.* The Syriac has it correctly).

11. *Thus they went straight forth.*] *And they were going straight on.* The phrase εἰς εὐθείαν, *i.e.* ὁδόν, occurs in Gen. xxxiii. 12; Jer. iii. 2. Cf. ch. xiii. 20: ἐπ' εὐθείαν.

the first watch.] *An outpost,* or *picket,* or *advanced guard.* Cod. 58, the Syr. and Old Lat. have: *and she met the advanced guard of the Assyrians.* Cf. ch. xiv. 2. This appears to be preferable; but cf. Gen. xxxii. 1.

12. *Of what people art thou?*] Syriac: "What is thy news?"

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comest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I am a woman of the Hebrews, and am fled from them: for they shall be given you to be consumed:

13 And I am coming before Holofernes the chief captain of your army, to declare words of truth; and I will shew him a way, whereby he shall go, and win all the hill country, without losing the body or life of any one of his men.

14 Now when the men heard her words, and beheld her countenance, they wondered greatly at her beauty, and said unto her,

15 Thou hast saved thy life, in that thou hast hasted to come down to the presence of our lord: now therefore come to his tent, and some of us shall conduct thee, until they have delivered thee to his hands.

16 And when thou standest before him, be not afraid in thine heart, but shew unto him according to thy word; and he will entreat thee well.

17 Then they chose out of them an hundred men ‖to accompany her and her maid; and they brought her to the tent of Holofernes.

‖ Or, *and they prepared a chariot for her.*

18 Then was there a concourse throughout all the camp: for her

a woman.] *A daughter.* Cf. the Syriac "sons of the city" = "men of the city," *v.* 10, and "sons of Asshur" = "Assyrians," *v.* 11. The old designation "Hebrews" is used in imitation of such passages as Gen. xl. 15, xli. 12; Exod. i. 15, ii. 6, iii. 18. See also Ewald, 'Hist. Isr.' iii. 2, 562.

am fled.] *I am running away* — ἀποδιδράσκω. Cf. Gen. xvi. 6–8, בָּרַח. This begins the ἀπάτη of which she spoke in ch. ix. 10 (cf. *v.* 13).

for they shall be given you, &c.] Lit. *Because they are about* (μέλλουσι) *to be given to you for food.* Cf. Num. xiv. 9; ch. vi. 3 *supra.*

13. *I will shew him a way.*] Lit., *I will shew before his face a way;* i.e. explain in his presence.

win.] κυριεύσει, "he shall become lord of," "gain possession of" (Polyb. i. 7, 11, &c.). Cf. 1 Macc. vi. 63; viii. 16; xi. 8; xv. 29.

without losing, &c.] This is a fair paraphrase of the Greek, which is sufficiently curious. Literally: "and there shall not be missing (or perish) of his men one flesh, nor yet (one) living spirit."

The verb διαφωνεῖν, "to be discordant," "to disagree," has in later Greek the further meanings, "to be missing or lost,"—*e.g.* of books, Diod. Sic. xvi. 3, ἐξ ὧν (βιβλων ὀκτὼ) πέντε διαφωνοῦσιν,—and "to fail," *deficere,* "breathe one's last," "die;" *e.g.* Clem. Rom. Hom. ix. 17, 18, xii. 4, &c. See 1 Sam. xxx. 19; Heb. לֹא נֶעְדַּר, "nothing was missing;" and the synonymous לֹא נִפְקַד in Num. xxxi. 49. In Josh. xxiii. 14, לֹא נָפַל, "there hath not fallen (to the ground)," is rendered οὐ διεφώνησεν. "Flesh" (σὰρξ = בָּשָׂר) means "body," as in Gen. ii. 24. "Living spirit," πνεῦμα ζωῆς = רוּחַ חַיִּים, Gen. vi. 17; vii. 15.

Syriac: "And there shall not be lost (נֶאֱבַד, *errabit=peribit*) from him one of the sons of flesh, nor a spirit of life."

14. *beheld.*] κατενόησαν, "observed well;" either הִבִּיט or simply רָאָה.

they wondered greatly at her beauty.] Literally, "And it (*i.e.* her countenance) was before them (= in their sight) exceeding wonderful in beauty"—a sort of parenthesis—"then (καὶ) they said unto her." So Fritzsche: but it seems simpler to suppose the apodosis to begin with καὶ κατενόησαν. "Now when the men heard her words, they observed her countenance, and it was in their sight wonderful and they said." So the Syriac.

15. *Thou hast saved thy life.*] Mark iii. 4; Ps. lxxii. 13. Cod. 58 adds εἰς ἀγαθὸν, "unto good;" Syriac ܠܛܒܬܐ. So Old Lat.

until they have delivered.] So Codd. ii. x. 19, 108. ἕως (Codd. 19, 108, ἂν) παραδῶσί σε. Fritzsche edits ἕως παραδώσουσι, "until they shall deliver," which is the Heb. construction.

16. *when shew.*] Rather, *if declare* (*v.* 13).

17. *an hundred men.*] This escort, as Fritzsche remarks, is somewhat large. But the writer may have intentionally named a large number, to suggest the idea of the multitude of the besiegers.

to accompany her.] Gk. καὶ παρέζευξαν αὐτῇ κ.τ.λ., "and they yoked them beside," *i.e.* "set them on either side of her and her maid." Cf. Eurip. 'Ion,' 22: φρουρὼ π. φύλακε σώματος. Old Lat. *adjunxerunt;* Syriac, "and they delivered her and her maid (unto

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coming was noised among the tents, and they came about her, as she stood without the tent of Holofernes, till they told him of her.

19 And they wondered at her beauty, and admired the children of Israel because of her, and every one said to his neighbour, Who would despise this people, that have among them such women? surely it is not good that one man of them be left, who being let go might deceive the whole earth.

20 And they that lay near Holofernes went out, and all his servants, and they brought her into the tent.

21 Now Holofernes rested upon his bed under a canopy, which was woven with purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones.

22 So they shewed him of her;

them)." The margin is wrong; cf. ch. xv. 11. Bissell renders "they accompanied her," as if the verb were middle.

18. *was noised.*] διεβοήθη. Cf. Gen. xlv. 16: καὶ διεβ. ἡ φωνὴ εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φαραώ. Cod. 58 has διέπεσε, i.e. *got out, spread abroad*, *e.g.* εἰς τὸ στράτευμα (Plutarch, 'Galba,' 22).

Instead of ἐλθόντες ἐκύκλουν the same MS. has ἤλθοσαν καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν, which is the Heb. construction; and so Syr. and Old Lat.

19. *wondered at . . . admired.*] ἐθαύμαζον "they were admiring," both times. Cod. 58 has the aorist ἐθαύμασαν, and inserts καὶ παρεδέχοντο τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς ὅτι ἦσαν ἀγαθοὶ σφόδρα. So the Syriac and Old Lat. "Admired the children of Israel because of her"—ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσ. ἀπ' αὐτῆς—is a construction found also in Greek writers of the silver age: *e.g.* Plut. 'Romulus,' 7, θαυμάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸν νεανίσκον. In the classical period they wrote θαυμ. τινά τινος, or ἐπί τινι, or διά τι.

Who would despise.] τίς καταφρονήσει. The Heb. impf. may mean "would, or can, or could." With the sentiment of the verse, cf. the remark of the Trojan Elders about the beauty of Helen ('Il.' iii. 156–158).

surely it is not good.] ὅτι οὐ καλόν ἐστι κ.τ.λ. "because (כִּי) it is not good," &c.

Cod. 58 omits ὅτι . . . τὴν γῆν. The Syriac omits ὅτι, and renders καλόν ἐστι ܠܐ ܝܐܬ, *oportet*.

who being let go might deceive the whole earth.] The plur. (οἱ, ἀφεθέντες) refers to the preceding pronoun "them." "Let go," *i.e.* out of their present durance in the blockaded city.

"Might deceive," lit. "will be able to outwit (or trick) all the earth" (δυνήσονται κατασοφίσασθαι. Cf. ch. v. 11 *supra*. The Syr. here has the same verb, ܢܬܣܡܠ, as occurs in the Heb. of Exod. i. 10). They would cajole the world with the beauty of their women. Cf. the story of Samson and the Philistines; and Num. xxv. 1, 2, 18, xxxi. 16.

20. *they that lay near.*] οἱ παρακαθεύδοντες. "They that were wont to sleep beside . . ." *i.e.* to keep watch by . . . Trommius, and Liddell and Scott, refer to this passage only. Cod. 58 has πάντες οἱ παρεδρεύοντες, "all that were in constant attendance on H." So the Syr. ܚܠܡ ܕܫܡܫ, "all his attendants;" Old Lat. *omnes deservientes*.

21. *Now Holofernes rested.*] *And Holofernes was resting.* Cf. ch. viii. 33. It was night.

upon his bed under a canopy.] ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κωνωπείῳ. Instead of κλίνης Codd. 19, 108, 23, 44, 71, 74, al. have σκηνῆς, *i.e.* "in his tent on the conopēum;" a conopēum being (see Liddell and Scott) an Egyptian bed, or couch furnished with mosquito curtains. Cf. Hdt. ii. 95. But κωνωπεῖον appears to mean strictly the mosquito-net itself; and κλίνης being the better reading, the sense is: "on his bed (or divan) within the mosquito-curtain." Cf. Hor. 'Epod.' ix. 16:

> "Interque signa turpe militaria
> Sol adspicit conopium."

Juven. vi. 8; Propert. iii. 11, 45. The thing is mentioned again, ch. xiii. 9, 15; xvi. 19.

which was woven with . . . gold, &c.] Fritzsche edits: "which was (made) of purple (tissue), and gold, and emerald (Cod. 58, Syr. emeralds) and precious stones inwoven" (λίθων πολυτελῶν καθυφασμένων. Codd. x. 58, καθυφασμένον, and so the Syr., Old. Lat., and A.V.). See Exod. xxviii. 6, 17 (in the latter verse καθυφαίνειν = מְשַׁבֵּץ, "to set"). With this state-bed of Holofernes, cf. the splendid couches on which Assurbanipal and his queen are enthroned, as represented on the sculptured slab in the British Museum. Cf. also Esther i. 6; Cant. iii. 7, 9, 10 (the state couches of Ahashwērosh and Solomon).

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and he came out before his tent with silver lamps going before him.

23 And when Judith was come before him and his servants, they all marvelled at the beauty of her countenance; and she fell down upon her face, and did reverence unto him: and his servants took her up.

CHAPTER XI.

3 *Holofernes asketh Judith the cause of her coming.* 6 *She telleth him how and when he may prevail.* 20 *He is much pleased with her wisdom and beauty.*

THEN said Holofernes unto her, Woman, be of good comfort, fear not in thine heart: for I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nabuchodonosor, the king of all the earth.

2 Now therefore, if thy people that dwelleth in the mountains had not set light by me, I would not have lifted up my spear against them: but they have done these things to themselves.

3 But now tell me wherefore thou art fled from them, and art come unto us: for thou art come for safeguard; be of good comfort, thou shalt live this night, and hereafter:

4 For none shall hurt thee, but entreat thee well, as they do the servants of king Nabuchodonosor my lord.

5 Then Judith said unto him, Re-

22. *before his tent.*] Lit. *into the proscenium*, or entry of the tent. Usually the word means the narrow stage in front of the *scena* of a Greek theatre.

Instead of καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, Cod. 58 has ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐξῆλθεν, and so the Syr. and Old. Lat.

with silver lamps going before him.] Cod. 58 adds: πολλαὶ σφόδρα· καὶ εἰσήγαγον αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτόν. So Syr. and Old Lat. The detail that the lamps were numerous looks original. It was still night, as appears from ch. xi. 3, 5.

"Going before him" is προάγουσαι αὐτοῦ. In Matt. ii. 9 we read ὁ ἀστὴρ προῆγεν αὐτούς.

23. *was come.*] *Came*, ἦλθε, for which Cod. 58 has ἔστη, "stood;" and so Syr. and Old Lat.

before him.] κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ = לְפָנָיו: cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 8; 1 Kings iii. 15. Sometimes it = עַל־פָּנֵי, "over against," "opposite;" *e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 49. Cf. ch. xi. 5.

Midrash: "And when the king saw her beauty and the splendour of her adornment, the fire of passion burnt in him, and he desired her; and the king was sick with the sickness of passion (חשק); and (so were) all his servants the grandees (פרתמים) that sat before the king." I think that here and elsewhere this Midrash bears traces of a Chaldee original.

CHAPTER XI.

1. *hurt.*] ἐκάκωσα. Cod. 58, ἐκακοποίησα. The Heb. word in either case might be הרעתי; cf. Gen. xix. 9, xxxi. 7. Those who had submitted to Holofernes had not come off wholly without hurt: see ch. iii. 8; ii. 10 *supra*.

was willing.] ᾑρέτικε. The verb αἱρετίζω, *to choose, select*, is late Greek = αἱροῦμαι. It occurs as a deponent in Ctes. Pers. 9 (cf. the reading of 58). Αἱρετέω (Cod. x.) is unknown. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 4, 10 (the perf.); Ps. xxv. 12; cxix. 30, 172 (the aor. mid.) = בָּחַר.

2. *that dwelleth in the mountains.*] Rather, *the hill country*. Codd. 58, 23, 44, al. read ὁ λαὸς οἱ κατοικοῦντες, a *constructio ad sensum*, possible in Heb.

set light by me.] ἐφαύλισε. בָּזָה, Isa. xxxvii. 22. Cf. ch. i. 11; and *v.* 22 *infra*. Midrash: מאסוני.

lifted up my spear against them.] Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 11, xx. 33; 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, 18.

3. *But now.*] Rather, *And now;* and so in *v.* 2. "Thou art fled," &c. should be "thou rannest away from them, and camest." "Art come"—ἥκεις—recurs immediately after.

for safeguard.] Or, *into safety*. Cf. Job xiii. 16.

4. *For none shall hurt thee.*] Rather, *For there is none who shall wrong thee.* In the next line "as they do" should be "*as befalleth*" (γίνεται). Instead of the brachylogy, "There is none who shall wrong thee, but (every one) shall treat thee well," Codd. 19, 108, 44, 71, 74, al. have the first person, "I will treat thee well." So the Syriac: "And I will do to thee as it is done to the servants of my lord." Similarly the Old Lat.

5. *Receive.*] *I.e.* favourably, Prov. iv. 10. In imputing the deliberate falsehoods and

ceive the words of thy servant, and suffer thine handmaid to speak in thy presence, and I will declare no lie to my lord this night.

6 And if thou wilt follow the words of thine handmaid, God will bring the thing perfectly to pass by thee; and my lord shall not fail of his purposes.

7 As Nabuchodonosor king of all the earth liveth, and as his power liveth, who hath sent thee for the upholding of every living thing: for not only men shall serve him by thee, but also the beasts of the field, and the cattle, and the fowls of the air, shall live by thy power under Nabuchodonosor and all his house.

flatteries detailed in *vv.* 5–8 to his heroine, the author is evidently unconscious that such conduct is questionable in a moral point of view. He writes in accordance with ancient rather than modern standards of propriety: his belief is that the end justifies the means, and that an alien and an enemy has no rights. Even the modern world has been slow in attaining to the conviction that not everything is fair in war. Cf. Judg. iii. 20, iv. 18 *sqq.*; 1 Sam. xxi. 13 *sqq.*; and Esther's words in the Gk. Esth. v. 17 *sqq.* It is related of Balthazar Gerard, who killed William I., Prince of Orange, that "though he was a staunch Papist, he craftily behaved like a Protestant. He went to sermons and evening prayers; he had always Marot's Psalms in his hands, or some other Protestant book. He read also Du Bartas's 'Poetical Week,' and it was found that the place most worn out was the story of Judith murdering Holofernes" ('Hist. d'Alex. Farnese, duc de Parme,' iii. 205, quoted in Bayle's Dict. s. v. *Judith.*)

6. *God will bring the thing perfectly to pass by thee.*] τελείως πράγμα ποιήσει μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός, "perfectly will God do a work with thee." Cf. the phrase ποιεῖν ἔλεος μετά τινος, 1 Sam. xx. 8, 14; and compare the Syriac text: "And if thou wilt hear my words, all that is in thy hands shall be fulfilled (to wit), all that God will do with thee." There appears to be a designed ambiguity in the words: "If Crœsus pass the Halys, a mighty empire will be overthrown." Vulg. *perfectam rem faciet Dominus tecum.*

fail of his purposes.] Lit. *fall from his enterprizes* (ch. x. 8). Ps. v. 10: "Let them fall from their purposes" (Heb. and LXX.). Syr.: "and my lord shall not fall from his designs (ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܝ) as long as he liveth."

7. Judith confirms her words by an oath, swearing by the life of Nebuchadnezzar, "as Joseph swears by the life of Pharaoh in Gen. xlii. 15" (Churton). Cf. the oaths of Nebuchadnezzar himself, chaps. i. 12, ii. 12 *supra*; and Ittai's oath to David, "As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth," 2 Sam. xv. 21. There is, of course, an inner irony in Judith's oath. She professes to accept the heathen conception of Nebuchadnezzar as a god on earth, nay, as the sole god, and accordingly swears by him as the strongest possible confirmation of the truth of her words; but all the while she is keenly conscious that an oath by a deity whose deity is denied possesses neither binding force nor corroborative worth, and is moreover a gross mockery of those to whom it is offered.

As Nabuchodonosor . . . liveth.] Lit. *For Nabuchodonosor liveth and his power liveth.* The sense is, *By the life of Nebuchadnezzar and the reality of his power, I declare that* (ὅτι) not only do men serve him through thee, but also, &c. Cf. ch. xii. 4, xiii. 16, where the same construction recurs.

for the upholding of every living thing.] Rather, *for the correction* or *right ordering* (εἰς κατόρθωσιν) *of every soul.* Instead of πάσης ψυχῆς, Codd. 19, 108, 71, 74, 76, 236, read πάσης τῆς γῆς. "Soul" (ψυχή, נֶפֶשׁ) is not in O. T. usage restricted to man, but includes all animate beings: *e.g.* Gen. i. 20, 21, 24.

the beasts of the field . . . fowls of the air.] Cf. Dan. ii. 38: "And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all." Baruch iii. 16, 17: "Where are the princes of the heathen become, and such as ruled the beasts upon the earth; they that had their pastime with the fowls of the air . . . ?" The "hunting inscriptions" of Assurbanipal present a striking parallel with these passages. The Assyrian sovereigns delighted to record the conquests of the chase as well as those of the battlefield. The words of Judith, Oriental hyperbole apart, may contain a reminiscence of the fact that the Assyrian and Babylonian sovereigns were, like Nimrod, mighty hunters as well as warriors; and like the similar prophecies of Jeremiah (Jer. xxvii. 6; xxviii. 14), upon which they are doubtless partly based, their drift is an emphatic assertion of the absolute universality of Nebuchadnezzar's sway.

shall live by thy power under Nabuchodonosor and all his house.] The context requires

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8 For we have heard of thy wisdom and thy policies, and it is reported in all the earth, that thou only art ‖ excellent in all the kingdom, and mighty in knowledge, and wonderful in feats of war.

‖ Or, *in favour.*

9 Now as concerning the matter, which [a] Achior did speak in thy council, we have heard his words; for the men of Bethulia ‖ saved him, and he declared unto them all that he had spoken unto thee.

[a] ch. 5. 5.

‖ Or, *gat him.*

10 Therefore, O lord and governor, reject not his word; but lay it up in thine heart, for it is true: for our nation shall not be punished, neither can the sword prevail against them, except they sin against their God.

11 And now, that my lord be not defeated and frustrate of his purpose,

this meaning. Fritzsche edits ζήσονται ἐπὶ N. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ—a conjecture, the MSS. having πάντα τὸν οἶκον. Cod. x. lacks ἐπὶ; 19, 108, (καὶ) διὰ τῆς ἰσχύος σου ζήσεται N. καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ; cf. Old. Lat. *et per virtutem tuam sciet N. et omnis domus ejus.* The Syriac has: "shall know (or acknowledge) Nebuchadnezzar through thy power."

The sense of ζῆν ἐπί τινος appears to be "to live in dependence upon;" cf. the phrase ὁρμεῖν ἐπ' ἀγκύρας. But it is difficult to find a real parallel. Perhaps the classical sense of the construction is to be preferred: "shall live *in the time of Nebuchadnezzar* and of all his house."

Cod. 58 omits *vv.* 7 and 8. The Syriac omits: "And as his power liveth . . . living thing."

8. *For we have heard of thy wisdom.*] Cf. Acts xxiv. 2 *seq.* (Tertullus' flattery of Felix).

thy policies.] τὰ πανουργεύματα τῆς ψυχῆς σου. The word strictly means *crafty deeds, knaveries* = πανουργίαι, here perhaps military *tactics*. Cf. Ecclus. i. 6; xlii. 24. Codd. ii. ex. corr., iii. 55, read πανουργήματα. Cf. in general Pharaoh's estimate of Joseph, Gen. xli. 39 *seq.*; and Dan. i. 4, v. 12, vi. 3. The Syriac has the same word as in *v.* 6 (strictly = *insidiae, doli*).

thou only art excellent.] ἀγαθὸς, "good," *i.e.* here "able," as a commander.

wonderful in feats of war.] θαυμαστὸς ἐν στρατεύμασι πολέμου, *i.e.* either *wonderful in* (among) *the hosts of war;* or *wonderful in the campaigns of war* (Hdt. iii. 49). Syr. "mighty in wars." Like the Old Lat. (cod. Germ. 15) it transposes θαυμαστὸς with δυνατός. The latter has: *potens in militia belli et mirabilis in providentia et laudabilis in disciplina.*

9. *Now as concerning the matter.*] Lit. *and now the word*—a "nominative absolute." See for the thing spoken of, ch. v. 17–21. Cod. 58, Syriac, and Old Lat., *And now, my lord, &c.* Instead of "the men of B.," the Syr. has "the sons of the city."

saved.] περιεποιήσαντο, *kept* or *saved him for themselves* (Hdt. i. 110). The verb also has the meaning suggested in the margin: see Thucyd. i. 9. The Syr. has "received him," and so Old Lat. (c. Germ. 15). Old Lat. *circumierunt.* Cod. 58 omits the second half of the verse.

spoken unto thee.] Rather, *divulged* (ἐξελάλησε, but Codd. x. 74, 76, 19, 108, ἐλάλ.) *in thy presence* (παρὰ σοί).

10. *Therefore, O lord and governor.*] See note on ch. v. 20 *supra.* Cod. 58 omits δέσπ. κύριε.

reject.] Rather, *pass by, neglect, disregard.* Παρελθεῖν = עָבַר (so Syr.): Gen. xviii. 3; Deut. xxvi. 13; Luke xi. 42.

shall not be punished.] Lit. *is not punished.* Fritzsche edits ἐκδικᾶται, remarking that the form ἐκδικάω is sometimes found, *e.g.* Lev. xix. 18, Deut. xxxii. 43; and that it arose later out of the form in -άζω.

can prevail.] *Prevaileth,* or *doth prevail.* Οὐδὲ κατισχύει is the reading of Codd. x. 19, 44, al. The common text is simply οὐ. The personification of the sword is not uncommon: cf. Deut. xxxii. 42; 2 Sam. xi. 25; 1 Chron. xxi. 12.

except they sin against their God.] Or, *if they have not sinned, &c.* Cf. Lev. xxvi. 3, 8; Deut. xxxii. 30; 2 Chron. xxiv. 24.

11. *that my lord be not defeated and frustrate of his purpose.*] The Gk. is ἵνα μὴ γένηται ὁ κ. μου ἔκβολος καὶ ἄπρακτος. The term ἔκβολος, *cast out,* is used of an *exposed* babe (Eurip. 'Phoeniss.' 104). Perhaps it means *abortive, unsuccessful* here: cf. ἐκβόλιμος. As to the synonym ἄπρακτος, see Thucyd. ii. 59; iv. 61. Wahl unsuitably explains ἔκβολος as = *explosus,* "hissed off the stage," because ἐκβάλλειν may mean *explodere.* The Syriac has: "And now that my lord may not become *without effect*" (ܒܛܠ ܢܗܘܐ). Fritzsche renders, "damit mein Herr nicht ausgestossen, vertrieben werde;" cf. Mark i. 43, ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν.

even death is now fallen upon them.] Rather, *and that death may fall upon their face.* The

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even death is now fallen upon them, and their sin hath overtaken them, wherewith they will provoke their God to anger, whensoever they shall do that which is not fit to be done:

12 For their victuals fail them, and all their water is scant, and they have determined to lay hands upon their cattle, and purposed to consume all those things, that God hath forbidden them to eat by his laws:

13 And are resolved to spend the firstfruits of the corn, and the tenths of wine and oil, which they had sanctified, and reserved for the priests that serve in Jerusalem before the face of our God; the which things it is not lawful for any of the people

Greek is καὶ ἐπιπεσεῖται θάνατος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν. After καὶ we must mentally supply ἵνα from the preceding clause. Its construction with the future indicative would, of course, be a solecism in classical Greek. Codd. x. 23 omit καὶ; 19, 108 read γνῶθι ὅτι ἐπιπ.; and 58 has ἔπεσεν ὁ θάνατος πρὸ πρ. (Syriac, *death has fallen before them.*) Old Lat. *cecidit enim timor super illos;* Vulg. *tremor tuus super ipsos est;* but Old Lat. (cod. Germ.) has *mors.*

and their sin hath overtaken them.] Rather, *a sin hath seized them;* not yet, however, in act but in will. The καὶ introduces the apodosis; see ch. v. 20. καταλαμβάνω often renders הָשִׂיג, *to overtake:* e.g. Gen. xxxi. 24; Ps. xl. 12. Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat., *a great sin.*

whensoever, &c.] Gk. ὁπηνίκα ἂν ποιήσωσιν ἀτοπίαν. The term ἀτοπία, "absurdity," "eccentricity," is not found elsewhere in LXX. or N. T. The adjective ἄτοπον, "out of place," "odd," "absurd," occurs in a stronger ethical sense in Luke xxiii. 41, and elsewhere. Cf. Job xxxiv. 12, ἄτοπα ποιήσειν (= הָרְשִׁיעַ, *to do evil*); xxxv. 13, ἄτοπα (= שָׁוְא, *falsehood*); xxxvi. 21 (= אָוֶן, *vanity, wickedness*). Cod. 58 has αὐτὸ, *i.e.* ἁμάρτημα, instead of ἀτοπίαν; and so Syriac and Old Lat.

12. *For their victuals, &c.*] Lit. "For when the foods failed them, and every (sort of) water was scant, they determined, &c., and all things that God expressly charged them by his laws not to eat, they decided to consume." Instead of Γὰρ ἐξέλιπεν, Codd. iii. x. 19, 44, and many MSS. have παρεξέλιπεν, —"an example," says Fritzsche, "how well attested mere oversights often are." See ch. vii. 20. Ἐσπανίσθη, "was scanty," is a late use of the passive of σπανίζω, which itself means "to be rare, scarce, scanty," of things. The late use of the active form as transitive = "to make scarce," accounts for this use of the passive, which in classical writers means "to be in want of," *indigere.* Cf. Job xiv. 11; where "waters depart from the sea" is rendered by LXX.: χρόνῳ σπανίζεται θάλασσα. See ch. viii. 5 (σπάνει). "Lay hands upon," ἐπιβάλλειν in the intransitive sense, found also in the classics: *to throw oneself upon, fall upon, attack,* irruere (1 Macc. iv. 2; cf. Gen. xxii. 12). After "their cattle" Old Lat. adds *et bibere sanguinem eorum;* and similarly the Vulg. Compare the Midrash, which, after making Judith state as the reason of her flight, "We have sinned before the Lord our God, and therefore He hath said by the hand of the prophets to the people that He will chastise them for their sins," makes her add that owing to thirst "the people have resolved to kill their sheep and to drink their blood, and have determined to loose the holy things (להתיר את הקדושים), from which they derive no benefit, in corn and in wine and in oil. And if they do this, they will perish, and thou wilt stand." See Lev. xvii. 10–14; 1 Sam. xiv. 31–34. "Expressly charged" is διεστείλατο: Mark v. 43.

by his laws.] In Heb. ב = ἐν would be expressed. Yet Fritzsche writes: "ἐν ante τοῖς νόμοις delevi, abest a ii. iii. x. 58." Surely inferior MSS. sometimes preserve a right reading. Cod. 58 and the Syriac omit διέγνωσαν δαπανῆσαι, "they had decided to consume." Cf. ch. xii. 4.

13. Verses 13–15 are wanting in Cod. 58. The Syriac and Old Lat. omit *the tithes.* The order of the Gk. text is thus: "And the first fruits of the corn, and the tithes of the wine and the oil, which they had carefully kept, having dedicated (them) for the priests who stand in Jerusalem before the face of our God (1 Kings xviii. 15), they have resolved to use up (ἐξαναλίσκω)." The last word might represent Heb. אָכַל, *to eat,* as in Deut. v. 22.

the which things.] ἃ is the Greek, where we should have expected ἅς. Lit. "which things not even with the hands was it proper (καθῆκεν impers.; Acts xxii. 22; cf. Ecclus. x. 26) that any of the people touch;" much less with the teeth. As to eating of things hallowed, see Lev. xxii., 1 Sam. xxi. 4–6, and our Saviour's comment upon that passage, Matt. xii. 3 *seq.* Volkmar observes that the extraordinary importance attached to the pay-

so much as to touch with their hands.

14 For they have sent some to Jerusalem, because they also that dwell there have done the like, to bring them a license from the senate.

15 Now when they shall bring them word, they will forthwith do it, and they shall be given thee to be destroyed the same day.

16 Wherefore I thine handmaid, knowing all this, am fled from their presence; and God hath sent me to work things with thee, whereat all the earth shall be astonished, and whosoever shall hear it.

17 For thy servant is religious, and serveth the God of heaven day and night: now therefore, my lord, I will remain with thee, and thy servant will go out by night into the valley, and I will pray unto God, and he will tell me when they have committed their sins:

ment of first-fruits and tithes is a striking feature of the time after the second destruction of the Temple; and so no doubt it is, but not a peculiar feature, as his argument supposes.

14. *have done the like.*] The people of Jerusalem have already in former times of distress been driven to break the law concerning holy things. Cf. the case of the Maccabeans fighting on the Sabbath, 1 Macc. ii. 38 *sqq.*

to bring them a license from the senate.] Gk. *τοὺς μετακομίσοντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄφεσιν παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας*, "persons to bring them the (expected or necessary) permission from the Sanhedrin." How did this embassy evade the notice of the besiegers? Μετακομ., the reading of Codd. 64, 76, 236, Ald. (cf. *μετακομίσαντας*, Codd. 23, 52, al.), is doubtless right. The ordinary text, *μετοικίσαντας*, is meaningless. Codd. 19, 108, *τοῖς μετοικὴ* (leg. *ἰ*)*σασιν αὐτοὺς λαβόντες κ.τ.λ.* "They also that dwell there did the like, *to* (*the advantage of?*) *those who carried them captive, having received the permission* from the senate." Old Lat.: *Qui transtulerunt in relationem senioribus;* but cod. Germ. 15, *qui abstulerunt eis illationem a senioribus.* Syriac: "those who brought them word unto the elders."

15. *Now when they shall bring them word.*] Lit. "And it shall come to pass, whenever one shall have reported (the permission) to them, and they have done accordingly (*καὶ ποιήσωσι*), they will be given unto thee for destruction on that day." Probably *ὡς ἂν ἀναγγείλῃ* is impersonal, a common Hebrew construction. Fritzsche makes the subject *ἡ γερουσία*, from the last verse. Syriac: "They will be given up to thee on that day, and thou shalt destroy them" (= *εἰς ὄλεθρον*; which is not therefore an *addition*, as Fritzsche writes).

16. *am fled from their presence.*] *Ran away from them.* Ἀπέδρων = Attic *ἀπέδραν.* See Lobeck, 'Phryn.' p. 737; Veitch.

to work things with thee.] *To do works* (along) *with thee.* See *v.* 6 *supra.* Cod. 58 and Old Lat., *to do a work*, as there. So Syriac, ⟨ܥܒܕ, *voluntas, res, negotium.*

astonished.] *ἐκστήσεται.* Classically the verb means *to be out of one's wits, to be distraught.* Here, as in Matt. xii. 23, Mark ii. 12, *to be amazed, astounded;* a stronger term than *θαυμάζω* (ch. x. 23), and equivalent to the Heb. שָׁמֵם (2 Chron. vii. 21; Isa. lii. 14); or תָּמַהּ, Gen. xliii. 34. (So Syriac.)

and whosoever.] Omit *and.* Ὅσοι *ἐὰν* refers to *πᾶσα ἡ γῆ*, by a *constructio ad sensum.*

it.] *αὐτά*, *them*, i.e. the works. Cf. 1 Sam. iii. 11. The irony of Judith's words is again evident: see note on *v.* 6. Her language is intentionally ambiguous, not, however, as some commentators have thought, because the author wished to save Judith's credit for veracity. He obviously holds up his heroine as, like Horace's Hypermnestra, "splendide mendax, et in omne virgo Nobilis aevum."

17. *religious.*] *θεοσεβής.* Job i. 1, 8; ii. 3. See note on *εὐσεβής*, ch. viii. 31. She alleges her extraordinary devotion as the ground of her selection by God for a great work.

by night.] *κατὰ νύκτα*, "night by night," "every night,"—a distributive formula. Midrash: "thrice a day."

valley.] Here *φάραγγα*, "ravine;" not *αὐλῶνα*, "glen," "hollow," as in ch. x. 10.

tell.] *ἐρεῖ*, for which Fritzsche edits *ἀναγγελεῖ*, "report," "bring back word," from Codd. iii. 19, 52, 58, 64, al., Old Lat. For *ἐποίησαν τὰ ἁμαρτ. αὐτῶν*, Codd. 19, 108 have *ποιήσουσι τὰ ἁμαρτ. αὐτ.*, and 58, *ποιήσει τὸ ἁμάτημα αὐτ.* "When He shall cause their sin" (?) or punishment. Syriac: *when their sins are being done.* Cf. 2 Kings iv. 27; Amos iii. 7. Judith's representation of herself as a favourite of heaven, and privileged to receive divine communications, would be plausible enough, according to ancient ideas.

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18 And I will come and shew it unto thee: then thou shalt go forth with all thine army, and there shall be none of them that shall resist thee.

19 And I will lead thee through the midst of Judea, until thou come before Jerusalem; and I will set thy throne in the midst thereof; and thou shalt drive them as sheep that have no shepherd, and ᵇa dog shall not so much as ‖open his mouth at thee: for ‖these things were told me according to my foreknowledge, and they were declared unto me, and I am sent to tell thee.

20 Then her words pleased Holofernes and all his servants; and they marvelled at her wisdom, and said,

21 There is not such a woman from one end of the earth to the other, both for beauty of face, and wisdom of words.

22 Likewise Holofernes said unto her, God hath done well to send thee before the people, that strength might be in our hands, and destruction upon them that lightly regard my lord.

ᵇ Exod. 11. 7.
‖ Or, *bark.*
‖ Or, *these things have I spoken.*

18. *shew it unto thee.*] προσανοίσω σοι, *I will bring back to thee.* The word is used by Polybius to render the Lat. *referre ad senatum.* Heb. probably וְאוֹדִיעֲךָ, "and I will inform thee." (So Syriac.)

there shall be.] *There is.*

19. *through the midst.*] διὰ μέσου τῆς Ἰουδ., where μέσον is a neut. substant.=Heb. תָּוֶךְ. Cod. 58 has the better Greek, διὰ μέσης.

until thou come.] This is probably right. = Heb. עַד בֹּאֲךָ; so Cod. 19, and the Syriac. Cod. 58 has *until I come.*

I will set.] Codd. 19, 108, *thou shalt set.* "Thy throne" is τὸν δίφρον σου; but Codd. 23, 44, 74, 76, al. have θρόνον. Δίφρος represents Heb. בַּסָּא, *sella*, in Deut. xvii. 18; 1 Sam. i. 9; 2 Kings iv. 10; 2 Macc. xiv. 21.

as sheep that have no shepherd.] "Or, an army whose leader is slain (1 Kings xxii. 17). Such in Judith's intention the Assyrians were soon to be" (Churton). Cf. also Matt. ix. 36; Num. xxvii. 17. *Shepherd* was an Assyrian as well as a Hebrew synonym of *king.*

a dog shall not so much, &c.] Lit. *and a dog shall not mutter* (γρύξει) *with his tongue against thee.* Γρύζω, which the Attic comedians use in the sense of *to mutter* or *grumble*, is Heb. חָרַץ, "to sharpen," Exod. xi. 7, where this proverbial expression first occurs. So Midrash. Cf. also Josh. x. 21. The meaning here is: Thou shalt meet with no resistance, not even of the feeblest kind. Pellicanus, annotating the Vulgate, wrote, "Ego adducam te; i.e. caput tuum. Non latrabunt contra te canes; non enim vives, sed potius illis cibus abjicieris."

told.] *Spoken* (ἐλαλήθη); *scil.* by the Deity, and therefore they must be true. Cod. 58, ἐμηνύθη, "were revealed:" 2 Macc. iii. 11. So Syriac, "these things were revealed in my knowledge;" and Old Lat.

according to my foreknowledge.] Codd. 19, 108 omit *my*; cf. ch. ix. 6. The meaning seems to be: *were spoken to me prophetically*; or as Gaab and De Wette put it, *durch Offenbarung*, "by (or in the way of) revelation." Fritzsche prefers to understand πρόγνωσις of Judith's natural foresight of the end, which was confirmed by a special revelation; but this is too artificial to be probable. Cf. the Vulg. "Haec mihi dicta sunt *per providentiam Dei.*" So Midrash: "All this was told me *in the visions of God*, and on account of the hot anger of the Lord am I sent to tell thee all this." The Syriac omits: "and they were declared unto me." Cf. Cod. 58, which has, instead of καὶ ἀπηγγέλη μοι κ. ἀπεστάλην, simply καὶ ἦλθον τοῦ.

I am sent to tell.] *I was sent to report (them); ἀπεστάλην ἀναγγεῖλαι.*

20. *at her wisdom.*] Cod. 58, Syr., and Old Lat., *at her beauty and her wisdom.*

21. *from one end of the earth.*] Cf. Deut. xiii. 7; Matt. xxiv. 31. The Old Lat. has the curious variant: *a cacumine montium usque ad summum terrae.*

for beauty of face.] ἐν κάλλει προσώπου. So Fritzsche after Codd. 19, 52, 58, 64, 44, al., Syriac and Old Lat. The common text has (iii. ἐν) καλῷ προσώπῳ, which is certainly wrong.

22. *the people.*] Cod. 58, Old Lat., *thy people*; Syr. *the sons of thy people.*

that strength might be in our hands.] Cf. the phrase *to strengthen the hands* of one, Ezra vi. 22; Neh. vi. 9; Jer. xxiii. 14, and elsewhere. Assuming what she said to be true, Judith's mission to the Assyrians was a divine strengthening of their hands. But Holofernes' recognition of the fact clashes with his former assertion of the sole divinity of Nabuchodonosor (ch. iii. 8; vi. 2), as Pellicanus long ago observed. Cod. 58 has *in us* for *in our hands*; and the Syriac,

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23 And now thou art both beautiful in thy countenance, and witty in thy words: surely if thou do as thou hast spoken, thy God shall be my God, and thou shalt dwell in the house of king Nabuchodonosor, and shalt be renowned through the whole earth.

CHAPTER XII.

2 *Judith will not eat of Holofernes' meat.* 7 *She tarried three days in the camp, and every night went forth to pray.* 13 *Bagoas doth move her to be merry with Holofernes,* 20 *who for joy of her company drank much.*

THEN he commanded to bring her in where his plate was set; and bade that they should prepare for her of his own meats, and that she should drink of his own wine.

2 And Judith said, I [a]will not eat thereof, lest there be an offence:

[a] Gen. 43. 32. Dan. 1. 8. Tobit 1. 11.

that there might be in us help (leg. בְּנוּ pro בָּם, *memoria*).

23. *beautiful.*] ἀστεῖα, "pretty," or "charming." Cf. Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iv. 3. 5, οἱ μικροὶ ἀστεῖοι καὶ σύμμετροι, καλοὶ δ' οὔ. Cf. Exod. ii. 2 (= Heb. טוֹב, "goodly").

witty.] ἀγαθή, either "excellent" or "pleasing."

surely.] ὅτι, *because* or *for* (= כִּי). "(I say this) because, if, &c."

if thou do.] Codd. 19, 108: *if thy God do as thou hast said, he shall be, &c.*

thy God shall be my God.] Cf. Gen. xxviii. 21; 2 Kings v. 17; Ruth i. 16. In all good faith Holofernes declares that if Judith's God grant him the predicted triumph, he will adopt his worship. Judith's beauty and craft are completely successful.

dwell.] καθήσῃ, "sit." The Heb. יָשַׁב means both "to sit" and "to dwell." Cf. Lat. *sedes*, and our *seat*.

renowned through the whole earth.] ὀνομαστὴ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, *renowned above all the earth*, the comparative use of παρά. The earth is put for the inhabitants of it, as often.

CHAPTER XII.

1. *where his plate was set.*] *Where his silver vessels used to be put* or *laid* (ἐτίθετο). τὰ ἀργυρώματα recurs, ch. xv. 11; 1 Macc. xv. 32. Old Lat. *argentum*; cod. Corb., *pecunia*. Vulg. *thesauri*. "If the word *plate* were used, it should at least be limited by *silver*," remarks Dr. Bissell. *Plate*, however, is the Spanish *plata*, silver. Judith is led into the banqueting chamber. (Syr. omits "to bring . . . set").

prepare.] καταστρῶσαι, sternere; *to spread* a couch (κλίνην), or rather "soft skins" (*v.* 15), for her to recline upon at his table. The literal translation seems to be: *and he commanded to spread for her to drink of his dainties and his wine.* Πίνειν is connected by zeugma with ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψοποιημάτων, as well as with τοῦ οἴνου. Cf. "I will not eat" in *v.* 2, which, *vice versâ*, includes the wine as well as the viands. Syr.: "and he commanded that they should spread (a couch) for her, and that they should give her of his feast, and of the wine of his drink." It looks as if καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῇ had fallen out after αὐτῇ: Codd. 19, 108 have these words, and so Old Lat. (In that case πιεῖν, the reading of Codd. iii. 58, 76, al. is right.)

Ὀψοποίημα is a rare word, occurring besides only in the Geoponica (x. 18), in the sense of *preparation of food, cookery*. Here it means *dainty fare*. The verb ὀψοποιέω, "to cook daintily," and the noun ὀψοποιΐα, "fine cookery," as well as ὀψοποιός, "a cook," and ὀψοποιητικὴ, "the art of cookery," are found in the classics.

2. *lest there be an offence.*] Gk. ἵνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον. Cf. ch. v. 1, 19. Fritzsche says: "An offence not with men but with God, through eating of unclean foods forbidden in the Law, which would prove ruinous." Richard Arnald wrote: "It was the custom of ancient times to consecrate all that they did eat or drink to their gods, by putting part of it on the altar, or casting it into the fire; so that to eat of meats and drinks so consecrated was in effect to partake of things offered to idols." See 2 Macc. vi. 18 *sqq.* In Israel all foods were virtually consecrated by the offering of the first-fruits and sacrifices. See Lev. xvii. 3, xxiii. 14; Deut. xii. 21 *sqq.* Cf. 'Odyss.' iii. 5–68. Some MSS. read γένηταί μοι, and so the Syr. and Old Lat.; this accords with the general use of σκάνδαλον: "lest there arise a snare (or stumbling-block) to me." Cf. Judges viii. 27; Ps. lxix. 22; Matt. xviii. 7; Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. viii. 13.

The writer lays great stress upon Judith's scruples about "unclean meats," and the tenderness of her conscience about such matters stands in startling contrast with her well-considered lying and calculated treachery. She belongs to her own age, not ours; an age which refined upon the Law itself, in its pursuit of ceremonial purity. Cf. Dan. i. 8; Tobit i. 11; 2 Macc. vi. 7, 18; also Ezek. iv. 13, 14; Hos. ix. 3, "They shall eat unclean things in Assyria;" Mark vii. 2–23; Acts x. 9–16.

but provision shall be made for me of the things that I have brought.

3 Then Holofernes said unto her, If thy provision should fail, how should we give thee the like? for there be none with us of thy nation.

4 Then said Judith unto him, As thy soul liveth, my lord, thine handmaid shall not spend those things that I have, before the Lord work by mine hand the things that he hath determined.

5 Then the servants of Holofernes brought her into the tent, and she slept till midnight, and she arose when it was toward the morning watch,

6 And sent to Holofernes, saying, Let my lord now command that thine handmaid may go forth unto prayer.

7 Then Holofernes commanded his guard that they should not stay her: thus she abode in the camp three days, and went out in the night into the valley of Bethulia, and washed herself in a fountain of water by the camp.

provision shall be made brought.] Lit. *out of the things that have followed me it shall be provided.* For χορηγεῖσθαι in this sense, see Arist. 'Polit.' iii. 11. 2, iv. 1. 1; and cf. 'Eth. Nic.' i. 10, 15.

Cod. 58 has χορήγει μοι, "provide for me;" Codd. 23, 44, al. "I will be provided;" Syr. "sufficeth me that which came with me." Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 10; Ecclus. i. 8, 23; 1 Kings iv. 7 (= כַּלְכֵּל).

3. *thy provision.*] τὰ ὄντα μετὰ σοῦ.

how should we give thee the like?] πόθεν ἐξοίσομέν σοι δοῦναι ὅμοια αὐτοῖς; "whence shall we bring forth (*i.e.* out of what stores), to give thee things like to them?" But Codd. iii. 19. 58, 23, 52, al. have πόθεν ἔξομεν, "whence shall we be able, &c." Syr. "whence (will it be) to us to give thee like it?"

for there be none with us of thy nation.] *For there is not with us* [*a man;* so Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat.] *of thy nation* [*who hath the like:* Syr., Old Lat.]. The Old Lat. (cod. Corb.) has: "non enim est nobiscum ex genere tuo *aliquid*;" a false explanation.

4. *As thy soul liveth.*] See ch. xi. 7; 1 Sam. i. 26; 2 Sam. xi. 11; Hos. iv. 15; Amos viii. 14. Cod. 58 omits the formula.

those things that I have.] τὰ ὄντα μετ' ἐμοῦ (*v.* 3). Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. μετ' αὐτῆς. The solemn irony of Judith's reply is obvious to us who know the sequel of the story.

At the end the Syriac has: "that *I* have determined."

5. *till midnight.*] μεχρὶ μεσούσης τῆς νυκτός, a classical form of expression; cf. ἡμέρα μεσοῦσα, Hdt. iii. 104; θέρους μεσοῦντος, Thucyd. v. 57. See also Exod. xii. 29: ἐγενήθη δὲ μεσούσης τῆς νυκτός. Heb. בַּחֲצִי הַלָּיְלָה, "in the half of the night." So Syr.

toward the morning watch.] For πρὸς, "towards," Cod. iii. has περὶ, "about." Cf. Exod. xiv. 24, בְּאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר, "in the watch of the morning." It was the last night-watch before sunrise. See Judges vii. 19; 1 Sam. xi. 11; Matt. xiv. 25; Mark xiii. 35; Luke xii. 38.

6. *go forth unto prayer.*] Syr. *to pray.* The Mosaic Law nowhere prescribes early acts of devotion. Even Daniel was content to pray three times a day (Dan. vi. 10), according to the custom indicated in Ps. lv. 17, which specifies the hours of evening, morning, and noonday (cf. Acts iii. 1, x. 9; the sixth and ninth hours). But the zeal of earnest piety has never waited for prescription in such matters (Ps. cxix. 147, 148); and, apart from her habitual asceticism, Judith certainly had special reason to pray on the present occasion. Cf. also 1 Sam. xv. 11; Rev. iv. 8, vii. 15; 1 Macc. iii. 47, vii. 37.

7. *went out in the night.*] *Used to go forth every night and dip herself* (2 Kings v. 14). Midrash: לטבול את גופה, "to dip her body." The dipping was ceremonial: cf. Exod. xxx. 17–21; Ps. xxvi. 6; John xiii. 10; Heb. x. 22. Telemachos washed his hands in the sea before praying to Athena ('Odyss.' ii. 260). The Jewish προσευχαὶ, or oratories, were usually near water: cf. Acts xvi. 13; Juven. Sat. iii. 296: "Ede ubi consistas, in qua te quaero proseucha." Volkmar asserts that Judith would neither eat nor even pray until after she had taken a bath, and that this extreme scrupulousness goes beyond that indicated in Mark vii. 2, and belongs to a later time (viz. that of Trajan). But she did *not* bathe immediately before her evening meal; and it cannot be supposed that her fasting through the day was unaccompanied by prayer, or was itself determined, as Volkmar states, by the fact that she could only bathe once a day.

in a fountain of water by the camp.] Rather, *in the camp, at the fountain of water.* Cod. 58, the Syr., and Old Lat. omit *in the camp* (Gk. ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ). According to ch. vii.

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8 And when she came out, she besought the Lord God of Israel to direct her way to the raising up of the children of her people.

9 So she came in clean, and remained in the tent, until she did eat her meat at evening.

10 And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast to his own servants only, and called none of the officers to the banquet.

11 Then said he to Bagoas the eunuch, who had charge over all that he had, Go now, and persuade this Hebrew woman which is with thee, that she come unto us, and eat and drink with us.

12 For, lo, it will be a shame for

3. the Assyrians encamped by the fountain. When it is said in the verse before us that Judith used to go forth (from the camp) every night, the meaning must be that she went from Holofernes' headquarters at the centre of the camp to the far outskirts where the fountain was. But even after this explanation, the words *ἐν τῇ παρεμβ.* still wear a suspicious look. Movers suggested that the Gk. translator mistook מהנדה, "from the uncleanness," for במחנה, "in the camp." Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. have *in the fountain.*

8. *came out.*] *ἀνέβη, went up,* sc. out of the water: Matt. iii. 16; Mark i. 10.

she besought.] *She used to* (or *would*) *beseech.* Ἐδέετο (Ionic form; Hdt. iii. 157), the imperfect, expresses what she did on each occasion.

to the raising up.] *εἰς ἀνάστημα* (Cod. iii. vulgo, *ἀνάστεμα*); see note on ch. ix. 10 *supra.* For the metaphor, cf. Ps. iii. 3; ix. 13; xviii. 48. The raising of Israel implied the bringing low of Assyria; Ps. xx. 8.

9. *So she came in clean, and remained in the tent.*] *And coming in clean she would remain, &c.* Bissell renders "she remained so" (*i.e.* clean), adding that the word "seems necessary to complete the sense." The Syriac has, "and when she came in, she would remain in purity in the tent." But the A. V. is preferable.

until she did eat her meat.] *μέχρις οὗ προσηνέγκατο* (Codd. 19, 108, *προσεφέρετο*) *τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῆς,* "until she took to herself her food." Cf. Xen. 'Cyrop.' iv. 2, 41; and the passive, *τὰ προσφερόμενα, meat* or *drink, food.* Wisdom xvi. 21: *τῇ τοῦ προσφερομένου ἐπιθυμίᾳ,* "to the appetite of the eater."

10. *And . . . Holofernes made.*] *καὶ ἐγένετο . . . ἐποίησεν* Ὀλ. עשה . . . ויהי; a common Heb. construction. Feast is *πότος, banquet,* מִשְׁתֶּה; cf. Esth. i. 5, 9.

to his own servants only.] *I.e.* his immediate attendants, his personal retinue and the officers of his household.

called . . . to the banquet.] *ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν* (so Fritzsche after Codd. iii. 19, 58, 23, 52, 44, and many MSS.; vulgo *χρῆσιν*). The common reading appears meaningless. Κλῆσις properly means an *invitation* to a feast, *e.g.* Xenoph. 'Sympos.' i. 7. Here it denotes the *feast* itself—Old Lat. *ad cenam*—or *the persons invited,* the *guests,* or *company* (De Wette). The Heb. may have been מִקְרָא, Lev. xxiii. 2, 3, 4.

none of the officers.] *οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις,* "none of those in charge of affairs" (German, *die bei den Geschäften*): *i.e.* the various commanders of the army. Cf. 1 Macc. x. 37, *κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας,* "shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom;" and xiii. 37, *γράφειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν.* None of the army commanders were invited, because the occasion was not a public one. (Syriac: "and a man of the soldiers and officers he called not.")

11. *Bagoas.*] Vulg. Vagao; a name derived from the Persian: see Plin. 'Hist. Nat.' xiii. 4, 9; Quintil. v. 12, 21. Arnald quotes, "Quem penes est dominam servandi cura Bagoae" (Ovid, 'Amor.' ii. 2. 1). The name בִּגְוַי, *Bigwai* (Ezra ii. 2, 14), may be related to Bagoas (cf. *Βαγώας,* Cod. 58 *passim,* and Old Persian *apávya,* i.e. *sine testibus*). Eunuchs were employed by the ancient Assyrian as by other Oriental monarchs; but the name *Bagoas* indicates that the present passage belongs to post-Persian times. The Midrash writes הסריס, "the eunuch," instead of Bagoas.

12. *it will be a shame for our person.*] *αἰσχρὸν τῷ προσώπῳ ἡμῶν.* Heb. לְפָנֵינוּ בוּשָׁה, Ezek. vii. 18 (or בּוּשֶׁת). The words put into the mouth of Holofernes are strikingly true to nature. Habitual sin of any kind, and sexual licence especially, may have the effect of falsifying the judgment and reversing the moral perceptions, so that a man will call evil good with entire sincerity, and glory in his own unspeakable shame.

"When we in our viciousness grow hard
(O misery on't!) the wise gods seel our eyes
In our own filth; drop our clear judgments; make us
Adore our errors; laugh at us while we strut
To our confusion."

Ant. and Cleop. iii. sc. 11.

our person, if we shall let such a woman go, not having had her company; for if we draw her not unto us, she will laugh us to scorn.

13 Then went Bagoas from the presence of Holofernes, and came to her, and he said, Let not this fair damsel fear to come to my lord, and to be honoured in his presence, and drink wine, and be merry with us, and be made this day as one of the daughters of the Assyrians, which serve in the house of Nabuchodonosor.

14 Then said Judith unto him, Who am I now, that I should gainsay my lord? surely whatsoever pleaseth him I will do speedily, and it shall be my joy unto the day of my death.

15 So she arose, and decked herself with her apparel and all her woman's attire, and her maid went and laid soft skins on the ground for her over against Holofernes, which she had received of Bagoas for her daily use, that she might sit and eat upon them.

16 Now when Judith came in and sat down, Holofernes his heart was ravished with her, and his mind was moved, and he desired greatly her company; for he waited a time to

if we draw her not unto us.] ἐὰν ταύτην μὴ ἐπισπασώμεθα, *if we allure* (or *induce, persuade*) *not this woman.* The language is obviously euphemistic both here and in the next verse. Syr. ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܣܒ, *nisi adhaeserimus ei.*

13. *drink wine, and be merry with us.*] Instead of πιεῖν (Codd. iii. 64, al.), Fritzsche edits πίεσαι, "thou shalt drink;" a change of construction which is immediately reversed in γενηθῆναι, for which, however, Codd. 19, 108 have the future γενήσῃ. Literally it is: "And thou shalt drink wine with us unto merriment" (εἰς εὐφροσύνην). Cf. Esth. i. 10 *sqq.*; Hdt. v. 18. 2 *sqq.* The indications of *vv.* 13–16 point to post-Persian times.

and be made this day, &c.] Lit., *and to become on this day as a daughter of the sons of Assur, who stand by, &c.* The *who* is feminine (αἵ), referring to an understood antecedent. Cod. 58 has: *and to become glorious* (ἔνδοξος) *as a daughter of the nobles* (μεγιστάνων). Syr.: "And thou shalt drink wine with us, and shalt rejoice, and shalt be to-day honoured as one of the daughters of the nobles of Assyria, who (masc.) stand, &c." The characteristic address of this Oriental Pandarus hardly veils a sinister meaning. But Judith's opportunity is now come, and she answers at once in a tone of deep humility and apparent gratification that must have greatly relieved the apprehensions of her wily tempter.

14. *surely.*] ὅτι, *because* or *for.* Judith says: "And who am I to gainsay my lord? Nay, for everything that shall be in his eyes pleasing, I will haste and do" (σπεύσασα ποιήσω, or according to Cod. 58, σπουδάσω καὶ ποιήσω).

it shall be my joy.] καὶ ἔσται τοῦτο ἀγαλλίαμα. But Codd. iii. 52, 58, al. μοι τοῦτο; and 23, 55, 44, al. τοῦτο μοι. Syr. *and it shall be to me a boast* (ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܫܘܒܚܐ).

15. *decked herself.*] See ch. x. 3 *supra.* Codd. iii. 19, 108 omit καὶ πάντι τῷ κόσμῳ.

soft skins.] τὰ κώδια, *the sheepskins* or *fleeces* used for bedding (Arist. 'Frogs,' 1478); dimin. of κῶας; cf. 'Odyss.' iii. 37 *sq.* Cod. 58 omits τὰ κώδια . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν; using ἔστρωσεν absolutely, as in *v.* 10.

for her daily use.] εἰς τὴν καθημερινὴν δίαιταν αὐτῆς. For the adjective καθημ., *quotidianus*, cf. Plut. 'Lyc.' 10; Luke xi. 3, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. Trommius cites Judith xii. 15 only. Δίαιτα means "*a way of living, mode of life*, with special reference to *food and dress, maintenance, board and lodging.* Lat. *cultus victusque*" (Liddell and Scott). The Syriac has: "to sleep on them."

sit.] *recline* (κατακλινομένην). Syr. *sit.*

16. *sat down.*] ἀνέπεσεν = ἀνεκεῖτο, "lay at table." The ancient Hebrew custom was to sit at table (1 Sam. xx. 24; Prov. xxiii. 1). Lying at table is mentioned as a mark of luxury by the prophets Amos (vi. 4) and Ezekiel (xxiii. 41). After the Return it became general.

was ravished with her.] ἐξέστη ἐπ' αὐτήν, *was amazed, beside itself with wonder, at her.* The more usual construction is, ἐπί τινι or ἐπί τινος. The present one recurs ch. xv. 1.

his mind was moved.] ἐσαλεύθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ. The soul was regarded as the seat of emotion. "His soul was shaken or agitated:" cf. 1 Macc. vi. 8; Luke xxi. 26.

and he desired greatly her company.] Fritzsche puts the stop before this clause, which appears to be closely connected with the following one: "Now he was ardently

deceive her, from the day that he had seen her.

17 Then said Holofernes unto her, Drink now, and be merry with us.

18 So Judith said, I will drink now, my lord, because my life is magnified in me this day more than all the days since I was born.

19 Then she took and ate and drank before him what her maid had prepared.

20 And Holofernes took great delight in her, and drank much more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born.

CHAPTER XIII.

2 *Judith is left alone with Holofernes in his tent.* 4 *She prayeth God to give her strength.* 8 *She cut off his head while he slept,* 10 *and returned with it to Bethulia.* 17 *They saw it, and commend her.*

NOW when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut his tent without, and dismissed the waiters from the presence of his lord; and they went to their beds: for they were all weary, because the feast had been long.

2 And Judith was left alone in the tent, and Holofernes lying along upon his bed: for he was filled with [a] wine.

[a] Ecclus. 31. 20, 25.

desirous of intercourse with her, and was watching for an opportunity of beguiling her, from the day that he saw her." Κατεπίθυμος is a ἅπαξ λεγ. Cod. 58 reads: ἐζήτει καιρὸν ἁπαντῆσαι αὐτῇ, "He was seeking an opportunity to meet her." Syr. *et quaerebat sibi tempus quo cognosceret eam.*

18. *I will drink now.*] πίομαι δή. אֶשְׁתֶּה נָא, "Let me drink, I pray." Cod. 58, 44, al. omit the precative particle, which occurred in *v.* 17 (πίε δέ). She wishes to drink her own wine, not his.

my life is magnified in me this day.] She is thinking of the exploit which that day would witness, and her heightened feeling finds natural expression in lofty language.

more than all the days, &c.] Lit., *above all the days of my birth;* cf. the vulgar English, "all my *born* days," *i.e.* my entire life. But Judith's words might be understood to mean that the occasion was more joyful than all her birthdays; cf. Gen. xl. 20 (ἡμέρα γενέσεως = חֻלְדָּת).

19. *had prepared.*] Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. add *for her.* It was her usual evening meal, after the day's fasting.

20. *took great delight in her.*] ηὐφράνθη ἀπ' αὐτῆς. The construction, which is also classical, signifies that she was the *source* of his delight: cf. Prov. v. 18; 2 Chron. xx. 27. Heb. יְשַׂמַּח מִן. Codd. 58, 19, 52, 44, al. have the more usual ἐπ' αὐτῇ; Old Lat. *super eam.*

and drank much more wine.] The prophet Habakkuk inveighs against the drunken carousals of the Chaldean oppressors of his people: Hab. ii. 5, 15, 16. Holofernes is represented as goaded by lust into an inebriety which defeated his evil designs upon Judith. The entire portrait of him resembles that of an effeminate Persian satrap like Tissaphernes, or a luxurious Syro-Grecian like Apollonius or Gorgias, rather than that of an Assyrian warrior of the olden time.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *made haste to depart.*] "To depart" is ἀναλύειν; properly, "to loose from the moorings," "weigh anchor:" cf. Polyb. iii. 69. 14; Philipp. i. 23, "having the desire to depart," *i.e.* to die (ἀναλῦσαι). Cod. 58, ἀπελθεῖν; Lat. *abire.* Syr., "rose to go away."

without.] *I.e.* from the outside; ἔξωθεν. This would have prevented Judith's escape, had not her maid been waiting for her outside the tent (*v.* 3).

dismissed the waiters.] Lit., *shut out those who were standing by.* The attendants of Holofernes are meant by οἱ παρεστῶτες. The guests are called his "servants" (δοῦλοι; ch. xii. 10). Cod. 23, 44, 64, al. needlessly correct ἀπέκλεισε into ἀπέλυσε; Old Lat. *dimisit.*

they went.] ἀπώχοντο, *went off.* Cod. 58, Old Lat. add *all.* Instead of "to their beds," Syr. has, "each into his tent;" and concludes, "for they were weary with the greatness of the drinking that had been."

2. *lying along.*] Or *fallen forward* (προπεπτωκώς). He was helplessly drunk; or as the Gk. text has it, "the wine was poured all over him," or "had drenched him" (ἦν περικεχυμένος αὐτῷ); he was *vino madidus.* Syr. ܗܘ ܕܫܟܒ ܥܠ ܡܛܪܬܗ ܟܡܝܬ. Midrash: "H. the king on his bed slept like one dead."

3 Now Judith had commanded her maid to stand without her bedchamber, and to wait for her coming forth, as she did daily: for she said she would go forth to her prayers, and she spake to Bagoas according to the same purpose.

4 So all went forth, and none was left in the bedchamber, neither little nor great. Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart, O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem.

5 For now is the time to help thine inheritance, and to execute mine enterprizes to the destruction of the enemies which are risen against us.

6 Then she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his fauchion from thence,

7 And approached to his bed, and

3. *Now Judith had commanded.*] Before she went into the banqueting chamber (cf. ch. xii. 15).

her bedchamber.] Cod. 58 and Syr. *the bedchamber.*

wait for.] *Look out* or *watch* for; cf. Thucyd. v. 37: Ἀργείων δὲ δύο ἄνδρες . . . ἐπετήρουν ἀπιόντας αὐτούς. Trommius does not give the word.

and she spake.] The Gk. implies a Heb. plupf., *and she had spoken.*

4. *So all went forth.*] After the parenthesis, *v.* 3, the narrative is resumed with a virtual repetition of the first statement of *v.* 2—a common feature of Hebrew style. The Gk. adds, *from her* (Codd. iii. 23, 52, 71, al.), or *from his* (44, 74, 76, 106) *face.* Cod. 58, *from Holofernes' face;* Syr. *from thence.* Cf. *v.* 1; Heb. probably מִלְּפָנָיו, *from before him.*

neither little nor great.] Lit. *from small unto great:* Gen. xix. 11; 1 Sam. v. 9; and often in O. T. See also *v.* 13; Baruch i. 4. Cod. 58, *in his bedchamber, small or great.* Syr. *great or small.*

by his bed.] Cod. 58, κεφαλήν. Syr. *near the head of Holofernes.* So Old Lat.

said in her heart.] *I.e.* said to herself, mentally—a Heb. phrase, Ps. xiv. 1. The διανοία (for καρδία) of Cod. 58 is a correct paraphrase. Vulg. *Stetitque Judith ante lectum, orans cum lacrymis et labiorum motu in silentio;* a reminiscence of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 13: "Now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard." The Midrash agrees.

O Lord.] Cod. 58, κύριε, κύριε. So Syr.

look upon.] *I.e.* look favourably upon, grant success to my endeavours; cf. Ps. xc. 17, and note on ch. vi. 19. For the final phrase, see ch. x. 8. Vulg.: *respice in hac hora ad opera manuum mearum, ut sicut promisisti Jerusalem civitatem tuam erigas; et hoc quod credens per te posse fieri cogitavi perficiam.* Cf. the Midrash: "Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, and let me exact the vengeance of thy servants; to strengthen the bars of the gates of Jerusalem, the city of thy sanctuary. Uphold me by thy word, and let me not be disappointed of my hope, by the power of thy strength."

5. *For now is the time.*] She was not *prescribing* a time and so tempting God, ch. viii. 15 *sqq.* Her enterprise had prospered thus far, and she stood within sight of its completion. She simply prays the Almighty to nerve her arm for the decisive stroke. As to the language, see ch. ix. 12; Luke i. 54; see also Ps. cii. 13, "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea the set time, is come."

to execute mine enterprizes.] Gk. *my enterprize,* singular. Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat., *execute thou* (ποίησον, pro ποιῆσαι). The word rendered "destruction" is doubtful. Fritzsche edits θραῦμα. Codd. iii. 64, al. give the alternative spelling, θραῦσμα; "fragment" here = "breaking," "wreck" (= 19, 44, θραῦσιν). Cod. 58 has τραῦμα, "wound;" but Syr. "and do thou the designs of my heart, to the *breaking* of the peoples that have risen against us." Cf. ch. vii. 9.

6. *the pillar.*] Κανών, *pole,* is the word edited by Fritzsche, with the remark that the external evidence is harmonious in its favour; but see the Syriac. It may have been a pole from which the mosquito curtain was suspended. Badwell, however, conjectured κίων, "pillar." Cf. Judges xvi. 25. So the Syriac, ܥܡܘܕܐ; and probably the Heb.

his fauchion.] Or *falchion.* The Greek ἀκινάκης is defined by Suidas as μικρὸν δόρυ Περσικόν, a small Persian *spear.* It was a *short straight sword,* according to Liddell and Scott. Others say a *crooked* sword, or *scimetar.* Cf. Hdt. vii. 54: καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. Hor. 'Od.' i. 27. 5: "Vino et lucernis, Medus acinaces Immane quantum discrepat." Plat. 'Republ.' viii. 553: μέγαν βασίλεα . . . τιάρας καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ ἀκινάκας παραζώννυντα. The Syr. has, *and drew his*

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took hold of the hair of his head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day.

8 And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might, and she took away his head from him,

9 And tumbled his body down from the bed, and pulled down the canopy from the pillars; and anon after she went forth, and gave Holofernes his head to her maid;

10 And she put it in her bag of meat: so they twain went together according to their custom unto prayer: and when they passed the camp, they compassed the valley, and went up the mountain of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof.

11 Then said Judith afar off to the watchmen at the gate, Open, open now the gate: God, even our God, is with us, to shew his power

dirk (דמעזה); a curious word, which recurs in *v.* 8 and ch. xvi. 9, according to the evidence of MS. Add. 14,447 (Brit. Mus. Coll.).

7. *took hold of the hair.*] To make the blow certain. For δράσσομαι, cf. Lev. ii. 2.

and said.] To be understood of a mental or at least suppressed ejaculation. In Heb. "to say" often means "to think," even when "in the heart" is not added, *e.g.* Exod. ii. 14; cf. *v.* 4. So λόγος is (1) thought, (2) speech. Cf. Samson's last prayer: Judges xvi. 28.

8. Lit. *And she smote into* (or *against*, εἰς = ἐπί) *his neck twice with her might.* Instead of *with her might*, Cod. 58 has *with the dirk* (παραξιφίς, "a knife worn beside the sword"). "Bis vero percussit pro fragilitate sexus" (Pellicanus).

took away his head.] Cf. ch. xiv. 15. In like manner David beheaded the Philistine with his own sword, 1 Sam. xvii. 51: cf. also 1 Macc. vii. 47; 2 Macc. xv. 30; Esth. vii. The really historic Jael was no doubt in part the prototype of Judith, Judges iv. 21; v. 26. While composing his Haggada, the author may also have remembered the assassination of Eglon by Ehud, Judges iii. 19 *sqq.* The death of Attila is in some respects a parallel to that of Holofernes. He had married a beautiful girl named Ildico. "Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity . . . and the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired at a late hour from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures or his repose the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment." "They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night." (Gibbon, chap. xxxv.) He had broken a blood-vessel, and rumour falsely ascribed his death to the knife of Ildico.

9. *tumbled his body down.*] *Rolled his body off;* acting as a triumphant enemy, by way of a last indignity: cf. ch. xiv. 15. The Midrash improves on this: "She took his weapons of war, which were hung on the pillars, and smote all his body: from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it" (Isa. i. 6).

pulled down the canopy.] *Took the mosquito-net off from the pillars* (στῦλοι). This piece of finery, with its "purple and gold and precious stones" (ch. x. 21), attracted her woman's eye. It was, moreover, a splendid trophy. It is not *said* that she wrapped the head up in it (Fritzsche; cf. *v.* 15). The Syr. renders στῦλοι by ܣܟܝܐ, a word otherwise unknown. Bernstein is hardly right in making it a corruption of ܣܛܝܐ.

anon after.] μετ' ὀλίγον, "after a little while," "presently." Cod. 58, μετὰ μικρόν. Cf. Matt. xiii. 20; Mark i. 30.

10. *meat.*] *Foods* or *victuals* (βρωμάτων). The wallet or "victuals-bag" was now empty.

unto prayer.] So Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 52, 58, al. (ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχήν). Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχήν, "as if unto prayer." Fritzsche omits the words, simply remarking "der Zusatz fehlt bevor und wird auch nicht ursprünglich sein." Why? Syr., "as at the time of prayer."

they compassed the valley.] *Went round, made the circuit of, that glen* (or *all that glen;* Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat.). Cf. ch. x. 10.

the mountain of Bethulia.] Rather, *the mountain unto Betylua.* Βετυλούα is the accusative after the verb of motion. Cod. x. adds πρὸς, and 58 εἰς, which makes this evident. The προς- of the verb implies the same. So Syr., *and went up to the city.* Judith takes the Assyrian's head to Bethulia, as "David took the Philistine's head and brought it to Jerusalem," 1 Sam. xvii. 54.

yet in Jerusalem, and his forces against the enemy, as he hath even done this day.

12 Now when the men of her city heard her voice, they made haste to go down to the gate of their city, and they called the elders of the city.

13 And then they ran all together, both small and great, for it was strange unto them that she was come: so they opened the gate, and received them, and made a fire for a light, and stood round about them.

14 Then she said to them with a loud voice, Praise, praise God, praise God, I say, for he hath not taken away his mercy from the house of Israel, but hath destroyed our enemies by mine hands this night.

15 So she took the head out of the bag, and shewed it, and said unto them, Behold the head of Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, and behold the canopy, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness; and the Lord hath smitten him by the hand of a woman.

16 As the Lord liveth, who hath kept me in my way that I went, my countenance hath deceived him to his destruction, and yet hath he not committed sin with me, to defile and shame me.

17 Then all the people were wonderfully astonished, and bowed themselves, and worshipped God, and said with one accord, Blessed be thou, O our God, which hast this day brought to nought the enemies of thy people.

11. *to the watchmen at the gate.*] τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν. Cod. 58 and Syr. omit ἐπὶ τῶν π.; 19 reads ἐπὶ τ. τειχῶν. Old Lat. *in turribus*; Vulg. *custodibus murorum.* "Open" occurs but once in Codd. 58, 19; and "God" is omitted by 58, Syr., Old Lat. But the emotional repetitions are probably original.

God is with us.] μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, Isa. viii. 14; vii. 10.

to shew his power . . . and his forces.] Lit. *to do strength* [*i.e.* strong deeds] . . . *and force* [*i.e.* forceful deeds]. Instead of ποιῆσαι ἔτι, Codd. 19, 108 read ὃς ἐποίησεν; 58, Syr., Old Lat. ὃς ἔδωκεν. The concluding ἐποίησε not suiting this, the Syr. omits it; but Old Lat. ends with *sicut hodie fecit et facturus est.* For the phrase, cf. Luke i. 51, ἐποίησε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ.

13. Instead of μεγάλου, "great," Cod. 58 curiously has πρεσβυτέρων, "elders."

it was strange unto them that she was come.] Or, *her coming was to them beyond expectation* (παράδοξον). They had given her up. Vulg. *quoniam sperabant eam jam non esse venturam.*

received.] *Welcomed.* ὑπεδέξαντο (Cod. x. εἰσεδ.).

for a light.] εἰς φαῦσιν. Gen. i. 15; Ps. lxxiv. 16. A LXX. term = Heb. מָאוֹר, *light-giver* or *luminary.* The scene is natural and graphically sketched.

14. *Praise, praise God, praise God, I say.*] There may be an allusion to the popular etymology of her own name *Judith*, "Jewess," as if it meant *laudanda.* Cf. Gen. xlix. 8. "Judah (*Yĕhûdâh*), thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise" (*yôdû*). So Syr. The phrase which follows occurs in 2 Sam. vii. 15. "Destroyed" is lit. "broken" or "wrecked" (ἔθρανσε): cf. the noun in *v.* 5 *supra.*

15. *drunkenness.*] *Drinking-bouts, carousals* (μέθαι); Plat. 'Phaedr.' 256 C. The sing. = *drunkenness.* Cod. 58 omits *and the Lord, &c.* Cf. ch. ix. 10.

16. *As the Lord liveth.*] Cf. her former oath, ch. xi. 7. The Vulg. amplifies the verse, but the Greek is clearly more original. Cf. especially the words: *sed sine pollutione peccati revocavit me vobis gaudentem in victoria sua, in evasione mea, et in liberatione vestra.*

to defile and shame me.] εἰς μίασμα καὶ αἰσχύνην. Syr. ܠܡܫܬܐ ܘܠܟܠܡܐ, "with taste (or feeling) of shame." Cod. 58, εἰς μιασμὸν αἰσχύνης.

17. *bowed themselves, and worshipped.*] Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 20; Gen. xliii. 28; and other passages. So the Syr. ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ, "and they fell down and worshipped" (*not* "they prostrated themselves with their faces to the earth," as Churton gives it: cf. Gen. xlviii. 12; 2 Chron. vii. 3). The rest of the verse is omitted by Codd. 58, 71.

brought to nought.] The Gk. ὁ ἐξουδενώσας means *who didst* (or *hast*) *set at nought.* Cf. the cognates ἐξουθενέω, Luke xxiii. 11, and ἐξουδενέω, Ezek. xxi. 10. It renders the Heb. בָּזָה *contempsit*, 2 Sam. vi. 16, and מָאַס *rejecit, sprevit*, 1 Sam. x. 19: sometimes

18 Then said Ozias unto her, O daughter, blessed art thou of the most high God above all the women upon the earth; and blessed be the Lord God, which hath created the heavens and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off of the head of the chief of our enemies.

19 For this thy confidence shall not depart from the heart of men, which remember the power of God for ever.

20 And God turn these things to thee for a perpetual praise, to visit thee in good things, because thou hast not spared thy life for the affliction of our nation, but hast revenged our ruin, walking a straight way before our God. And all the people said, So be it, so be it.

CHAPTER XIV.

8 *Achior heareth Judith shew what she had done, and is circumcised.* 11 *The head of Holofernes is hanged up.* 15 *He is found dead, and much lamented.*

THEN said Judith unto them, Hear me now, my brethren,

בוּס, *conculcare*, Ps. cviii. 13 (*αὐτὸς ἐξουδενώσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν*). Syr. *hath broken*, as in *v.* 14.

18. *blessed . . . of the most high God, &c.*] This blessing is modelled on the Blessing of Abram by Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of "the most high God" (Gen. xiv. 19, 20), as may be seen by comparing the text of the LXX. with the Gk. here: *Εὐλογημένος Ἄβραμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος, ὃς παρέδωκε κ.τ.λ.*

blessed art thou . . . above all the women.] Or *be thou.* This does not mean merely that "she should be praised and renowned for her courage and devotion, like Jael in Judges v. 24." As Deborah invoked a blessing upon the treacherous woman who slew Sisera—"Blessed above women be Jael"—so the elder Ozias (whom the Midr. calls "Uzziah the *nasi*, i.e. prince, of Israel") is represented as imprecating the blessing of the Most High upon Judith, on account of a similar deed. The construction *εὐλογητὴ τῷ θεῷ*—Heb. ברוך לאל—"blessed to God-ward"—means "blessed in the highest degree."

to the cutting off.] Rather, *to the wound* (*τραῦμα*). Cf. Ps. lxviii. 21; cx. 6. The Syr. has: *who directed thee, that thou mightest take off the head of the chief of our enemies.* But "wound of the head" means a *deadly* wound. Cod. 58 has the strange reading, *who directed thee unto* (or *against*) *the head of the chief of the heathen* (*εἰς κεφαλὴν ἄρχοντος ἐθνῶν*). Deut. xxxii. 42.

19. *For this thy confidence.*] *Because thy hope.* This seems to mean: "I bless thee, because thy wonderful trust in God will never be forgotten; but will always be present in the memory of thy people to inspire them with the like endurance, and to save them from despair."

The Syr. has: "Because *thy praise* will not depart out of the heart of the sons of men, who will remember the power of God for ever;" reading *ὁ ἔπαινος* (with Cod. 58) for *ἡ ἔλπις*. So Old Lat.

20. *praise.*] *ὕψος* = רוֹם, Isa. ii. 11; or הָדָר, Isa. xxxv. 2. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 40.

to visit thee in (*with*) *good things.*] See ch. iv. 15. Cod. 58 omits.

but hast revenged our ruin.] The Gk. is *ἀλλ' ἐπεξῆλθες τῷ πτώματι ἡμῶν*, "but thou wentest forth to meet our fall;" *i.e.* to help us up, when we were fallen (Fritzsche). Syr. *but wentest forth on account of our fall.* *Ἐπεξέρχομαι* usually bears a hostile significance: *to go out against*, i.e. to battle (Thucyd. iii. 26; v. 9); and perhaps it may be so understood here, "thou wentest out to battle with, to resist our fall;" personifying *τὸ πτῶμα*, as an enemy to be overcome.

walking a straight way.] *ἐπ' εὐθεῖαν πορευθεῖσα.* Codd. 19, 108, *ἐπ' εὐθείᾳ.* Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 12; and ch. x. 11 *supra.* The Heb. may have been וַתְּיַשְּׁרִי דַרְכֵּךְ, *and thou madest thy way straight:* i.e. *proba fuisti.* Cf. Prov. ix. 15. The highest moral excellence is thus attributed to the deed of Judith.

So be it, so be it.] Gk. *γένοιτο γένοιτο.* Heb. אָמֵן וְאָמֵן, *Amen and Amen!* The people signify their assent to the solemn blessing upon Judith. Cf. ch. xv. 10; Deut. xxvii. 15; 1 Chron. xvi. 36; Ps. xli. 13. The Vulgate here adds Judith's interview with Achior (ch. xiv. 5 *sqq.*): *Porro Achior vocatus venit*, &c. The words "But before ye do these things" (xiv. 5) suggest that the order of the Vulgate is right.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *upon the highest place.*] *Upon the parapet*, or *line of battlements* (*ἔπαλξις*); Thucyd. ii. 13. This may have been suggested by the

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[a] 2 Mac. 15. 35. and take this [a]head, and hang it upon the highest place of your walls.

2 And so soon as the morning shall appear, and the sun shall come forth upon the earth, take ye every one his weapons, and go forth every valiant man out of the city, and set ye a captain over them, as though ye would go down into the field toward the watch of the Assyrians; but go not down.

3 Then they shall take their armour, and shall go into their camp, and raise up the captains of the army of Assur, and they shall run to the tent of Holofernes, but shall not find him: then fear shall fall upon them, and they shall flee before your face.

4 So ye, and all that inhabit the coast of Israel, shall pursue them, and overthrow them as they go.

5 But before ye do these things, call me Achior the Ammonite, that he may see and know him that despised the house of Israel, and that sent him to us, as it were to his death.

6 Then they called Achior out of the house of Ozias; and when he was come, and saw the head of

incident recorded in 2 Macc. xv. 35, where Judas Maccabaeus hangs Nicanor's head from the tower, "an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord."

2. *so soon as the morning shall appear.*] The phrase occurs Judges xvi. 2 (διαφαύσκω = אוֹר, *illuxit*). Cf. Hdt. iii. 86. With what follows, cf. Ps. xix. 4–6.

take ye every one his weapons.] The imperatives are all futures in the Greek. The Heb. *imperfect* (often miscalled the *future*) may have an imperative force. For the plur. *take ye*, &c., see Deut. i. 41. Here as there the Heb. may have had the verb חָגַר, *to gird on.*

set ye a captain over them.] Lit. *ye shall give* (or *put, set*) *a leader unto them* (*for them*): δώσετε ἀρχηγὸν εἰς αὐτούς = תִּתְּנוּ רֹאשׁ לָהֶם, Num. xiv. 4.

as though ye would go down.] ὡς καταβαίνοντες. In classical Gk. the ptcp. would have been future. But Heb. has only one ptcp., which may be used in relation to either present, past, or future time. The meaning is *as if intending to go down*, ὡς καταβησόμενοι. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 7: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες. Judith advises a feint of attack upon the Assyrian outposts.

3. *Then they shall take their armour.*] For *shall* read *will* throughout the verse. *They* (οὗτοι) are the advanced guard of the Assyrians, who will be alarmed by the show of attack.

Their "armour" is the "whole armour" of Eph. vi. 13 (τὰς πανοπλίας αὐτῶν). Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 29; 2 Sam. ii. 21.

raise up the captains.] *Wake* or *rouse the generals.* Instead of *Assur*, Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. have a pronoun (αὐτῶν), which is probably original. *Assur* removes an ambiguity common enough in Hebrew.

4. *the coast.*] *Every border* (πᾶν ὅριον).

overthrow them as they go.] Rather, *lay them low in their ways.* Καταστρώσετε (Codd. iii., x., 58, 71, 249; for which Fritzsche edits καταστρώσατε) may either mean this (cf. Hdt. ix. 76) or *strew them in their ways*, strew their corpses about in the various paths by which they will fly. (So Fritzsche, comparing ch. xv. 2.) Syr. *ye shall prostrate and throw them in the ways.*

5. *the Ammonite.*] Fritzsche edits Ἀμμανίτην. The ordinary Heb. term is עַמּוֹנִי, LXX. Ἀμμών, but in the Pentateuch Ἀμμάν, Ἀμμανῖται. The present name is عمان *Ammân*; and that this is the oldest form is clear, not only from the fact that an original long *â* generally becomes *ô* in Heb., but also from the spelling on the Assyrian monuments, *Ammânu*, *Ammâna*, *Ammanâ'a.*

know.] *Know again, recognize* (ἐπιγνῷ). She wishes to prepare a triumph for herself and for Achior (Fritzsche).

6. *out of the house of Ozias.*] Cf. ch. vi. 21. Arnald supposes that Achior had hitherto been kept in some sort of confinement; or perhaps he had not immediately heard of Judith's return. Fritzsche observes that the special summons to Achior lends more dramatic force and solemnity to the scene. It seems trivial to object with Bissell to the leading part which Judith plays in the assembly upon her triumphant return. If we cannot find a "Joan of Arc" in Hebrew history, we can point to women who, like Deborah in the times of the Judges, and like Huldah in the reign of Josiah, exerted a leading influence in the state. Cf. also 2 Sam. xx. 16 *sqq.* Though Judith is not made a prophetess in an age when prophecy was extinct (1 Macc. iv. 46; ix. 27; xiv. 41), yet she is represented as enjoying a peculiar

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Holofernes in a man's hand in the assembly of the people, he fell down on his face, and his spirit failed.

7 But when they had recovered him, he fell at Judith's feet, and reverenced her, and said, Blessed art thou in all the tabernacle of Juda, and in all nations, which hearing thy name shall be astonished.

8 Now therefore tell me all the things that thou hast done in these days. Then Judith declared unto him in the midst of the people all that she had done, from the day that she went forth until that hour she spake unto them.

9 And when she had left off speaking, the people shouted with a loud voice, and made a joyful noise in their city.

10 And when Achior had seen all that the God of Israel had done, he believed in God greatly, and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and was joined unto the house of Israel unto this day.

reputation for holiness, practical wisdom, and effectual prayer (ch. viii. 5, 29, 31); and if she had just succeeded, as the story relates, in her extraordinary enterprise, her political influence would naturally become great, if not paramount.

his spirit failed.] Or, *fainted, gave way* (ἐξελύθη): Vulg. *aestuavit anima ejus.* Bissell asks, "Is this the Achior who is elsewhere called 'the leader of all the sons of Ammon,' and who dared to tell the dreadful Holofernes to his face the truth about Israel?" Fritzsche's remark does more justice to the author's merits: "The sight was too unexpected and extraordinary, while at the same time the question about his own life was in consequence decided." So Churton.

7. *when they had recovered him.*] ὡς δὲ ἀνέλαβον αὐτόν. Cf. Xenoph. 'Hellen.' vi. 5, 21: ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας. Syr. *when they had taken hold of (and) raised him.* So Fritzsche would explain the text: "*Als sie ihn in die Höhe gehoben, aufgenommen hatten.*"

But the variant ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὸν (leg. potius αὐτόν) in Codd. iii. 19, 108, 23, 55, appears preferable. So the Old Lat. *Sed postquam resumpsit vires* (but cod. Germ. 15, Pech. *et refocillaverunt eum*, "and they revived him"). Ἀναλαμβ. ἑαυτόν, *to recover oneself, regain strength, revive*, is a classical phrase: cf. Thucyd. vi. 26; and abs. ἀναλαβεῖν, Plat. 'Rep.' 467 B, and in medical writers.

reverenced her.] *Did obeisance before her* (προσεκύνησαν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτῆς).

Blessed, &c.] *Blessed be thou* (or *shalt thou be*) *in every tent* (σκήνωμα, Gen. ix. 27) *of Judah, and in every nation, &c.* Cf. Judges vi. 24: "Above women in the tent shall she be blessed."

which hearing thy name, &c.] οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομά σου ταραχθήσονται. The plural, because the reference is to παντὶ ἔθνει. "Astonished" should be "dismayed." Syr. "Blessed (be) thou in all peoples who shall hear thy name and shall fear."

8. *until that hour she spake unto them.*] *Until she was speaking, &c.* Codd. 19, 108, λαλεῖ μετ' αὐτῆς, referring to Achior.

9. *shouted.*] ἠλάλαξεν. Cf. ch. xvi. 19; Josh. vi. 20. Heb. הָרִיעַ.

made a joyful noise.] ἔδωκε φωνὴν εὐφροσυνον. Codd. 58, 19, 23, 55, al. ἔδωκαν, which is agreeable to Heb. idiom, which makes the first verb with a collective noun singular, and the second plural, *e.g.* Josh. vi. 20. Instead of εὐφρόσυνον, Codd. iii. 58, Old Lat. εὐφροσύνης. Cf. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 8, xxv. 10; 1 Chron. xv. 16. The Heb. was probably וַיִּתְּנוּ קוֹל יְשֻׁמָּחָה, *et ediderunt vocem laetitiae.* For נָתַן קוֹל, *vocem edere*, cf. Gen. xlv. 2; Num. xiv. 1.

10. *all that the God of Israel had done.*] Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat., *all that the Lord had done for Israel.*

he believed in God greatly.] He believed in the God of Israel as the only true God; gave Him his undivided trust and allegiance. Achior became a Jew, contrary to the law of Deut. xxiii. 3 *sqq.*, which excludes an Ammonite or a Moabite from the congregation of the Lord unto the tenth generation. With what follows, cf. Gen. xvii. 23 *sqq.*, and Isa. xiv. 1: "And the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob." The conversion of Achior has its parallel in Esth. viii. 17. But Volkmar lays too great stress upon the proselytising of an individual, and that under altogether peculiar circumstances.

unto this day.] This does not mean that Achior was still living; it refers to his Jewish descendants. The Vulgate fills up the sense correctly: "et appositus est ad populum Israel, *et omnis successio generis ejus* usque in hodiernum diem." (The words in Italics, which are not found in Old Lat., may be due to S.

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11 And as soon as the morning arose, they hanged the head of Holofernes upon the wall, and every man took his weapons, and they went forth by bands unto the ‖straits of the mountain.

‖ Or, *ascents.*

12 But when the Assyrians saw them, they sent to their leaders, which came to their captains and tribunes, and to every one of their rulers.

13 So they came to Holofernes' tent, and said to him that had the charge of all his things, Waken now our lord: for the slaves have been bold to come down against us to battle, that they may be utterly destroyed.

14 Then went in Bagoas, and knocked at the door of the tent; for he thought that he had slept with Judith.

Jerome's Chaldee MS.) The identification of the (real or supposed) founder of a family or race with his posterity is a common form of Hebrew thought.

11. *And as soon as the morning arose.*] Lit. *but when the dawn went up;* a Heb. phrase: Josh. vi. 15 (A. V. "about the dawning of the day"). Cod. 58 omits.

they hanged.] καὶ ἐκρέμασαν, according to Heb. idiom. Cf. note on ch. v. 20. (Codd. iii. 44, al. omit.)

upon the wall.] So Codd. 19, 58, ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους; Old Lat. *in muro*, and *super muros.* But Fritzsche edits ἐκ τοῦ τείχ., *from the wall* —a classical construction. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10. Syr. *outside of the wall.*

by bands.] κατὰ σπείρας, *manipulatim*, Polyb. iii. 115. 1. The term σπεῖρα represents Lat. *manipulus* and *cohors*, 2 Macc. viii. 23; xii. 20. The Heb. probably was וַיֵּצְאוּ גְדוּדִים, 2 Kings v. 2. Cf. also Acts xxvii. 1, x. 1; John xviii. 3, 12.

the straits.] Lit. *ascents*, i.e. passes.

12. *their leaders.*] *I.e.* the inferior officers, who in turn apprised the στρατηγοί, superior officers, and χιλίαρχοι, captains of thousands, and in general, "every commander (ἄρχων) of them." Cod. 58 omits αὐτῶν . οἱ δὲ ἦλθον ἐπὶ στρατηγούς. So Syr. *they sent to their magnates and captains of thousands and to all their officers;* and Old Lat.

13. Vulg.: *Quod videntes exploratores, ad tabernaculum Holofernis cucurrerunt. Porro hi qui in tabernaculo erant, venientes et ante ingressum cubiculi perstrepentes, excitandi gratia, inquietudinem arte moliebantur, ut non ab excitantibus sed a sonantibus Holofernes evigilaret. Nullus enim audebat cubiculum virtutis Assyriorum pulsando aut intrando aperire.* This is not, as might be suspected, mere arbitrary expansion of the original text. S. Jerome must have found a warrant for it in his Chaldee codex. The curious expression *cubiculum virtutis Assyriorum* suggests the Chaldee אידרון בית מישכבא דרב חילא דאתור.

to him that had.] Codd. 44, 58, Syr., Old Lat. *to Bagoas that had.* Cf. ch. xii. 11. Bagoas was his *major-domo*, or grand chamberlain.

the slaves.] Movers plausibly suggested that the Gk. translator here mistook העברים, "the Hebrews," for העבדים, "the slaves." The difference is very slight—the "one κεραία" of which our Lord speaks, Matt. v. 18; but the addition of one letter gives העכברים, "the mice,"—the reading of the Midrash and the Vulgate, which is probably original (*quoniam egressi mures de cavernis suis ausi sunt provocare nos ad praelium.* Cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 11). See 1 Sam. xiii. 3 (LXX.). The Old Lat. has *filii Israel* or *Judaei*, which Fritzsche calls an arbitrary alteration, and the Syr. ܓܒܪܐ *men*, which he says must be corrected into ܥܒܕ, *slaves* (why not into ܥܒ̈ܪ, *Hebrews?*). Fritzsche would however accept Movers' suggestion were it not that in *v.* 18 οἱ δοῦλοι and τῶν Ἑβραίων both occur; and, besides, οἱ δοῦλοι is appropriate in the mouth of the disdainful Assyrians.

that they may be utterly destroyed.] ἵνα expresses the assumed *intention* of the Jewish sortie. It is a *suicidal* folly. "Utterly" is εἰς τέλος, which often renders Heb. לָנֶצַח, *for ever;* e.g. Job xiv. 20. But cf. also Amos ix. 6; 2 Chron. xii. 12 (= לְכָלָה *ad consummationem*, i.e. *prorsus, plane*); 2 Chron. xxxi. 1. Also ch. vii. 30 *supra.*

14. *the door.*] Rather, *the curtain*—αὐλαίαν. Heb. יְרִיעָה, Exod. xxvi. 1 *sqq.* Lat. *aulaeum.* "The tent" here means the inner compartment which served as a sleeping place (ch. xiii. 2, 3). Codd. 19, 108 read ἐκρότησε τῇ χειρὶ ἐν τῇ αὐλαίᾳ. Cf. the Vulgate: *tunc ingressus Vagao cubiculum ejus stetit ante cortinam, et plausum fecit manibus suis.* Codd. iii. 64, al. read τὴν αὐλήν, *the court* or *hall*, instead of τ. αὐλαίαν.

for he thought, &c.] *For he was supposing*

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15 But because none answered, he opened it, and went into the bedchamber, and found him cast upon the floor dead, and his head was taken from him.

1 *Then.* 16 Therefore he cried with a loud voice, with weeping, and sighing, and a mighty cry, and rent his garments.

17 After he went into the tent where Judith lodged: and when he found her not, he leaped out to the people, and cried,

18 These slaves have dealt treacherously; one woman of the Hebrews hath brought shame upon the house of king Nabuchodonosor: for, behold, Holofernes *lieth* upon the ground without a head.

19 When the captains of the Assyrians' army heard these words, they rent their coats, and their minds were wonderfully troubled, and there was a cry and a very great noise throughout the camp.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *The Assyrians are chased and slain.* 8 *The high priest cometh to see Judith.* 11 *The stuff of Holofernes is given to Judith.* 13 *The women crown her with a garland.*

AND when they that were in the tents heard, they were astonished at the thing that was done.

2 And fear and trembling fell upon them, so that there was no man that durst abide in the sight of his neighbour, but rushing out altogether, they fled into every way of the plain, and of the hill country.

3 They also that had camped in the mountains round about Bethulia fled away. Then the children of

(ὑπενοεῖτο) *that he* (Holof.) *was sleeping with J.* Cod. 58 and Old Lat. make the sense clearer by adding ἔτι, *still.*

15. *answered.*] Strictly, *listened, gave ear* (ἐπήκουσε. Codd. iii. 58, al. ὑπήκ.). Syr. *answered him.*

opened.] *Put it asunder, pulled it aside* (διαστείλας). Syr. *he opened.*

upon the floor.] The Gk. word χελωνὶς is defined by Hesychius, οὐδὸς τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς, *threshold of the tent-door*, with evident reference to the present passage. But as Fritzsche points out, this definition does not suit. Judith rolled the corpse off the bed (ch. xiii. 9), and left it not upon the *threshold*, but upon the *footstool* used for getting up into the bed. This sense of χελωνὶς is found in Sextus Empiricus. The primary word χελώνη, *testudo*, also means *footstool.*

18. *These* (*the*) *slaves have dealt treacherously.*] The verb is ἠθέτησαν. Ἀθετέω prop. means *to set aside, disregard* an oath, treaty, promise, law. Cf. Mark vii. 9; Isa. xxiv. 16 (οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον). In the LXX. the word chiefly represents Heb. בָּגַד, *perfide egit;* מָעַל, *id.* 1 Chron. v. 25, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, —a meaning which would suit here; and פָּשַׁע, *rebellavit, descivit,* 2 Kings i. 1; כָּרַד, *id.* 2 Kings xviii. 7, 20. Syr. *the slaves have wronged* or *cheated* (ܥܒܕܘ) *their lords;* Old Lat. "*neglexerunt* heri servi ejus" (al. *peccaverunt servi*). Judith was faithless to her promise set forth in ch. xi. 18, 19.

without a head.] Lit. *and the head is not upon him*—וְאֵין רֹאשׁ עָלָיו.

19. *When.*] *But when:* ὡς δέ. "Their minds" should be *their soul* (Codd. 19, 108, *their souls*). The Syr. concludes thus: *they rent their tunics, and their soul was greatly troubled in the midst of the camp.* The Gk. says: *and their cry arose, and a very great shouting in the midst of the camp.* Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 14.

CHAPTER XV.

1. *they were astonished at the thing that was done.*] ἐξέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγονός. Cf. the same construction in ch. xii. 16. Syr.: *They wondered what had happened* (= Cod. 58, τί ἦν τὸ γεγονός). So Old Lat. But Vulg. *fugit mens et consilium ab eis.*

2. *And fear . . . upon them.*] Cf. ch. iii. 1; Ps. xlviii. 6. "That durst abide" is μένων; *abiding* = עָמַד, *stans.* Syr. *and they continued not a man by his neighbour.* The Gk. adds ἔτι, *any longer.* "Rushing out" is ἐκχυθέντες, lit. *effusi;* a verb recurring in *vv.* 3, 4. *Having poured out* (of the tents or camp), *they were fleeing upon every road.* The Vulg. interpolates a reason for this wild flight: *evadere festinabant Hebraeos, quos armatos super se venire audiebant;* cf. 2 Kings vii. 6, 7.

3. *in the mountains.*] *In the hill country.* The Edomites and Ammonites had encamped there: ch. vii. 18 *supra.*

fled away.] *Turned to flight.* The καὶ before ἐτράπησαν in the Gk., which Fritzsche

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Israel, every one that was a warrior among them, rushed out upon them.

4 Then sent Ozias to Betomasthem, and to Bebai, and Chobai, and Cola, and to all the coasts of Israel, such as should tell the things that were done, and that all should rush forth upon their enemies to destroy them.

5 Now when the children of Israel heard it, they all fell upon them with one consent, and slew them unto Chobai: likewise also they that came from Jerusalem, and from all the hill country, (for men had told them what things were done in the camp of their enemies,) and they that were in Galaad, and in Galilee, ‖chased them with a great slaughter, until they were past Damascus and the borders thereof.

‖ Or, *overcame.*

6 And the residue, that dwelt at

pronounces the genuine reading but an awkward expression, may represent a Heb. *waw conversive* (of the imperfect). But the reading of Codd. 19, 44, al. is καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτρ. (וְהֵמָּה יָנוּסוּ): "And they that had encamped . . . *they also* turned and fled." Cf. with the narrative of this chapter, that of 1 Macc. iv. 1–25 (the defeat of Gorgias by Judas Maccabaeus), and that of 1 Macc. vii. 43 *sqq.* (the defeat and death of Nicanor). Some of the colours of the picture are derived from 1 Sam. xvii. (David's victory over Goliath), as Volkmar points out. When he adds that the victory, the slaughter of the fugitives, and the immense booty are due to the soaring flight of Jewish fancy, which thus exaggerated the sudden withdrawal of the Roman forces from Palestine, we see that the data of the story are fatal to his theory. The Vulg. adds: *descenderuntque clangentes tubis et ululantes post ipsos.* Cf. Judg. vii. 18 *sqq.*

4. *Betomasthem.*] Βαιτομασθαΐμ, ch. iv. 6.

and to Bebai.] So Codd. iii. 243, al. and Fritzsche. The name is otherwise unknown. Cod. x. has καὶ Ἀβελβαίμ, and Codd. 19, 108 have κ. Ἀβελμαείν; i.e. *Abel-main*, which appears to be right. Cf. ch. iv. 4 for this, and for *Chobai* or *Choba* (Codd. x. 23, and *v.* 5 *infr.*). Vulg. omits the local names of this and the next verse.

Cola.] The Greek is Χωλά, *Chola;* al. Κωλά or Κειλά. An unknown place; perhaps the *Holon* of Josh. xv. 51.

The Syriac version, which is less exact in this chapter than elsewhere, omits the proper names, and renders: "And Uzziah sent to all the borders of Israel (men), to make them know what had happened."

and that all.] The ἵνα depends on the notion of *bidding, ordering*, implied in τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας. *Ozias sent . . . men who brought tidings concerning the things that had been accomplished* (συντετελεσμένων), *and* (*bade*) *that all, &c.*

rush forth upon their enemies.] ἐπεκχυθῶσι τοῖς πολεμίοις, instead of which Codd. 19, 108 have ἐπεκχυθέντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιθῶνται, *rush forth and set upon the enemy.* In *v.* 2 ἐκχυθῆναι is used absolutely, and in *v.* 3 it is followed by ἐπ' αὐτούς, *after* or *against them.*

5. *slew them unto Chobai.*] Lit. *were smiting them unto Choba.* Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11. To *smite* an army is to rout it utterly and to slay the fugitives, Deut. xxix. 7. Cf. Josh. xi. 8: "Israel smote them and chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Mishrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward." *Choba* is perhaps the modern *el-Mekhobbi*, a ruin with a cliff beside it called *'Arrak Khobbi*, 12 miles south of *Beisân.* But the Midrash has: "they pursued them unto *Hormah.*" חרמה and חובה might easily be confused.

likewise also they that came from Jerusalem.] The Gk. says: *likewise also they of Jerusalem arrived, and of all the hill country* (ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ—*not* οἱ—ἐξ Ἱερουσ. παρεγενήθησαν καὶ ἐκ πάσης κ. τ. λ.). Codd. x. 58 and Old Lat., *they in Jerusalem.* But the Syr.: *likewise the sons of Jerusalem, who came from all the mountains.*

what things were done in.] Rather, *what things had befallen.*

chased.] Rather, *outflanked* (ὑπερεκέρασαν). Ὑπερκεράω is a military term: cf. Polyb. xi. 23. 5; equivalent to περικεράω, Polyb. xi. 1, 5. Gk. κέρας, *horn* = Lat. ala, *wing* of an army. Cf. 1 Macc. vii. 46. Trommius wrongly refers the word to ὑπερκεράννυμι (!), *supermisceo, confundo.* The reading of Codd. 58, 19, 108 is ὑπερεκράτησαν (58, ὑπεκράτησαν αὐτούς, a mere mistake) αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτοὺς ἐν πληγῇ μεγάλῃ (58, πληγὴν μεγάλην, a cogn. accus.). *They overpowered them and smote them* (*with*) *a great smiting.* Cf. Num. xi. 33; 1 Sam. viii. 11; 1 Kings xvi. 22. This may well have been the language of the Heb. Cf. the Syr.: *And they that were in Galaad and in Galilee came out against them, and smote them a great smiting;* and the Old Lat. *consecuti sunt eos, et interfecerunt illos plaga magna.*

they were past.] *They* (*i.e.* the Assyrian fugitives) *had past.*

6. *And the residue, that dwelt at Bethulia.*] The Gk. is οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες

Bethulia, fell upon the camp of Assur, and spoiled them, and were greatly enriched.

7 And the children of Israel that returned from the slaughter had that which remained; and the villages and the cities, that were in the mountains and in the plain, gat many spoils: for the multitude was very great.

8 Then Joacim the high priest, and the ancients of the children of Israel that dwelt in Jerusalem, came to behold the good things that God had shewed to Israel, and to see Judith, and to salute her.

9 And when they came unto her, they blessed her with one accord, and said unto her, Thou art the exaltation of Jerusalem, thou art the great glory of Israel, thou art the great rejoicing of our nation:

10 Thou hast done all these things by thine hand: thou hast done much good to Israel, and God is pleased therewith: blessed be thou of the

Βετυλούα. Fritzsche explains "Die Bewohner von Betylua die noch übrig da waren." The sense appears to be: But the remaining folk, who lived in Bethulia and stayed in the town, instead of joining in the pursuit of the enemy (*v.* 5), fell upon the deserted camp. Cf. Vulg.: "*reliqui autem qui erant in Bethulia*, ingressi sunt castra Assyriorum." Syr. wrongly: *and the rest of the inhabitants of Bethulia.*

spoiled them.] *I.e.* the Assyrians. Syr. *plundered and carried off captives;* Cod. 58, *plundered it* (the camp) *and took spoils* (ἐσκύλευσαν).

7. *And the children of Israel that returned, &c.*] *But the Israelites, having returned from the slaughter* (κοπή; see Gen. xiv. 17), *possessed themselves of the things remaining:* i.e. whatever valuables the Bethulians had not already carried off. But the Syr. has: *And the sons of Israel returned from the battle, and possessed themselves of the remainder of the cities which were in the mountains, and in the valleys, and took much spoil.* "The villages and the cities that were in the mountains and in the plain" (lit. *in the hill country and plain country*) is the reading of Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 58, al. Fritzsche edits *the villages and farmsteads* (ἐπαύλεις for αἱ πόλεις). "Gat" is ἐκράτησαν, for which Cod. 58 gives ἐκυρίευσαν. For "spoils" —λάφυρα—see 1 Chron. xxvi. 27 (= שְׁלָלָה).

for the multitude, &c.] Rather, *for there was a very great quantity*, viz. of objects to carry off. Codd. 58, 106, Syr. omit.

After the flight of Gorgias, "Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold, and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches" (1 Macc. iv. 23).

8. *Joacim.*] A high priest of this name was the son and successor of Jeshua or Joshua, the High Priest who, along with Zerubbabel, conducted the First Return (B.C. 536—515). See Neh. xii. 10: "And Jeshua begat Joiakim."

the ancients.] The Sanhedrin or Senate of Elders (ἡ γερουσία). "That dwelt in Jerusalem" is in apposition with "Joacim and the senate." The Vulg.—*cum universis presbyteris suis*—seems to turn the elders into clergy.

God had shewed to.] Rather, *the Lord had done for.*

to salute her.] Lit. *to speak peace with her.* Cf. Jer. ix. 8; Ps. xxviii. 3.

9. *And when they came unto her.*] Instead of εἰσῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὴν, Codd. 58, 19, 108 give ἐξῆλθε πρὸς αὐτούς. It appeared more appropriate for Judith to go out to meet the rulers of her nation. So also Syr. and Old Lat., and Vulg. But cf. ch. viii. 10, 11 *supra.*

the exaltation of Jerusalem.] Cf. ch. x. 8, where ὕψωμα and γαυρίαμα ("glory") both occur: also xiii. 4, xvi. 8; Ps. iii. 3. "Rejoicing" is καύχημα, *boast:* cf. Rom. iv. 2; Deut. x. 21; 1 Chron. xvi. 27, xxix. 11. Syr. *praise;* and so the Midrash (תהלת).

10. *thou hast done much good to Israel.*] ἐποίησας τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ Ἰσραήλ. Syr. *and hast done good with Israel.* Cf. Num. x. 32; 1 Chron. xvii. 26. Cod. 58, καὶ ὅτι ἐποίησας ἀγαθὰ ἐν Ἰσρ.

God is pleased therewith.] So Codd. iii. x. 19, 23, 52, 55, al. (εὐδόκησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *was well pleased at them*, i.e. τὰ ἀγαθά). Fritzsche edits εὐδοκήσαι, the optative: *may God be well pleased!*

The Vulgate substitutes for this verse the following: "Quia fecisti viriliter, *et confortatum est cor tuum*, eo quod castitatem amaveris, et post virum tuum alterum nescieris: *ideo et manus domini confortavit te, et ideo eris benedicta in aeternum.*" This may reflect the exaggerated value set by S. Jerome and his contemporaries upon the state of celibacy. Salome, however, did not marry again; and the Midrash partly supports the Vulg.: "Thou, Judith, art a mother in Israel, thou art the praise of Jerusalem, thou art the rejoicing (שמחת) of Israel, thou art the

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Almighty Lord for evermore. And all the people said, So be it.

11 And the people spoiled the camp the space of thirty days: and they gave unto Judith Holofernes his tent, and all his plate, and beds, and vessels, and all his stuff: and she took it, and laid it on her mule; and made ready her carts, and laid them thereon.

12 Then all the women of Israel ran together to see her, and blessed her, and made a dance among them for her: and she took branches in her hand, and gave also to the women that were with her.

13 And they put a garland of olive upon her and her maid that was with her, and she went before all the people in the dance, leading all the women: and all the men of Israel followed in their armour with garlands, and with songs in their mouths.

glory of our people. For thou hast done it with might, *and thine heart was strong and firm, and the hand of the Lord was with thee to strengthen thee; and blessed shalt thou be for evermore.*" This is certainly more original than the Greek text.

blessed . . . of (with) the Almighty Lord.] Cf. Gen. xiv. 19. "For evermore" is *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον*, a curious phrase rendering Heb. לָעַד, לָעוֹלָם, and עַד־עוֹלָם in Isa. xiii. 20, xiv. 20, xxxiv. 17. Cf. Baruch iii. 13.

11. *And the people . . . thirty days.*] Syr. *and the people were carrying off* (ܒܙܙܘ) *the camp of the Assyrians unto three days:* cf. 2 Chron. xx. 25, "And they were three days in gathering of the spoil, it was so much." Vulg.: *Per dies autem triginta vix collecta sunt spolia Assyriorum a populo Israel.*

spoiled.] ἐλαφύρευσε. Codd. 23, 44, al. ἐλαφύρησε. Both verbs are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. Cod. 58, ἐλαφυραγώγησεν, a word found in Strabo, Plutarch, &c. Old Lat. *spolia collegit multa.*

his plate.] See ch. xii. 1. "Vessels"—*τὰ ὅλκια* (Codd. 58, 71, 106, Old Lat. omit; iii. x. *τὰ ὁλκεία*)—large *bowls* or *basins* for washing cups. The word occurs in the fragg. of the Comic Poets. Ὁλκεῖα appears to be the right spelling. Casaubon, quoted by Fritzsche, calls these vessels *labra ampla ad instar magnorum craterum efficta.* He continues, "Ita describit Hesychius; et confirmant auctorum loci. Ex iis etiam claret holciorum *in balneis fuisse usum*" (Casaub. 'Animadv. in Athen.' p. 343). "Stuff" is *σκευάσματα*, a true equivalent of *κατασκευάσματα*, Ecclus. xxxv. 6. The Syr. gives *jumenta ejus* (or *caballos ejus*; cf. Neh. ii. 12), apparently a bad guess.

ker mule.] Codd. 58, 19, 108, Syr., Old Lat. *her mules.* *καὶ λαβοῦσα αὐτὰ* (x. 19, 44, al. Syr.) is certainly a better reading intrinsically than *καὶ λαβοῦσα αὕτη*. Sense and usage may sometimes outweigh external evidence.

made ready . . . laid them.] Lit. *yoked . . . heaped*—coacervavit. Cod. 58 omits.

12. Codd. 44, al. begin thus: *καὶ συνήχθη πᾶσα συναγωγὴ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.* "All the women" should be *every woman* (*πᾶσα γυνή*).

made a dance among them for her.] *αὐτῇ, i.e.* in her honour. Cf. Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6. The Syr. gives the verse thus: "And all the women of Israel ran unto her and surrounded her; and she chose out of them a company of singers (lit. praisers), and took palm branches in her hand," &c. The Gk. for "branches" is *θύρσους* (cf. 2 Macc. x. 7), a word which recalls the old Hellenic processions in honour of Bacchus, whose votaries carried wands wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves, and tipped with a pine-cone. Cf. Eurip. 'Bacch.' 80; 'Cyclops,' 64.

13. *And they put a garland . . . with her.*] The best Gk. text is: *καὶ ἐστεφανώσαντο τὴν ἐλαίαν αὕτη καὶ αἱ μετ' αὐτῆς, And they crowned themselves with the olive, she and the women with her.* Syr. "and she put a crown of olive on her head—she and her companions." For *αὕτη*, Codd. 44, 108, 236, 248, Co. read *αὐτῇ*; and for *αἱ μετ' αὐτῆς*, 248, Co. give *τῇ μετ' αὐτῇ*. Hence the A.V. Fritzsche does not notice the variants: "Der Oelzweig ist das Zeichen des Friedens und der Freude." But the wearing of olive garlands was not a Jewish, but a Greek custom. This again points to the Grecian period.

all the men of Israel followed.] Lit. *every man of Israel was following.* But *man* is collective, as the next term shews—"In their armour with garlands"—*ἐνωπλισμένοι μετὰ στεφάνων* (or *ἐστεφανωμένοι*, 58). The men wore their armour in the procession, as celebrating a military triumph.

and with songs in their mouths.] *καὶ ὕμνων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν.* But Codd. x. 19, 108, 23, 44, al. read *καὶ ὕμνουν κ.τ.λ., and they were chanting with their mouths.* Cod. 58: *καὶ ὕμνος κ.τ.λ., and a psalm* (was) *in their mouth.* Syr.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The song of Judith.* 19 *She dedicateth the stuff of Holofernes.* 23 *She died at Bethulia a widow of great honour.* 24 *All Israel did lament her death.*

THEN Judith began to sing this thanksgiving in all Israel, and all the people sang after her ‖ this song of praise.

‖ Or, *this praising.*

2 And Judith said, Begin unto my God with timbrels, sing unto my Lord with cymbals: tune unto him a ‖ new psalm: exalt him, and call upon his name.

‖ Or, *psalm and praise.*

3 For God breaketh the battles: for among the camps in the midst of the people he hath delivered me out of the hands of them that persecuted me.

4 Assur came out of the moun-

"and there came all the lords of the house of Israel, and all the ladies of Israel, and all the sons of Israel were coming with them, armed and wearing garlands, and a hymn (was) in their mouths." The original Heb. probably specified the song. Cf. the Midrash: "And all the congregation of Israel were glad and rejoicing with Judith; and all the women went forth after her with timbrels and dances, saying, 'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.'" The way in which this refrain is used in Chronicles and Ezra makes its occurrence here very probable (1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, 6, xx. 21; Ezra iii. 11).

CHAPTER XVI.

1. *Then Judith began to sing this thanksgiving in all Israel.*] Gk. καὶ ἐξῆρχεν Ἰ. τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ταύτην ἐν παντὶ Ἰσρ., *And Judith led off this hymn of thanksgiving among all Israel.* The verb is so used in the classics, *e.g.* Arist. 'Poet.' iv. 14, ἐξαρχ. τὸν διθύραμβον; Xen. 'Anab.' v. 4, 14. In the LXX. it renders Heb. עָנָה *cecinit*, 1 Sam. xviii. 7, xxi. 12; Exod. xv. 21, xxxii. 17, 18. In Ps. cxlvii. 7 both the verb and the noun occur (ἐξομολόγησις = Heb. תּוֹדָה, *confession, acknowledgment*, especially of benefits received, and so *thanksgiving, hymn of thanksgiving*, Lobgesang). For "this thanksgiving," Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. have "her thanksgiving." But cf. Exod. xv. 1, with which the Midrash agrees.

sang after her.] Fritzsche edits ὑπερεφώνει (Codd. ii. iii. x. 19, 64, al.). But in his commentary he justly remarks, "ὑπερφωνεῖν wäre überrufen, überschreien, was hier nicht passend erscheinen könnte." The common reading ὑπεφώνει, *was singing in answer*, is right. Syr. *was answering;* Old Lat. *succlamabat.* Cf. Plut. 'Pomp.' xxv.; Mosch. iii. 49.

this song of praise.] τὴν αἴνεσιν ταύτην. The Heb. was probably תְּהִלָּה, *laus* and *hymnus:* 1 Chron. xvi. 35. Cf. also Isa. li. 3 (= זִמְרָה, *cantus*). The word often renders תּוֹדָה, *e.g.* Ezra x. 11.

Cod. 58 reads: τῇ αἰνέσει κυρίου, *to the praise of Jehovah.* So Syr.: "And J. was answering all Israel in her thanksgiving, and all the people was answering the hymn of the Lord."

2. *And Judith said.*] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 1; Luke i. 46.

Begin.] Or, *lead off the song.* Cf. note on *v.* 1. "Timbrels" or tabors, or tabrets, were similar to our tambourines. They are figured in very ancient Egyptian mural paintings at Thebes (see Wilkinson 'Anc. Egypt.,' i. 93. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 27), and are still a favourite instrument in the East. The Gk. τύμπανον is referred to the root TYΠ, *to beat.* Cf. Heb. תֹּף, "tabor," with תָּקַע, *pectus pulsavit.* Cymbals also belong to Egyptian antiquity: see Wilkinson, i. 99; and both tabors and cymbals were used in sacred as well as in common music. Midrash: הללו את יהוה בתוף.

tune.] The Gk. is ἐναρμόσασθε, *fit* or *adapt ye.* Cf. Pind. 'Ol.' iii. 9; Arist. 'Eq.' 989. The Old Lat. and Vulg. render *modulamini*, "sing ye," or "play ye;" and the Heb. probably was שִׁירוּ, *cantate.* Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 3, "sing unto him a new song." So the Midrash. Also Pss. xcvi. 1, xcviii. 1; Isa. xlii. 10. Instead of καινὸν, *new*, Codd. ii. x. 19, 58, 55, al. καὶ αἶνον, *and praise.* The idea conveyed by the true text is a *fresh* and *living* strain, as opposed to a *hackneyed* and *lifeless* one.

exalt him, and call upon his name.] Pss. xcix. 5, 9; cv. 1; cxlv. 1; lxxix. 6; lxxx. 19. The Midrash follows Ps. cv. 1.

3. *For God breaketh the battles.*] Gk. ὅτι θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος, *Because a God breaking wars (is) Jehovah.* See ch. ix. 7, 8; Exod. xv. 3. The reading of 58 is: σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ συντρίβων πολέμους κύριε. So the Syr. The Heb. was probably the same as in Exod. xv. 3. So the Midrash, which omits what follows to *v.* 13. The Vulgate has: *Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est illi.*

for among the camps, &c.] Fritzsche (with whom Volkmar agrees) edits: ὅτι εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν καταδιωκόντων με, *Because into his camp in the midst of the people he rescued*

tains from the north, he came with
[a] ch. 2. 19. ten thousands of his army, the [a] multitude whereof stopped the torrents, and their horsemen have covered the hills.

5 He bragged that he would burn up my borders, and kill my young men with the sword, and dash the sucking children against the ground, and make mine infants as a prey, and my virgins as a spoil.

6 But the Almighty Lord hath disappointed them by the hand of a woman.

me out of the hand of my pursuers. "Jehovah's camp," says Fritzsche, "is in the midst of his people, and in this camp is safety. Into this camp He brought Judith, delivering her out of the camp of the Assyrians." But the Greek is hardly beyond suspicion, considered as the rendering of a Heb. original, and that a poetical one. The Syr. is probably nearer the mark:

"That puttest the camp (encampest) in the midst of thy people,
To deliver them from the hand of their oppressors."

Cf. the Vulgate:

"Qui posuit castra sua in medio populi sui,
Ut eriperet nos de manu omnium inimicorum nostrorum."

The clause is wanting in 58. Codd. 19, 108 give: ὅτι ἀπέστειλε τὰς παρεμβ. αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ παρεμβολῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐξελέσθαι με κ.τ.λ. "For he sent off his armies in the midst of the armies of the sons of Israel, to rescue me," &c. Evidently the original consisted of a couplet. Cf. Gen. xxxii. 11; 1 Sam. xii. 10, 11; Ps. vii. 1, xxxi. 15, xxxiv. 7, cxlii. 6; Zech. ix. 8.

4. *Assur came, &c.*] The Assyrians, like other invaders coming from the East, entered Palestine on its northern frontier. The mountains are those of Northern Palestine. Ἐξ ὀρέων ἀπὸ βοβρᾶ = out of the northern mountains. Cf. Isa. xiv. 13, 31; Jer. vi. 22. This fine verse makes a perfect quatrain. We are reminded of Byron's well-known lyric, which may be an echo of this:

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold."

he came with ten thousands of his army.] The recurrence of the verb is effective. Cf. Judg. v. 3, 7. The mention of the myriads of the Assyrian army is appropriate enough (cf. Jude 14). The suggestion of Welte that רֹב, *multitudo*, has been confused with רִבּוֹ, *decem millia*, is probable: cf. the phrase רֹב חֵילוֹ, Ps. xxxiii. 16; and the Vulg. *in multitudine fortitudinis suae.* Old Lat., however, *in millibus exercitus sui*; and the Syr. as the Gk. text. Besides, the word *multitude* occurs in the next line. Codd. ii. 19, 108 read δυνάμεων, his *armies.*

the multitude whereof stopped the torrents.] This might be thought to be a reminiscence of Isa. xxxvii. 25: "With the sole of my feet will I dry up all the canals of Egypt" (Heb.). Cf. also what Herodotus says of the failure of rivers to supply the huge host of Xerxes: Hdt. vii. 187. 2; 196. 3. But the literal translation is *whose multitude blocked up gorges*, or *wâdys.* Cf. Syr. "with their multitude they closed up the gorges;" and the parallel *hills.*

and their horsemen have covered.] Omit *have.* Instead of ἡ ἵππος αὐτῶν ἐκάλυψε, Cod. 58 has ἵπποι αὐτοῦ ἐκάλυψαν. So Old Lat. Vulg. *et equi eorum cooperuerunt valles.*

5. *He bragged . . . my borders.*] Lit. *he said*—אָמַר. Cf. Exod. xv. 9; Judg. v. 30; 2 Kings xix. 23; Isa. x. 13, xiv. 13; and ch. ii. 7 *sqq.* Fritzsche remarks: "Er gedachte vermessen, und sprach es aus." Judith speaks of "*my* borders," passionately identifying herself with her country. Cf. Judg. v. 7; 2 Sam. xx. 19. Syr. wrongly: *They said.*

dash . . . against the ground.] θήσειν εἰς ἔδαφος = ἐδαφίζειν; the Heb. רטשׁ: see Ps. cxxxvii. 9; Nah. iii. 10; Hos. x. 14, xiv. 1. Elisha's prediction of what Hazael would do to Israel closely resembles the present verse: see 2 Kings viii. 12. The Syr. omits this line.

make mine infants as a prey, &c.] Lit. *and that he would give mine infants for* (= to be) *a booty, and despoil my virgins.* The Heb. probably was, *And my virgins for a spoil.* So the Syr.: *My youths to captivity, and my virgins for spoil.*

6. The utter frustration of all these arrogant threats is forcibly set forth in a single line. Cf. Exod. xv. 10; and the sudden and splendid climax in Isa. x. 33.

But the Almighty.] Omit *but* (58, 248, Co. καὶ). Κύριος παντοκράτωρ is the Heb. יהוה צבאות, "the Lord of Hosts." Codd. 19, 108 insert ὁ θεὸς ὁ between these words; *i.e.* "The Lord, the God of Hosts."

disappointed.] ἠθέτησεν. See note on ch. xiv. 18. We may assume the same general meaning here as there. *The Lord of Hosts cheated* (or *dealt treacherously with*) *them, by the hand of a woman.* Cf. Judg. ix. 23, 54. In Ps. xxxiii. 10 ἀθετεῖ renders the Heb. הֵנִיא, *irrita fecit* consilia gentium; and Dereser, Scholz, and Wahl explain: He hath

7 For the mighty one did not fall by the young men, neither did the sons of the Titans smite him, nor high giants set upon him: but Judith the daughter of Merari weakened him with the beauty of her countenance.

8 For she put off the garment of her widowhood for the exaltation of those that were oppressed in Israel, and anointed her face with ointment, and bound her hair in a ‖ tire, and took a linen garment to deceive him. ‖ Gr. *mitre.*

9 Her sandals ravished his eyes, her beauty took his mind prisoner, and the fauchion passed through his neck.

10 The Persians quaked at her

frustrated the Assyrians, *i.e.* brought their plans to nought. So Badwell: *frustratus est eos.* Fritzsche approves this view. But here Judith seems to exult in the successful *cunning* of her deed. Not by warriors' strength, but by a woman's craft, had the Lord of Hosts brought about the ruin of the Assyrians. Codd. 58, 19, 108 turn the verse into a couplet, by adding κατῄσχυνεν αὐτοὺς after θηλείας. So the Syr.:

"The mighty Lord defrauded them,
By the hand of a female he destroyed them."

(ܒܐܝܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܚܐ.) The Old Lat. is, *nocuit eum et tradidit illum in manu feminae, et confodit (confudit) eum;* Vulg. *Dominus autem omnipotens nocuit eum et tradidit eum in manus feminae et confodit eum.*

7. *For the mighty one* [rather, *their champion*] *did not fall, &c.*] Judith insists on the shamefulness of Holofernes' end. *Their champion* = Heb. גִּבּוֹרָם; see 1 Sam. xvii. 51. Syr. "their mighty ones" (an obvious error).

sons of the Titans.] The Gk. υἱοὶ Τιτάνων may represent Heb. בְּנֵי רְפָא; see 2 Sam. xxi. 16, 18. In 2 Sam. v. 18 *the valley of Rephaim* is called in the LXX. *the valley of the Titans;* and so in the Hexapla, 2 Sam. xxiii. 13. The Heb. Rephaim is generally rendered Γίγαντες in LXX. But possibly the original term here was נפלים; see Gen. vi. 4; Num. xiii. 33. At all events, the name of an aboriginal race of Canaanites traditionally remembered as giants is here used poetically, by the figure called *Antonomasia,* for the general notion of *giants.* Cf. also Deut. i. 28; ii. 11; iii. 11; ix. 2. Syr. *nor did one of the sons of the strong smite him.*

high giants.] Gk. ὑψηλοὶ Γίγαντες. The Heb. might be either רְפָאִים, Gen. xiv. 5, Josh. xii. 4; or גִּבּוֹרִים, Gen. vi. 4, x. 8, 9. Syr. "men who were tall in stature." Cf. also Num. xiii. 32; Deut. i. 28; Isa. xlv. 14.

but Judith the daughter of Merari.] Compare Deborah's direct mention of herself, Judg. v. 7, 12, 15.

weakened him.] Or *disabled* him. Παραλύω in the pass. means *to be paralysed.* Perhaps the Heb. was עִקֵּר, *houghed,* or *hamstrung:* 2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 Chron. xviii. 4. Cf. also Gen. xlix. 6 (where LXX. lit. ἐνευροκόπησαν). Old Lat. *debilitavit* (al. *dissolvit,* so Vulg.) *eum;* Syr. *pellexit eum* (ܐܦܬܐ).

8. This verse and the next explain *how* Judith disabled Holofernes. (The γὰρ is *explicative.*) Both are wanting in Cod. 58. Cf. Deborah's praise of Jael, Judg. v. 25, 26.

exaltation.] ὕψος, *lifting up;* a downtrodden people. Cf. ch. xiii. 20; 1 Macc. i. 40; 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8; Pss. cxiii. 7, cxlvii. 6.

those that were oppressed.] τῶν πονούντων; prob. עֲנִיֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל. Syr.: "*For the praise of the mourners* (ܕܐܒܠܐ) of Israel."

ointment.] The word μυρισμὸς, properly "anointing," is only found here and in Athenaeus (p. 547). Codd. 19, 108, 249 substitute the common term μύρῳ. For *and* read *she,* before *anointed.*

in a tire.] See ch. x. 3. The "linen garment" would be a costly one, like that of Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

9. *Her sandals ravished his eyes.*] So the Syr. and Vulg. The nouns in the Gk. are singular (19, 108, 76, al. *eyes*). The Hebrew ladies paid much attention to the adornment of the foot. Cf. Isa. iii. 18; Ezek. xvi. 9; ch. x. 4 *supr.*; Cant. vii. 1, iv. 9. The verb may have been חָטַף, *rapuit,* Judg. xxi. 21. So Syr. ܫܒܝܐ; Vulg. *rapuerunt.*

took his mind prisoner.] Gk. ᾐχμαλώτισε ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. Cf. Judg. v. 12 (= שְׁבֵה, *captivum duxit*). The ψυχή (נֶפֶשׁ) was the seat of feeling.

and the fauchion (ch. xiii. 6) *passed through his neck.*] The conjunction should be transferred to the former line. The concise brevity with which the decisive issue is stated is far more effective than any conceivable amplification would have been.

10. *The Persians . . . the Medes.*] Mentioned as types of strong and warlike peoples; or as the most remote of nations. Of

boldness, and the Medes were ‖ daunted at her hardiness.

‖ Or, *confounded.*

11 Then my afflicted shouted for joy, and my weak ones cried aloud; but ‖ they were astonished: these

‖ *the Assyrians.*

lifted up their voices, but they were overthrown.

12 The sons of the damsels have pierced them through, and wounded them as fugitives' children: they

course, it is assumed that there were Persian and Median contingents in the Assyrian army. The priority in time, which belongs to the Medes, is here neglected, and the usual order of the names, preserved even in the Book of Daniel, is reversed—another indication of the lateness of our work. The Medes are not mentioned in the Assyrian records earlier than the reign of Shalmaneser II. (*accessit* B.C. 860).

The Assyrian empire was finally overthrown by the combined forces of the Medes and Babylonians, circ. 607 B.C. See Schrader, 'Keilinschriften,' &c. p. 358 *sqq.* The Persian power was, as is well known, posterior to that of the Medes, having been founded by Cyrus, who overthrew Astyages, or *Asturvegu*, the Mede, circ. 536 B.C. See Hdt. i. 96–128; and the Annals of *Nabûnâhid*, the last king of Babylon. Our author makes free and somewhat uncritical use of the great names of antiquity. He and his contemporaries knew little of their exact historical relations. Notwithstanding, his fervid patriotism and strong faith inspired him to sing a noble hymn, not unworthy to rank with the ancient psalms of his people.

Verse 10 again reminds us of that great Song of Moses which was the prototype and model of all future lyric poetry among the Hebrews. Cf. Exod. xv. 14 *sqq.*:

"The peoples heard, they were afraid:
Sorrow took hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.
Then the dukes of Edom were amazed;
The mighty men of Moab—trembling took hold upon them;
All the inhabitants of Canaan melted away."

quaked.] ἔφριξαν, Jer. ii. 12; Job iv. 15. Vulg. *horruerunt.*

were daunted.] Fritzsche edits ἐῤῥάχθησαν (Codd. ii. 55). The other MSS. have ἐταράχθησαν, *were troubled.* Cod. 58 omits. So Old Lat. and Vulg. The verb ῥάσσω occurred ch. ix. 8 (cf. Jer. xxiii. 33, 39); and is suitable here, a strong term being required to correspond to ἔφριξαν. "The Medes were dashed down" (*perculsi animo, metu fracti*). So we speak of courage being *dashed.* Syr. ⟨ܬܒܪ⟩, *fracti sunt. Hardiness* is θράσος or θάρσος (Codd. 19, 108, 23, al.). Cf. Job xvii. 9, θάρσος (= אֹמֶץ, *robur*).

11. Verses 11, 12 are wanting in Cod. 58. *My afflicted . . . my weak ones,* i.e. my oppressed and helpless people. See ch. ix. 11 for both terms (ταπεινός—ἀσθενῶν). *Shouted for joy* is ἠλάλαξαν = הֵרִיעַ: Josh. vi. 20; Ps. xlvii. 1. *Cried aloud*—ἐβόησαν—is required by the parallelism. So Codd. 19, 23, 52, 55, 64, 74, al., Syr., and Old Lat. The common ἐφοβήθησαν is called by Fritzsche "eine ganz gedankenlose Correctur, durch ἐπτοήθησαν veranlasst."

but they were astonished.] Better, *affrighted, terrified* (πτοέω). Cf. Job xxxii. 15; Amos iii. 6; 1 Chron. xxviii. 20. The subject is the Assyrians, who were panic-stricken when they heard the glad shout of the Israelites. Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 5–7. Codd. 19, 108, 23, 55, read ἠττήθησαν, *they were worsted;* x. 248, ἐπτοήσαν, which is simply a correction to avoid the abrupt change of the subject. Syr. *and they fell.*

these lifted up their voices.] Rather, *they.* The subject is still the Assyrians. They also shouted, but it was a cry of fear. Render, *They lifted up their voice, and were overthrown* (Syr. *broken*). Codd. 19, 108, *and my enemies were put to flight;* cf. ch. xv. 3. This suggests that *They lifted up their voice* refers to the Israelites. The Old Lat. has the peculiar reading, *Turbata sunt tunc omnia castra Assur, et ululaverunt humiles mei, et exclamaverunt aegrotantes in siti, et exclamaverunt voce sua et convertit aquam;* the Vulg., *Tunc ululaverunt castra Assyriorum, quando apparuerunt humiles mei, arescentes in siti.* Cf. Isa. xli. 17.

12. *The sons of the damsels.*] בְּנֵי נַעֲרוֹת. Κορασίον = נַעֲרָה, *ancilla:* Ruth ii. 8, 22, 23. "Sons of handmaids" means *slaves, vernulae.* The Assyrians regarded the Israelites as rebellious serfs: ch. xiv. 13, 18. Judith turns the edge of their taunt against themselves. The slaves are their victors. In 1 Sam. xx. 30, Saul in his wrath addresses Jonathan as *υἱὲ κορασίων αὐτομολούντων, son of runaway handmaids!* Fritzsche explains: "Sons of maidens, of young weak women: thus, weak youngsters." Badwell's *imbelles atque delicati,* and Volkmar's *Mädchen-Gleiche,* are similar. Grotius: "modo geniti; ex novis nuptis."

pierced them through.] κατεκέντησαν = דָּקְרוּ; Jer. li. 4. (ἐξεκέντ. Codd 19, 108 = דָּקַר, 1 Chron. x. 4.)

as fugitives' children.] ὡς παῖδας αὐτομολούντων. But 19, 108, αὐτομολοῦντας. So Syr. and Old Lat. and Vulg. The Israelites

perished by the battle of the Lord.

13 I will sing unto the Lord ‖ a new song: O Lord, thou art great and glorious, wonderful in strength, and invincible.

14 Let all creatures serve thee: for thou spakest, and they were made, thou didst send forth thy spirit, and it created them, and there is none that can resist thy voice.

15 For the mountains shall be moved from their foundations with the waters, the rocks shall melt as wax at thy presence: yet thou art merciful to them that fear thee.

Or, a song of praise.

turned the tables on their late domineering foes, and cut them down as *runaway slaves* (or *children of deserters*). Παῖς may be either *child* or *slave*. "Sons of deserters" = deserters, in Heb. idiom.

they perished, &c.] Lit. *they perished from the army of my Lord:* i.e. either they perished *through*, or they perished *from before* the Israelite array. The Heb. was either אָבַד מִן or אָבַד מִפְּנֵי. Vulg. "perierunt in praelio *a facie* Domini Dei mei." With ἐκ παρατάξεως κυρίου μου, cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 36, 45. It is irrelevant to compare the classical ἐκ παρατάξεως, *in regular battle*, Thucyd. v. 11.

13. A new strophe begins with an ascription of praise containing echoes of Exod. xv. 11: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

I will sing unto the Lord, &c.] Cf. *v.* 2. Here the Gk. is ὑμνεῖν ὕμνον, as in Isa. xlii. 10. Instead of *the Lord*, the Gk. has *my God;* but Syr. *the Lord.* Vulg.: *Hymnum cantemus Domino, hymnum novum cantemus Deo nostro.*

O Lord.] Codd. 19, 108, *O Lord my God;* 58, *Adonai, Lord.* Old Lat. and Vulg. *Adonai Domine.* Syr. *Lord Almighty* (= Jehovah Sabaoth). Heb. probably אדני יהוה, *Lord Iahweh.*

thou art great and glorious.] Cf. Ps. xlviii. 1, xcvi. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 22. Ἔνδοξος probably מְהֻלָּל, *laudandus:* so the Syr. ܫܒܝܚ, *laudatus.* The Midrash, which here resumes, has: "O Lord God, great art thou and fearful in strength (נורא בכוח), and there is none like unto thee."

wonderful in strength.] θαυμαστὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ may represent Heb. חֵיל נוֹרָא, *terrible of strength:* cf. Exod. xv. 11; Dan. ix. 4 (κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστός); Josh. vi. 2. Syr. ܓܒܝܪ ܕܚܝܠ, *mighty in strength* = Heb. גִּבּוֹר ח״, *a man of might.* Cf. 1 Kings i. 42; also Ps. ciii. 20. Vulg.: "praeclarus in *virtute* tua."

and invincible.] (καὶ) ἀνυπέρβλητος, not to be *surpassed* or *outdone:* Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 7, 15. Codd. 19, 108 read: θαυμαστὸς ἐν μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ (= הָדָר, Ps. xxi. 6), καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος (108, ἀνυπέρβατος, a late word) ἐν ἰσχύϊ. Syr. *neque victus* (cf. 1 Kings xx. 23, where the Peshito uses the same verb וכֹל). Midrash: ואין דומה לך, "And there is none like thee."

14. *Let all creatures serve thee.*] Rather, *let all thy creation serve thee.* Cf. ch. ix. 12 *supra*, "King of all thy creation." Midrash: הבריות, "the creatures" (neo-Heb.). It adds, "And let all thy works praise thee, O Lord." The rest of the verse is from Ps. xxxiii. 6–9; civ. 30. "Thy spirit," thy *breath*, i.e. thy creative word, Ps. xxxiii. 6.

created.] ᾠκοδόμησε, *built them up;* בָּנָה. But Midrash: ונבראו, "and they were created," which is perhaps right (Ps. civ. 30). It omits the last clause of the verse. Cod. 58 omits: "Thou didst send forth . . . thy voice." The Syr. is:

"Thee serve all the peoples!
And to thee be subject all the earth thy creation!
Because thou spakest, and they became;
And thou orderedst them, and they were established."

15. *For the mountains shall be moved, &c.*] Cf. Ps. xcvii. 4, 5; Isa. lxiv. 1, 2; Wisd. iv. 19; Heb. iii. 6, 10. The mightiest are powerless against the wrath of God; the humblest who fear Him are visited by His grace. This is the general sense, but the first line of the Greek is not quite clear. It says: "For mountains from foundations, with (σὺν) waters, shall be shaken." The Syr. is plainer: "The mountains from their foundations, with their waters, shall tremble." Volkmar renders "from the foundation of the waters," "from the foundation, together with the waters which form that foundation" (?). Midrash simply: "The mountains and the foundations shall shake."

yet thou art merciful to them that fear thee.] Lit. *But upon them that fear thee—thou art very propitious unto them:* an anacoluthon. The verb. ἐυιλατεύω belongs to the dialect of the LXX. See Deut. xxix. 20; Ps. ciii. 3. Heb. כָּלָה, *condonavit.* Codd. 19, 64, iii. x. al. have the future tense here also. The Midrash omits this sentence and the next verse, and concludes with Exod. xv. 6, 11. The contrast

16 For all sacrifice is too little for a sweet savour unto thee, and all the fat is not sufficient for thy burnt offering: but he that feareth the Lord is great at all times.

17 Woe to the nations that rise up against my kindred! the Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment, in putting fire and worms in their flesh; and they shall feel them, and weep for ever.

between the power and the love of God is like the prophetic, "Thus saith the high and holy One," &c., Isa. lvii. 15.

16. *For all sacrifice, &c.*] Lit.:

Because a small thing is every sacrifice for a smell of sweet odour,
And a very small thing is all fat for a whole offering unto thee;
But he that feareth the Lord is great continually (μέγας διαπαντός).

The verse assigns a reason for the last statement in *v.* 15. It seems to say: Not the "whole burnt offerings and sacrifices," which are the outward tokens of fearing Him, but the worshipper himself is the great, the priceless object, in the sight of God. He does not value the sacrifices for their own sakes, but for what they signify—the devotion of him who offers them. The writer does not mean at all to disparage the sacrificial system. He has already laid the utmost stress upon Judith's punctilious observance of the legal traditions of piety. Cf. Isa. xl. 16; Ps. li. 16–19: and for the sacrificial terms, Gen. viii. 21; Lev. viii. 20, xvii. 6. Codd. 19, 108 read: "Because small and great (neut.) thou madest, every sacrifice for a smell of sweet odour and all fat for whole burnt offering are as small as may be; but he," &c. Cf. Ps. l. 8 *sqq.*

17. *the nations.*] The ἔθνη or "heathen." "My kindred" = my *people*: γένος = עַם.

in the day of judgment.] Cf. Joel ii. 1, iii. 11 *sqq.*; Mal. iii. 1.

in putting fire and worms in their flesh.] A reminiscence of Isa. lxvi. 24: "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men that rebelled against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." Corpses on the battle-field would soon decompose in the hot East. They were burnt to get rid of them and their offensiveness. Burning instead of burial was considered a great dishonour. See Josh. vii. 25; Amos ii. 1. Grotius explains: "Morbis eos vexabit diuturnis, qualis est febris ἑκτικὴ et verminatio. Haec addita videntur post mortem Antiochi." See 2 Macc. ix. 9, 18.

and they shall feel them, and weep for ever.] The Gk. is καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος. The Vulg. *ut urantur et sentiant usque in sempiternum* seems to imply a reading καυσονται; and so the Syr. *and they shall be burnt through wickedness for ever.* It is evident that the thought of the writer extends beyond the visible scene, and that under a figure of speech, already current in his day, he is referring to the penal woes of the world to come. So Ecclus. vii. 17: "Humble thy soul greatly; for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms." Cf. Mark ix. 48; Dan. xii. 2. Enoch ciii. 8: "And into the darkness and into the meshes and into the burning flame will your spirit go at the great judgment; and the great judgment will be for all generations to eternity. Woe to you, for ye have no peace." Also ch. xc. 26: "And I saw at that time that a similar gulf was opened in the middle of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and all were judged and found guilty, and were thrown into that fiery gulf, and burned; and this gulf was to the right of that house" (*i.e.* in the Valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem). See Dillmann, 'Das Buch Henoch,' pp. 64 and 76. In his 'Book of Enoch' (Introd. p. 39) Prof. Schodde remarks: "The condemnation of the sinners is eternal (ch. v. 5, 6; x. 12; xii. 4, 5; xxii. 11 *sqq.*), and consists of burning (x. 14) in a pool of fire (x. 6, xc. 24, &c.); or fiery abyss (x. 13, xc. 25, &c.); or in prison (x. 13); or in a fiery oven (xcviii. 3); or in hell (xcix. 11)." (*Hell* is *Sheol.*) The most probable theory about the origin of the Book of Enoch is that it was written during the Maccabean period to cheer the *Chasidim*, or patriotic party, in their life-and-death struggle for freedom. See also 2 Esdr. viii. 59; ix. 9–12; Targum of Jonathan, Gen. iii. 24; *Rosh Hashanah*, 17 A (a passage which asserts that the wicked are judged in Gehenna *unto generations of generations*, and cites Isa. lxvi. 24. The opinion of the Rabbis was not, however, uniform on the subject of the duration of hell's torments).

Cod. 58 concludes the psalm thus: οὐαὶ δὲ ἔθνη παράνομα ἐπανιστάμενα γένει μου. Κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐκδικᾷ αὐτοὺς, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἐκδικήσει αὐτούς. Syr.:

"Woe to the people that riseth up against my people!
The Almighty Lord will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment;
He will take vengeance on them and will visit them;
And he will give their flesh to the fire and to the worm,
And they will burn because of (*in*) iniquity for ever."

18 Now as soon as they entered into Jerusalem, they worshipped the Lord; and as soon as the people were purified, they offered their burnt offerings, and their free offerings, and their gifts.

19 Judith also dedicated all the stuff of Holofernes, which the people had given her, and gave the canopy, which she had taken out of his bedchamber, for a gift unto the Lord.

20 So the people continued feasting in Jerusalem before the sanctuary for the space of three months, and Judith remained with them.

21 After this time every one returned to his own inheritance, and Judith went to Bethulia, and remained in her own possession, and was in her time honourable in all the country.

22 And many desired her, but none knew her all the days of her life, after that Manasses her husband was dead, and was gathered to his people.

23 But she increased more and more in honour, and waxed old in her husband's house, being an hundred and five years old, and made her maid free; so she died in Bethulia:

18. *Now as soon as they entered ... they worshipped.*] Cod. 58 and Syr.: "And it came to pass when *she* entered ... *she* (Syr. *they*) worshipped."

purified.] Scil. *propter caedem* (Castell). See Num. xxxi. 19 *sqq.*; 1 Chron. xv. 12; 2 Chron. xxx. 3, 17–20.

their free (will) offerings.] See Num. xxix. 39; 1 Chron. xxix. 6 *sqq.* Cod. 58 and Syr. omit *and their gifts:* see ch. iv. 14; Lev. xxiii. 38.

19. *which she had taken.*] The common reading ὃ ἔλαβεν αὕτη is evidently wrong. Fritzsche edits ἑαυτῇ, "for herself," from Codd. ii. iii. x., but remarks "malim αὐτή." Vulg. well: "quod *ipsa* sustulerat."

for a gift unto the Lord.] εἰς ἀνάθημα (Codd. iii. x. 58, 19, 55, al. ἀνάθεμα) τῷ θεῷ (iii. 58, 19, 64, al., Syr. κυρίῳ). The LXX. renders חֵרֶם, *res Deo devota*, by this term: *e.g.* Lev. xxvii. 28, 29. So Syr. Cf. Luke xxi. 5.

20. *the sanctuary.*] τὰ ἅγια, "the holy places;" the temple with its two chambers, and the buildings of the precincts.

for the space of three months.] This seems much too long for likelihood. The Syr. says: *a month of days.* Cf. the 120 days of banqueting in ch. i. 16. In Esth. ix. 21, the yearly festival is of two days' duration (14th and 15th Adar). The 13th Adar was the "Yôm Niqanor" or Nicanor's Day: see 1 Macc. vii. 47 *sqq.* and 2 Macc. xv. 36; Joseph. 'Ant.' xii. 17. Solomon's double feast of Tabernacles and of the Dedication lasted fourteen days: 2 Chron. vii. 9. The festivities of David's coronation at Hebron occupied three days: 1 Chron. xii. 39. Lastly, according to 1 Macc. iv. 56, Judas "kept the dedication of the altar eight days."

21. *After this time.*] *But after these days;* scil. of the festival.

his own inheritance.] Syr. *each to his own tent.* So Old Lat. Cod. 58, τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτοῦ.

in her own possession.] ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτῆς, *upon her property* = עַל־רְכוּשָׁהּ; cf. Dan. xi. 13, 24, 28: ch. viii. 7 *supra*—καὶ ἔμενεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Syr. omits *and remained*, and gives *to the house of her possession.* So 58. Syr. also omits *in her time.* The Gk. is κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς, *i.e.* as long as she lived.

22. *many desired her, &c.*] *I.e.* as Badwell explained: "multos procos habuit." Judith maintained her honourable widowhood to the last. Cf. Luke ii. 36, 37; 1 Tim. iii. 2.

and was gathered, &c.] See Gen. xxv. 8. Codd. 58, 106, and Syr. and Vulg. omit. Wolff considers this verse the original end of the book.

23. *But she increased more and more in honour.*] The Gk. is curious: καὶ ἦν προβαίνουσα μεγάλη σφόδρα. It predicates increasing years rather than honour. Προβαίνειν, scil. τῇ ἡλικίᾳ: cf. Luke i. 7, ii. 36; Gen. xviii. 11. The term is further defined here by μεγάλη in the sense of "old," *grandis*, Heb. גָּדוֹל. The reading of Cod. 58 seems preferable: καὶ προβαίν. ἐγένετο μεγ. σφ., *and advancing (in days) she became very old.* Syr. *and acc. as she was going on, she was increasing indeed (in dignity), until she had increased exceedingly.* Vulg. *Erat autem diebus festis procedens cum magna gloria:* i.e. on festivals she would appear in public, with great *éclat.* Old Lat. *et procedente tempore clara facta est.*

an hundred and five years.] In the Greek this depends immediately on the verb ἐγήρασεν, as an accusative of limitation.

made her maid free.] Cod. 58, Syr., Old Lat. transfer this to end of *v.* 24. Its position here, however, implies that the manumis-

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‖ Or, *sepulchre.*

and they buried her in the ‖ cave of her husband Manasses.

24 And the house of Israel lamented her [b] seven days: and before she died, she did distribute her goods to all them that were nearest of kindred to Manasses her husband, and to them that were the nearest of her kindred.

[b] Gen. 50. 10.

25 And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death.

sion took place, as was natural, only a little while before Judith died. The Syr. is wrong in rendering her *maids*.

in the cave.] See Matt. xxvii. 60; Josh. xi. 38. If Judith = Judæa, it is odd that she dies and is buried. Volkmar seems to have felt this, for he writes on his last page, "Die wahre Judith ist nie gestorben." In other words, his allegory breaks down here.

24. *seven days.*] The usual time of mourning: Gen. l. 10; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Ecclus. xxii. 10. So Archelaus for Herod.

she did distribute her goods.] Cf. Gen. xxiv. 36, xxv. 5, xlviii. 22; Job xlii. 15. In the assignment of the property, Judith followed the rule of strict equity. As Grotius remarks: "Omnia officia explevit, tum in reddenda gratia, tum in conferendo beneficio."

25. *long time.*] Lit. *many days*. Midrash: "And the land had rest after her death *many years;* and to all the sons of Israel there was light in their dwellings." Vulg. also, *many years*. Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 2, where "many days" = twenty years. Judith died at 105. If she was 25 at the time of her exploit (she had been a widow 3½ years, and Oriental women marry early, and fade soon), the peace she procured must have lasted at least 90 years. No such period of lengthened tranquillity can be specified before the Exile; and after it, only under the Persian kings, and according to Jewish ideas under the Hasmoneans. Supposing Holofernes to mean Nicanor (slain 161 B.C.), it is at least a curious coincidence that the 90 years of peace bring us to the last year of Salome-Alexandra, B.C. 71. If the 3½ years of Judith's widowhood symbolize the time of the desolation of the sanctuary, then in B.C. 168 Judith is already a widow; and reckoning from the year of the Dedication of the Temple, B.C. 165, ninety years again bring us to the reign of Salome, B.C. 75. The allusion to the peace or "rest" of the land is in the manner of the Book of Judges (v. 31; viii. 28); but it is perhaps worth notice that the very name of Salome (Heb. Shelomith) would remind a Jew of "peace" (2 Chron. xxii. 9).

after her death.] Cf. 1 Macc. vii. 50. The Vulg. alone adds: *Dies autem victoriae hujus festivitatis ab Hebraeis in numero sanctorum dierum accipitur, et colitur a Judaeis ex illo tempore usque in praesentem diem.* Cf. Esth. ix. 17 *sqq.* The statement can hardly have belonged to the original text of Judith, as it is absent from the Old Latin and the Syriac versions as well as the Greek MSS. Besides, the author does not usually speak of "the Hebrews" and "the Jews," as if he were himself an alien, but of "the children of Israel." And a "dies Judithae" is not otherwise known to have been observed by the Jews. *Vid.* Introd., p. 11; and cf. the discussion in Selden, 'De Synedriis,' iii. p. 133–137. An Ethiopic Calendar marks a feast of "Jodid" or "Judid," *ea die quae est quarta Elul Niceni sive Dionysiaci*, i.e. on Aug. 4 (Jos. Scaliger, 'de Emend. Temp.,' vii. 633 652, quoted by Selden).

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The rest of the Chapters of the Book of ESTHER,

Which are found neither in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. CONTENTS.

THESE 'Additions' to the canonical Book of Esther stand in the English Apocrypha in a but slightly connected form. Their contents may be briefly described as follows:—*a* (ch. x.), the explanation of a dream which *b* (ch. xi.) Mardochæus (or Mordecai) dreamed "in the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great." Mordecai was then at Susa, "a servitor in the king's court." *c* (ch. xii.), the details of the discovery of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs, Gabatha and Tharra, against the king. *d* (ch. xiii.), containing d_1, the decree of king Artaxerxes authorizing the utter destruction of the Jews; and followed by d_2, the prayer of Mordecai in the hour of great peril which had befallen him and his people. *e* (ch. xiv.), the prayer of "queen Esther, being in fear of death." *f* (ch. xv.), the interview of Esther with the king when she sought him unsummoned in order to petition for her people and her country. *g* (ch. xvi.), the decree of the king in favour of the Jews, authorizing their self-defence and their vengeance on their enemies.

§ II. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

Whence come these 'Additions'? They are found in the Greek, but not in the Hebrew, text of the canonical Book; and their place in the Greek Version varies from that adopted by the English. Thus *a* with the first verse of *b* form the conclusion of the Book, and the rest of *b* and *c* its opening verses. Of *d*, d_1 was placed after Esther iii. 13, d_2 and *e* after Esther iv. 17. Instead of Esther v. 1–3, the Greek text had *f*; while *g* was placed after Esther viii. 12. The English Version follows the arrangement of St. Jerome. In his edition of the Vulgate he collected these additions at the end of the canonical work; pointing out that he did not find them in any Hebrew text, but assigning them to their proper places.

It is evident on the most cursory inspection that these additions complete details, fill up omissions, and supplement statements. Are they authentic? In other words, is the present Greek text of the canonical Book of Esther, which incorporates these 'Additions,' the original edition, and the Hebrew text an abbreviation; or is the present Hebrew text of the canonical Book the original Version to which "the rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther" are but apocryphal additions? The commentator on the Book of Esther in this work has come to the conclusion that these additions are "unauthentic;"[1] and with this

[1] See 'Speaker's Commentary,' vol. iii. Introduction to Esther, § 7. Few Jewish authorities stand higher than A. Jellinek. In the 'Bet ha-Midrash,' v. p. viii. he remarks: "Die griechische Bearbeitung des Buches Ester mit den

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verdict most modern scholars agree. Not all, however; and therefore a few words upon this question are desirable.

i. *A Hebrew original.* Those who maintain this for the 'Additions' do so on the following grounds.[1] The origin of the Book of Esther is due to a wish to record the foundation and perpetuation of the Feast of Purim (or lots: cp. Esther ix. 26, iii. 7). This feast became very popular. In 160 B.C. the first day of it was known by the name of the principal hero in the events as "Mordecai's day" (2 Macc. xv. 36); and in the time of Josephus (cp. 'Antiq. Jud.' xi. § vi. 13), the two days (the 14th and 15th of Adar) were commemorated "throughout the world" with banquets among the rich and gifts of food to the poor (cp. Esther ix. 22; Additions, xvi. 24). In order to secure for this festival religious observance and significance, passages descriptive of its origin and lessons were required for synagogal use. This was furnished, and the Lectionary of the synagogue enriched, by a Hebrew or Chaldee book corresponding with the full text of the present LXX., written (so it is argued from ix. 20, 23) by Mordecai himself.

But if this be the case, how is it that the *present* Hebrew text does not contain the 'Additions'? The following explanation is offered. Undue stress laid upon the festal element of the Purim-festival (cp. Esther ix. 22) led to obliviousness of its religious character. It degenerated into something like the modern carnival. Had not Esther won the freedom of her people at a "banquet of wine" (Esther vii. 24)? and should not her co-religionists institute a similar mode of perpetuating her victory?[2] Hence the practice arose that the Jews would drink at this festival till they could not distinguish in their articulation between "Blessed be Mordecai" and "cursed be Haman;"[1] and at the religious service in the synagogue, vociferous interruption of the reading of the 'Megillath Esther' by cursing Haman, Zeres (his wife), and all idolaters when their names were mentioned, was encouraged side by side with blessings upon Mordecai, Esther, and all Israelites. In order to minimize this direful habit, or for other reasons, it is suggested that a shorter text, expurgated of the name of God (presumably dishonoured by such excesses), became adopted for synagogal use, and that this is the text now known as the Hebrew text.

It is natural to ask, Upon what evidence does this hypothesis rest? The evidence adduced is as follows:

(*a.*) In ix. 29 (of the canonical Book) Esther and Mordecai are described as writing with all authority "to confirm this second letter of Purim." The qualitative word "the second" does not occur in that Greek Version upon which so much stress is laid, nor in the Peshito based upon it. Nevertheless its occurrence is taken to indicate that the present Hebrew text is a second Version or a recension[2] of one earlier and—on the theory in question—ampler in details. An inspection of the passage itself and the consideration of the context hardly make it necessary to refute such a deduction.[3]

(*b.*) The character of the Greek is said

'Zusätzen' verhält sich zu dem hebräischen Texte dieses Buches wie das zweite im griechischer Sprache abgefasste Buch der Makkabäer zu dem ersten . . . Die 'Zusätze zu Ester' sind in der Phantasie eines alexandrinischen Juden enstanden und daher von Anfang an in griechischer Sprache geschrieben worden."

[1] See Kaulen, 'Einleitung in die heilige Schrift, A. T.,' §§ 270 &c., and in Wetzer und Welte's 'Kirchen-Lexicon,'[2] *s. n.* Esther. He collects the arguments of his predecessors—*e.g.* De Rossi, Scholz, Langen &c.

[2] Cp. the Persian practice in Herod. i. 131; Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' iv. 195.

[1] This disgusting excess, as well as some practices once connected with the religious portion of their service, is now given up (cp. Mills, 'The British Jews,' &c. pp. 189–90). Buxtorf ('Synagoga Judaica,' p. 453), commenting upon this custom, says: "Diebus hisce duobus re alia se nulla occupare solent, nisi ut votent, potent, ludant, saltent . . . Mulieres vestes viriles, viri vestes muliebres induant . . . Diebus his tantum bibere licet ut præ ebrietate digitos manuum quinque amplius percensere non norit . . . Quod si vates adhuc viverent, vel e mortuis resurgerent, prout olim habuerunt, eodem modo prædicandi occasionem nunc haberent urgentissimam;" and he quotes Isaiah v. 11.

[2] So J. S. Bloch, 'Hellenistische Bestandtheile im biblischen Schriftthum. Eine kritische Untersuchung des Buches Esther,' p. 8 (2nd ed.).

[3] See Esther ix. 29, note.

to be marked by Hebraisms[1] indicative of a translation from a Semitic text. Were these Hebraisms more numerous and certain than they are, they would do no more than illustrate the fact (not otherwise denied) that the author of the 'Additions' was a Jew. They would not prove that he had translated from the Hebrew.[2]

(*c.*) There exists in addition to the text of the LXX. another Greek text, containing the 'Additions,' which appears to have been translated independently. It is conjectured that this independent text was Theodotion's, and that that implies the existence of a Hebrew original. The consideration of the Greek texts will follow presently. For the present it is sufficient to note that this unsupported conjecture cannot constitute a proof.

(*d.*) Some of the 'Additions' are found in the (so-called) history of Josephus ben Gorion, and in the 'Midrash to the Book Esther;' and this, it is urged, points to a Hebrew original. The occurrence, *e.g.*, of the prayers attributed to Mordecai (xiii. 8 &c.) and to Esther (ch. xiv.) in the above writings may be readily admitted; but what original evidence can Italian-Jewish work of the 10th century of our era,[3] or a Midrash—placed by some between the end of the 7th and beginning of the 11th centuries,[4] or more definitely fixed[5] as the composition of a Jew of the Byzantine-Roman Empire of about the time of Constantius II. (d. A.D. 361)—furnish as to the existence of a Hebrew text presumably older than the present?

(*e.*) The main stay, however, of the opinion in favour of a Hebrew or Chaldee original corresponding to the longer Greek Version, is found in the fact that some Chaldee fragments containing *a* (ch. x.; Mordecai's dream), d_2 (xiii. 8 to end; Mordecai's prayer), and *e* (ch. xiv.; Esther's prayer) are incorporated in certain MSS. preserved in the Vatican.[1] These fragments, it is argued, are testimonies to the survival of a complete Chaldee or Hebrew text from which they were copied or translated. But these MSS. are confessedly of late date, and the Chaldee fragments do not always correspond with the longer Greek Version. Rather they suggest, by their diffuseness, that they are the composition of a writer drawing his materials from a source common both to himself and to the Greek writer.

Chaldee renderings of the Book Esther, marked by more or less diffuseness and independence, have always been in request. It is well known that of the Targums to the '5 Megilloth' (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther), those to the Book of Esther are the most numerous.[2] They all date from the post-Talmudical period, and are presumably the work of the Geonim (c. A.D. 600–1000). One of these (a short one) was published in the Antwerp Polyglott, and reproduced at greater length with a second and much more expanded Targum by Tayler in 1655, from whose publication Walton took the shorter Targum found in his Polyglott. The longer Targum (called the Targum Sheni) is printed in Daniel Bomberg's Hebrew Bible (Venice, 1517). Both Targums (without diacritic points) have been reprinted by Lagarde in the 'Hagiographa

[1] See the list in Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 271.

[2] Fritzsche, 'Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A. T.' i. p. 71.

[3] See Schürer on Josephus b. G., in Herzog, 'Real-Encyklopädie,'[2] vii. 116.

[4] Weber, 'System der Altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie,' p. xxiii.

[5] See Wünsche, 'Bibliotheca Rabbinica:' ixte Lieferung, "Der Midrasch zum Buche Esther," p. vi. The character of Constantius II. presents an interesting parallel to that of the Xerxes of the Book of Esther. Of both was it true that they "inherited the defects without the abilities of their fathers" (Gibbon's 'Roman Empire,' ii. 269; ed. Milman); that they were "jealous, vain, and weak; entirely under the control of eunuchs and women" &c. (Schaff, 'History of the Christian Church,' ii. 38).

[1] Cp. the fragments printed in 'Daniel secundum LXX.' p. 434 &c. (Rom. 1772); in De Rossi, 'Specimen varr. lectionum sacri textus et Chaldaica Estheris additamenta' &c. p. 122 &c. (Tub. 1783). Beelen, 'Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica,' i. (Pars posterior), p. 13 &c., gives the De Rossi text of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther.

[2] Weber, p. xviii. Volck, 'Thargumim' in Herzog, 'R. E.'[2] pp. 374–6, collects the literature on this subject. I have in the additional notes reproduced freely some of the passages of the Esther-Targums and Midrash which alike illustrate the text and exhibit the character of those writings.

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Chaldaice' (Leipzig, 1873). They are all free translations, and Haggadistic in the character of their commentary. The Targum (or rather, fragments) discovered by Rossi is of the same character as the others. It is of late origin; and there seems but little doubt that its contents are a reproduction of the work of Josephus ben Gorion (above-mentioned), and taken not from any Hebrew text, but directly from the LXX. itself.[1]

(*f*.) The concluding verse of the LXX. of the Book of Esther—reproduced in the E. V. as xi. 1—is this: ἔτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰσήνεγκε Δοσίθεος, ὃς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ Λευίτης, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουραί, ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἡρμηνευκέναι Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. The 'Epistle of Phurim' alluded to is said to have been interpreted or translated by Lysimachus. What was this 'Epistle,' and from what was it translated? It is urged that the 'Epistle' means the whole existing Greek text of the Book of Esther, and therefore that the 'Additions' were a translation from the Hebrew quite as much as the undisputed portions of the LXX.

Whatever value this passage may have as affecting the date of the Greek Version (see below), it will not bear the interpretation here laid upon it. The 'Epistle of Phurim' intended is evidently that named in the Greek text of ix. 26;[2] and as a mode of describing the Book of Esther it would be quite inadequate[3] as well as inaccurate as regards the contents of that Book.

These arguments (*a*–*f*) adduced in favour of a Hebrew original to the 'Additions' are insufficient. On the other hand, there are facts which militate strongly against it.

(*a*.) St. Jerome in his Preface to the Book of Esther writes: "Librum Esther variis translatoribus constat esse vitiatum; quem ego de archivis Hebræorum revelans, verbum e verbo expressius transtuli. Quem librum editio Vulgata, laciniosis hinc inde verborum sinibus trahit, addens ea quæ ex tempore dici poterant, et audiri; sicut solitum est scholaribus disciplinis, sumpto themate, excogitare quibus verbis uti potuit qui injuriam passus est, vel qui injuriam fecit. Vos autem . . . tenentes Esther hebraicum librum, per singula verba nostram translationem aspicite; ut possitis agnoscere, me nihil etiam augmentasse addendo, sed fideli testimonio simpliciter, sicut in hebræo habetur, historiam hebraicam latinæ linguæ tradidisse."[1] He shewed most unmistakably in what sense he felt that the Book had been "vitiated," and expansions, as imaginative in character as schoolboy themes, permitted, by placing the 'Additions' after Esther x. 3, and introducing them thus: "Quæ habentur in Hebræo, plena fide expressi. Hæc autem quæ sequuntur scripta reperi in editione Vulgata, quæ Græcorum lingua et literis continentur; et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur; quod juxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, id est veru, prænotavimus."

The subscription noted above (*f*) drew from St. Jerome this comment, "Hoc quoque principium erat in editione Vulgata, quod nec in Hebræo, nec ullum fertur interpretum." It is absent from the Old Latin and the Greek text B (see below), as it was absent from the Hebrew MSS. before him and from the Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and his decided language[2] can hardly be set aside as the reflexion of the opinion of his Hebrew teacher, or considered rectified by an allusion to xiv. 11, 16 in some of his commentaries.[3] Bellarmine, it is said, felt so strongly the difficulty of the case, that he resorted to the device of two Hebrew originals for Esther, and considered them the sources respectively

[1] Bissell, in Lange's 'Commentary on the Apocrypha,' p. 202. Weber, p. xviii.

[2] διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκλήθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται Φρουραί . . . διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης κ.τ.λ.

[3] Cp. ix. 20, ἔγραψε δὲ Μαρδυχαῖος τοὺς λόγους τούτους εἰς βιβλίον κ.τ.λ.

[1] The prefaces of St. Jerome to the various Books of the Bible are usually placed at the beginning of the modern editions of the Vulgate.

[2] See also his remarks appended to xii. 6, xiii. 7, xiv. 19, and prefixed to xv. 1, xvi. 1. The 'Editio Vulgata' alluded to by St. Jerome was not the Latin but the Greek text (Könsch, 'Itala u. Vulgata,' p. 10, n. 18; Kaulen, 'Geschichte der Vulgata,' p. 18).

[3] Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 260; and in Wetzer u. Welte, 'K.-L.'[2]

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of the two recensions, the one with and the other without the 'Additions.'[1]

(β.) Josephus in his 'Antiquities of the Jews'[2] usually follows the LXX. Version, consulting but not adhering to the Hebrew text. Yet in his treatment of the Greek Version of the Book of Esther he exhibits a marked independence. A comparison between (1) the language of the 'Additions' and that in which he gives portions of the decrees of Xerxes and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther; or (2) between his statements and theirs as regards the circumstances of the conspiracy of the eunuchs against the king, and of Haman's hostility to Mordecai, exhibits no slavish reverence for the LXX. text, but on the contrary frequent deviations from it.[3]

(γ.) The Greek of some of the 'Additions' is of a character which almost precludes translation into Hebrew, and can with difficulty be conceived as having been translated from it.[4] Hence Kaulen affirms that the present Greek text of the royal decrees is the original form in which they were translated for the Greek-speaking subjects of Xerxes (cp. Esther iii. 12).[1] But if so, what becomes of the very different form of the same Greek decrees given by Josephus?

ii. *A Greek original* for the 'Additions' seems of necessity the sequence from the previous arguments, even if it were not supported by much independent testimony. The Greek text is extant in two distinct recensions, specified respectively as A and B.[2] The latter is younger, and evidently derived from the former: amplification being noticeable in B where A is obscure, or condensation where greater precision was thought by the author of B requisite to give clearness to A. B would seem to have influenced the writer of the Old Latin Version,[3] but from A are derived the Latin, Coptic, Æthiopic, Syriac, Arabic, and other Versions. In the character of its Greek B is considered simpler than A, more prosaic and less poetic, and more in accordance with the purer rules of Greek composition.

[1] See Bissell, p. 201.

[2] xi. § vi. The 'Archæologia' or 'Antiquities' was finished A.D. 93–4.

[3] *e.g.* (1) There is nothing in Josephus corresponding to the dream and its explanation (ch. x., xi. 2–12); and he gives nothing corresponding to the subscription (xi. 1). (2) In the narrative of the conspiracy the event is placed by the LXX. before the king's feast and Vashti's disgrace; but by Josephus (as in the canonical Book, ii. 21–3) after it. In the 'Additions,' Mordecai is rewarded for his loyalty; in Josephus (cp. Esther vi. 3), he is forgotten. In the 'Additions,' Haman seeks to do evil to Mordecai on account of his anger at the death of the eunuchs; in Josephus, he does so for the reason given in the LXX. of Esther iii. 5, because Mordecai would not bow before him. (3) Josephus gives both the prayers of Mordecai and Esther (xiii. 8–18, xiv.); but in his treatment of them, arguments different or absent from those of the LXX. are introduced. In the former, Mordecai is made to pray that his own individual refusal to bow before Haman be not visited on God's innocent people. In the latter he introduces the idea that Esther prayed for personal beauty as well as eloquent speech, in order to soften the king's heart. (4) In the description of Esther's interview with the king, there is a marked independence of treatment (cp. Esther's words to the king), and personal reflections are introduced.

[4] Cp., for example, the Greek of the royal decrees given in the LXX. of Esther iii. 14–21, viii. 14–37 ('Additions,' ch. xiii. and xvi.), with that of Josephus (§§ 6, 12). Not only is the style of the Greek much more diffuse and bombastic; but of some of it, it may be said that as it stands it would be quite impossible to put it into Hebrew. Let the experiment be tried on such verses as iii. 15 (LXX.; in E. V. 'Additions,' xiii. 2), or viii. 14–19 (LXX.; in E. V. xvi. 2–9). The trial would possibly succeed with the corresponding language of Josephus; it would be impossible with the other. Let the student further compare the text of the Targum Sheni, or of the Midrash to Esther, with some of the 'Additions;' the non-Hebraic cast of the present Greek text will be even more apparent. Jellinek has printed in his 'Bet ha-Midrash,' v. pp. 1–16, both the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in Hebrew and Aramaic, and the 'Additions' in Hebrew; but the latter is a free translation, not from the Greek, but from St. Jerome's Latin translation.

[1] 'Einleit.' § 271. Cp. also his remarks in Wetzer u. Welte's 'K.-L.'[2] *s. n.*

[2] The Gk. A represents the text of the Vatican, Alexandrine, and Sinaitic MSS.; the Gk. B is that of three MSS., numbered respectively 19, 93a, and 108b. This second text was possibly the work of Lucian (presbyter of Antioch, martyred in A.D. 312). Bissell has given a translation of it in pp. 217–20 of his work; and Churton has incorporated the principal variations from A in his useful edition of 'The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures,' pp. 214–23. Cp. on the whole subject Fritzsche, i. 70; Bissell, p. 199; Schürer, 'Geschichte d. Jüdischen Volkes,'[2] ii. pp. 702, 716.

[3] This Old Latin Version is in many respects peculiar. See Fritzsche, i. 74, 75.

§ III. Date.

Critics who claim for the 'Additions' authenticity and a Hebrew original, claim also as their date the Persian period to which the canonical Book is assigned,[1] and ascribe the authorship to Mordecai. The Greek form in which that original is asserted to have been preserved they attribute to the Lysimachus named in the passage (xi. 1) quoted in § II. i. (*f*). This passage ought to be extremely valuable. It gives names and dates. But when the verification of these is attempted, the passage is found to contribute very little to the solution of the question. What Ptolemy and Cleopatra are meant? There are four Ptolemies, —Epiphanes, Philometor, Physkon, and Soter II., whose suzerainty extended from B.C. 205–81, and each of whom had a wife or mother named Cleopatra![2] Of these Ptolemies, it is usual to select Philometor (B.C. 181–146) as the king intended in the Subscription. He was the last of the kings of Egypt noticed in sacred history; and his reign was marked by the erection of that temple at Leontopolis which constituted a religious as well as a political barrier between the Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews. For the use of this temple a Dositheus (a very common, if also a celebrated, name[3]) may have brought the 'Epistle of Phurim;' and if he did this in "the fourth year" of Philometor, the date of his so doing would be B.C. 177. For this date the impugners of a Hebrew original of these 'Additions' shew a decided preference. It cannot indeed be affirmed positively, but it coincides with the conclusions supported by the character and style of the 'Additions,' and by the probable position of the writer.

Certain sentiments and expressions tend to point to a Jew of Persia as the composer of some of the 'Additions.' The dualism indicated in the fight between the dragons (x. 6, xi. 6), the mention of idol-worship (xiv. 8, a late Persian practice), the social customs (xiv. 17), the description of the king on his throne (xv. 6), and the titles given to God (xvi. 16), reflect the observations and language of one acquainted with the later Persian court, and familiar with the religion and etiquette of the palace.[1] This writer did not compose his 'Additions' in Hebrew, if the style of the language in which they have come down to us be a test, though the Subscription states that Lysimachus "interpreted" it. What Lysimachus interpreted, it is difficult to say; but it is possible that to him are due the explanations and the interpretations which, intended to add clearness to what was already clear, have not always escaped the charge of contradicting the canonical Book.[2]

[1] *i.e.*, the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 464–25). Cp. Rawlinson, Introduction to Esther, § 2 (in the 'Speaker's Commentary'); Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther,' p. 95. This is the conclusion of historical criticism as distinguished from the subjective and "tendency"-criticism which refers the Book of Esther to the Maccabean period (*e.g.* Bloch, p. 8 &c.; Reuss, 'Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften, Alten Testaments,' § 470 &c.; Bleek-Wellhausen, 'Einl. in d. A.T.'[5] § 120).

[2] Cp. Fritzsche, p. 72; Schürer,[2] ii. p. 715; Westcott in 'Dictionary of the Bible,' *s. n.* Ptolemæus.

[3] Cp. 2 Macc. xii. 19, 24, 35; 3 Macc. i. 3. The Dositheus of the text, "the priest and Levite," could not have been one of the "commanders of the forces" of Ptolemy Philometor (cp. Josephus, 'c. Apion.' ii. 5). Cp. further the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' *s. n.* Dositheus.

[1] Cp. the notes to these passages. I do not adduce the headings of the royal decrees (xiii. 1, xvi. 1), or the slighter allusions to the Persian court customs (xv. 1, 11), or the title given to Haman (xvi. 10, 17), because these are to be found in the canonical Book. Cp. also the notes to xii. 6; xvi. 11, 24. There is little in the 'Additions' which distinctively marks a Jew of Palestine as the author, and the differences between them and the Targums and Midrash makes such a supposition almost impossible.

[2] Amongst these are to be noted the following: (*a*) Mordecai becomes (xi. 2) "a great man, a servitor in the king's court, in the second year" of king Xerxes; according to Esther vii. 16, 19, 21, the greatness which came to him as Esther's relation does not become prominent till the seventh year. (*b*) The difference already mentioned (§ II. i. β n.) between the reasons for Mordecai's refusal to bow to Haman given by the Book of Esther and these 'Additions.' (*c*) Haman's nationality: in the canonical Book he is a Persian, in xvi. 10 (cp. *v.* 14, and Gk. B of xii. 6) he is a Macedonian. It is simply conjectural to say that Macedonian is a misprint for Median (Kaulen in 'K.-L.'[2] *s. n.* Esther). I do not adduce the so-called contradictions discovered in the genealogy of Mordecai (xi. 2), the time when his sons were put to death (xvi. 10), and the revocation of an edict

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§ IV. The Object of the 'Additions.'

This may be expressed in the words of x. 9: viz., to shew how "the Lord hath saved His people, and (how) the Lord hath delivered (them) from all those evils (cp. xi. 5–9), and (how) God hath wrought signs and great wonders which have not been done among the Gentiles" (cp. also xiii. 18, xiv. 3). Three times does the sacred Name occur in this passage alone, as if in marked contrast to the total absence of the Name of God from the canonical Book.[1] The appeal to Him personally and directly occurs in every sentence of the prayers of Mordecai (xiii. 8 &c.) and of Esther (xiv.); and it is to the "God Who ruleth all things" that the king in his second decree (xvi. 18) attributes the preservation of his own throne as well as vengeance on the oppressor. Stimulated by this primary aim, the writer of the 'Additions' had perhaps a secondary purpose, viz. that of supplying what was lacking or inadequately expressed in the canonical Book: but the completeness of the supply is an indication of its unauthenticity. Among other motives at work in the writer may very possibly have been a desire to vindicate the character of a daughter of Israel in becoming the consort of a heathen prince.[2]

§ V. Canonicity.

The acceptance or rejection of these 'Additions' by the Church appears to have been in the earlier centuries a sequence upon the acceptance or rejection of the Alexandrian Version of the Old Testament. The Alexandrian LXX. contained Esther with the Additions; the Palestinian LXX. (the Greek Bible used by our Lord and His Apostles) did not contain the Additions. The value (not the canonicity) of Esther[1] was a matter of dispute among the Jews far into the third century, and leaders of Christian opinion were not wanting who were either influenced by the hesitation of the Rabbis, or—on entirely opposite grounds—declined the Book as being too purely Jewish in cast and thought.[2] But, as a rule, Christendom accepted the Alexandrian Version without repugnance. The majority of the Fathers of the first three centuries knew nothing of Hebrew; they would have understood little of the critical questions connected with certain Books; and they were naturally unwilling to forego an Apocryphal literature which furnished them with no uncertain foreshadowings of Christian truths.

This divergent tone and practice is illustrated in the few Patristic passages which quote Esther or include it in the list of canonical Books. Clement of Rome refers to the Book and the Additions;[3] and if Irenæus (c. A.D. 177), Clement of Alexandria (c. A.D. 191), and Tertullian (c. A.D. 190) may be taken as the fit exponents of the traditions of Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa, they—as influenced by the Alexandrian LXX.—counted the 'Additions' authoritative. On the other hand, the traditions of the far East, as embodied in the venerable Syrian Version, the Peshito (early in second century), excluded these 'Additions.' This Version, like the Palestinian LXX., limited its contents to the Hebrew Bible. This somewhat anomalous state of things continued for some time. The Christians were guided, not by historical or critical considerations, but by deference to popular wish and usage. Occasionally, the voice of opposition made itself heard. Melito, bishop of Sardis (c. A.D. 172), compiling his

(xvi. 17). These cease to be contradictions when examined (see notes *in loco*).

[1] This peculiarity in the Book of Esther has often been noticed (see 'Dictionary of the Bible,' *s. n.* Esther); but it must not be pressed too far. The whole history is full of interpositions which reveal not only the Presence of Him Who rules over men and nations, but also the faith in Him which made a Mordecai and an Esther patient, hopeful, and triumphant. One portion alone of the history—the charge to fast and the obedience to the charge (Esther iv. 3, 16, 17)—would be simply meaningless were prayer to God eliminated from the practice enjoined. Cassel, 'Das Buch Esther,' p. 157 &c.

[2] Eddrup, note on Esther ii. 7 (S. P. C. K. Commentary).

[1] See Strack in Herzog, 'R.-E.:'[2] "Kanon d. A. T." vii. pp. 429, 431; Westcott, 'Bible in the Church,' p. 124; Kaulen, 'Einl.' § 270.

[2] Cp. Diestel, 'Geschichte d. A. T. in der christlichen Kirche,' p. 22.

[3] '1 Ep. ad Cor.' ch. lv. (c. A.D. 95). Esther, says Clement, ἠξίωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην Δεσπότην. Cp. the Greek of Esther xvi. 4, τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος ἀεὶ θεοῦ. Kaulen, § 272.

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list of canonical Books with the help of Jewish teachers, omitted the 'Additions;' but his authority would with many pale before the learning of Origen († A.D. 254). This scholar, who followed "the tradition of the Hebrews," was yet accustomed to the Alexandrian LXX. He counted these 'Additions' as "fitted to edify the reader,"[1] and the absence of them from the Hebrew copies was to him no reason for "rejecting as spurious the copies in use in the Christian churches," or for "enjoining the Brotherhood to put away the sacred copies in use among them."

A century later (c. A.D. 330) the first complete Greek Bible—known from its birth-place as the Constantinopolitan—was prepared by Eusebius at the bidding of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine.[2] No copy exists, but apparently it contained—as regards the Old Testament—the Books of the Hebrew canon, and the Alexandrian Version of the Apocrypha added as an Appendix. One Book alone, the Book of Esther, seems to have been considered doubtful. This delegation of Apocryphal works to a second rank received the ecclesiastical approval of St. Athanasius: and in the 39th of his Festal Letters (A.D. 365) he omitted Esther from the Canon of the Old Testament and placed it among "ecclesiastical Books framed by the Fathers for the benefit of those who were just approaching Christianity."[3] Hesitation nevertheless continued even where—as in Palestine and Asia Minor—the Constantinopolitan canon was accepted. Cyril of Jerusalem († A.D. 386) and Epiphanius († A.D. 404) included the Book in their lists, Gregory of Nazianzen († A.D. 390) omitted it; and his contemporary Amphilochius († A.D. 395) left the matter an open question. If general uniformity was anywhere existent, it was due to "popular consent assuming the faculty of arbitration and adopting the broadest range."[4]

The discussion may be said to have reached its climax in the divergent views of St. Jerome and St. Augustine. The Greek Church was, on the whole, disposed to put the Apocrypha more and more in the background, and St. Jerome († A.D. 420) was the first great teacher of the Latin Church who wished to establish in the West the Greek distinction between the Hebrew canon and other writings. To him the 'Additions' to Esther, as also the 'Additions' to Daniel and Jeremiah (Baruch), had no claim to be included in the Christian Bible. He did not find them in the Hebrew Scriptures. They were not really written by those whose names they bore; there was much that was baneful mixed up with what was good; and it would require much prudence to seek the gold in the mud.[1] But he did not deny that there was gold, and therefore he followed the example of St. Athanasius: he assigned to these 'Additions' ecclesiastical use and "edification, but not authoritative confirmation of doctrine." To St. Augustine († A.D. 430) such reserve was a mistake. The "consuetudo ecclesiæ" was to him a better guide than critical discernment or historical protest, and the deference paid to his judgment[2] at synods held at Hippo (A.D. 393) and at Carthage (A.D. 397) soon passed beyond the "ecclesiastical use" to which he probably may have wished to limit Books not contained in the Hebrew canon. Popular usage had invested Apocryphal 'Additions' with weight as well as charm, with doctrinal value as well as practical teaching; and from St. Augustine's time must be dated that definite process of equalizing the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the Books of the Hebrew Bible which the Council of Trent saw fit to consummate. From time to time the more learned judgment of individual scholars or the collective wisdom of schools and churches recoiled from the verdict popular usage had secured,[3] but the contest was practically at an end till the dawn of the Reformation. Then was established that conciliar

[1] Cp. his 'Epist. ad Africanum,' chs. iii. iv.
[2] Consult Westcott, p. 146 &c.
[3] The whole passage, an interesting one, is translated by Westcott, p. 159 &c. Cp. also Diestel, p. 72.
[4] Westcott, p. 166.

[1] 'Epist. 107 ad Lætam.' Diestel, p. 74.
[2] 'De Doctrinâ Christianâ,' ii. 12, 13. See the extract in Westcott, p. 186.
[3] See Westcott, chs. viii. ix. (esp. p. 243); Diestel, pp. 76–8, 180–2; Kaulen, §§ 34–7.

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judgment[1] which, for good or evil, has swayed in opposite directions the reformed and unreformed churches. The verdict of the Church of Rome—in spite of existing views which united to a great degree opponents such as Ximenes and Erasmus, Cajetan and Luther—spoke with no uncertain sound in that decree of the Council of Trent (Feb. 12, 1546) which bade the faithful "receive and venerate all the Books of the Old and New Testaments...and also traditions pertaining to faith and conduct...with an equal feeling of devotion and reverence;" and in the anathema which it pronounced on any one who "does not receive the entire Books with all their parts, as they are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and in the old Latin Vulgate edition (*i.e.* Jerome's with the 'Additions'), as sacred and canonical, and knowingly and wittingly despises the aforesaid traditions."[1] The response to such a judgment has been—so far as the Church of England has given one in her formularies—the re-assertion of the language of St. Jerome: "The rest of the Book of Esther," or the 'Additions'—to name but the one work in the list of the Apocrypha which has suggested these remarks—"the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but doth not apply it to establish any doctrine."[2] Read in that spirit, these 'Additions' may still be to us in our nineteenth century what they were to Luther in the sixteenth—beautiful "as corn-flowers;" removed indeed from the Book in which they stand in Latin and Greek texts, but "placed in a separate bed that they may not wither, because there is much good in them."[3]

[1] "This fatal decree . . . was ratified by 53 prelates, among whom there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished for historical learning, not one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of Antiquity" (Westcott, p. 257).

[1] Strack, p. 444, gives the Latin of portions of the decree. Westcott, p. 255, translates it.

[2] Art. vi. See the works of Bishop Harold Browne and Bishop Forbes. Westcott, pp. 281–291.

[3] Quoted in Westcott, p. 262. Cp. Diestel, p. 250.

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The rest of the Chapters of the Book of ESTHER,

Which are found neither in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee.

Part of the Tenth Chapter after the Greek.

5 *Mardocheus remembereth and expoundeth his dream of the river and the two dragons.*

THEN Mardocheus said, God hath done these things.

[a] See ch. 11. 2, &c.

5 For I remember [a]a dream which I saw concerning these matters, and nothing thereof hath failed.

6 A little fountain became a river, and there was light, and the sun, and much water: this river is Esther, whom the king married, and made queen:

7 And the two dragons are I and Aman.

8 And the nations were those that were assembled to destroy the name of the Jews:

9 And my nation is this Israel,

The rest of the Chapters, &c.] See Introduction, § I.

Part of the Tenth Chapter after the Greek] *i.e.* according to the arrangement of the Greek Version. It is placed after the last verse of the existing Hebrew and Vulgate Versions of the canonical Book of Esther. Chs. x. 4–end and xi. 1 form, in the opinion of the compiler, a fitting conclusion to the Book.

4. *these things*] The things already narrated in the canonical Book. As Mordecai (xi. 2, note) reflected upon the past, he recalled (see Greek text B) a dream which, inexplicable at the time (xi. 12), had evident reference to the stirring events of the past few years. It was fulfilled. "Nothing had failed." The dream itself is given in xi. 2–12: here the interpretation alone (*v.* 6 &c.) is recorded.

6. The Greek is abrupt: "The little fountain" (viz. that of the dream, mentioned in xi. 10) "which became a river; and there was light" &c. (cp. xi. 11). The Vulgate, *Parvus fons qui crevit in fluvium, et in lucem solemque conversus est, et in aquas plurimas redundavit: Esther est* &c. introduces a different method of stating what was probably the intention of the Greek. Esther was at once the source of prosperity, the light and the sun; bringing to the Jews "light and gladness, joy and honour" (Esther viii. 16). Grotius mentions an interpretation, Egyptian in cast: the river (like the Nile) is the emblem of life; the sun typifies the king.

whom the king married] According to a Persian law (cp. Herod. iii. 84), the wife of the king could only be found, outside of the royal family, in a member of one of the seven great Persian families. If this king be Xerxes, Amestris, his cousin whom he married before the Greek expedition (B.C. 480), was his one legitimate wife (Herod. i. 135; iii. 64, 88); but, like his predecessors and successors (see Justi, 'Gesch. d. alten Persiens,' p. 125), he had "loved" (Esther ii. 17) many and "married" many without infringing upon the position and status of Amestris.

The name Esther may perhaps be more correctly connected with Ištar, the Assyrian Venus, the Assyro-Babylonian form of the goddess Ashtoreth (Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther,' p. 103), than with ἀστήρ, star (through the Persian *sitāreh*). The beautiful comment of the Targum Sheni upon her Jewish name, Hadassah ("the Myrtle," Esther ii. 7), illustrates the Jewish estimate of her character. "She was so called on account of her piety. As the myrtle never dries up (or loses its greenness) in winter or summer, so the pious enjoy both this life and that of the world to come" (see Cassel, 'Das Buch Esther,' p. 263).

7. *Aman*] In the canonical Book, Haman (iii. 1, note); possibly the Persian Umana (Greek Eumenes). See xii. 6, note, and Additional Note to xiii. 12.

8. Cp. Esther iii. 6–9. The expression to "destroy the name" may be illustrated by Ps. lxxxiii. 4; Jerem. xi. 19, xxxi. 36. Cp. the charge given to the Israelites, Deut. xii. 3.

which cried to God, and were saved: for the Lord hath saved his people, and the Lord hath delivered us from all those evils, and God hath wrought signs and great wonders, which have not been done among the Gentiles.

10 Therefore hath he made two lots, one for the people of God, and another for all the Gentiles.

11 And these two lots came at the hour, and time, and day of judgment, before God among all nations.

12 So God remembered his people, and justified his inheritance.

13 Therefore those days shall be unto them in the month Adar, the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly, and joy, and with gladness before God, according to the generations for ever among his people.

6-9. The Greek text B gives these verses in a shorter form and with variations sufficiently interesting to bear reproduction. "The little fountain is Esther; and the two dragons are I and Aman. The river is the nations that were assembled to destroy the Jews. The sun and light which appeared to the Jews are a manifestation of God. This was the judgment. And God did these signs and wonders as they had not taken place before among the nations." As the title *θεὸς ἐπιφανὴς* or *numen præsens* was among the nations of classical antiquity the title expressive of a deity present to aid, so his actual presence or manifestation for the purpose of aid was called his *ἐπιφάνεια* (see reff. to Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch &c., in Liddell and Scott's Lex. *s. v.*). This was also the belief of the Jews. Cp. the language used in the case of Heliodorus (2 Macc. iii. 24) and of Nicanor (2 Macc. xiv. 15; xv. 27). The "manifestation" was of itself a "judgment," bringing deliverance to Israel and destruction to their enemies.

10. *two lots*] Cp. a similar reduction to two contesting parties before God in the case of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42). Here these *two lots* represent respectively "the people of God" and "the Gentiles;" and the issue (cp. Prov. xvi. 33) is determined by God (*v.* 12). The Book of Esther (iii. 7, see note; ix. 24) lays stress upon casting lots for a lucky day to carry out Haman's project, and brings forward the form of the practice common among the Oriental and classical nations of antiquity rather than the specifically Jewish aspect of the custom. The Rabbis have very curious things to say about Haman and the lots (see Additional Note).

11. The "day of judgment" (*κρίσεως*) is rendered by the Vulg. *in statutum diem*. The Gk. B renders, "And these two lots fell out (cp. Esther iii. 7) at the hour, according to the time, and on the day of the rule (*κυριεύσεως*) of the Eternal (cp. Baruch iv. 20), among all the nations;" but there is no necessity for supposing an alteration by a scribe of *κρίσεως* into *κυριεύσεως*, though the occurrence in the LXX. of this latter word is very rare.

12. *justified* (*ἐδικαίωσε*) *his inheritance*] Vulg. *misertus est* (*ἠλέησε*); Vet. Lat. *servavit*. The Gk. represents that ampler sense of the result of judgment (*v.* 11) between two contending parties which is also found in Deut. xxv. 1; Ecclus. xiii. 22. The Gk. B adds after *inheritance* (see xiii. 15, note): "And all the people cried out with a loud voice and said, Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who wast mindful of Thy covenants with our fathers. Amen."

13. Cp. Esther ix. 18–22. The fourteenth day of Adar is called in 2 Macc. xv. 36 "Mardocheus' day."

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VERSE 10.

Cp. Esther iii. 7; ix. 24, 26. Very characteristic are the Jewish comments upon the casting of lots before Haman when he sought, by horoscopic calculation, to fix the "lucky" day for the destruction of the Jews. Month after month was tried, says one tradition (Megilla, 136, quoted in Cassel, p. 100), unsuccessfully, till the month Adar was reached. On the 7th day of that month Moses had died. True; but Haman forgot that on the 7th day of Adar Moses was born!

The Midrash (cp. Wünsche, pp. 50–52) and the Targum Sheni[1] on Esther iii. 7 (cp. Cassel,

[1] In translating from these works I have not hesitated to give a free rather than a literal rendering. Reiss, 'Monatschrift für Geschichte u.

p. 268) elaborate details; both preceding their comment with words of scorn. "How," Haman is represented by the Midrash as saying, "shall I best master this people? I will cast lots." "What!" exclaimed the Holy Spirit, "shall lots be cast over My people?" (cp. Joel iii. 4.) God said to him: "Thy lot, thou wicked man, the son of a wicked man, shall be the gallows." When, according to the Targum, the lot was first cast in the month Nisan, then was there heard a loud voice from heaven: "Fear not, Israel. Repent and turn to God. The lot falls upon him, not upon thee." Shimshai the scribe (the name of him who "wrote a letter against Jerusalem," Ezra iv. 8) was Haman's helper. First they cast lots upon the days (according as it is written, "from day to day," Esther iii. 7), and the presiding genii of the days presented themselves in turn before God, and with much (and often peculiar) Scripture quotation and adaptation adduced valid reasons why this or that day should not be chosen. The first day of the week was not suitable, because on that day were the heavens and the earth made. A happy combination of Jerem. xxxiii. 25, xxxi. 26, 27, is alleged as a reason for not destroying a people with whom God had made a covenant as firm as the ordinances which God had appointed for heaven and earth. The second day would not do, because on that day God separated the waters that be above the firmament from those beneath it, and similarly God had separated the people of Israel from all other nations (Lev. xx. 26). The third day must be passed over. It was the day (according to the Targum Sheni) when Paradise was created; it was the day (according to the Midrash) when the seeds of those plants were made by means of which Israel discharged their tithes and heave-offerings, and those trees wherewith Israel rejoiced before God in the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40). Were the Israelites to perish, who would continue these? The genius of the fourth day pleaded that then were created the sun and the moon, the seven stars and the twelve planets, and (Midrash) the light described in Isai. lx. 3. To destroy Israel would be to destroy those so often compared to stars. The fifth day must also be exempted. Was it not the day on which were created the birds and fourfooted beasts with which Israel offered sacrifice? Who would bring offerings were Israel destroyed? Was it not also (Targum) the day when Leviathan and the mountain-bird were created which were appointed for the great supper on the great day? Further, the sixth day must be spared, because then Adam and Eve were created, whose name God had given to His children (cp. Ezek. xxxiv. 31). If the race of Israel was to be destroyed, the race of man had better be destroyed entirely, otherwise the enemy (Satan) would get the dominion over them. The genius of the seventh day, the Sabbath, urged: "On my day were all Thy works ended (Gen. ii. 2); and this day Thou didst appoint as a sign between Thee and men throughout their generations (Exod. xxxi. 13). Wilt Thou destroy this people, destroy first the Sabbath."

Haman and Shimshai turned from the days to the months. The horoscope was almost equally adverse. They began with the month Nisan; it was the month in which the destroying Angel "passed over" Israel, and the Passover festival was instituted. The month Ijar was the month in which the manna fell. In the month Sivan the Law had been given on Sinai. Those months must be excluded. Then "wherefore fell not the lot on (the months) Tammuz and Ab? They spake before God: 'Lord of the world, we have suffered sorrows enough' (Midrash). 'Two evils may not occur in one month' (Targum), and in Tammuz the walls of Jerusalem were thrown down. In Ab the Israelites in the wilderness ceased to die, and Providence began again to speak with Moses. The month Elul was spared, for in it Moses ascended Sinai a second time to receive the fresh tables of the Law (Targum), and in it the walls of Jerusalem were completed (Midrash: cp. Nehem. vi. 15). The month Tisri was sacred on account of the day of Atonement and the feast of Tabernacles; the month Marchesvan as the month in which Noah and his family were saved from the Flood (Targum), and Sarah died in the way (Midrash). Kislev was the month of the dedication of the Temple. The month Tebeth had suffered enough through the anger against Jerusalem of king Nebuchadnezzar (Targum), and could appeal to the merit of Ezra's action (Ezra x. 6). The month Shebat was the first month of the trees which furnished the first-fruits (Targum), and the month in which Israel rallied to God to punish the crimes described in Judges xviii. xix. (Midrash). There remained the month Adar. There were no opposing powers. Yet to make all sure, Haman turned (Midrash) to the signs of the Zodiac. He found no help till he came to the sign of the Fish, corresponding to the month Adar. The Aries was a type of the Passover (Exod. xii. 3); the Taurus of Joseph (Deut. xxxiii. 17) and the burnt offering (Lev. xxii. 27); the Gemini were reflected in Perez and Zarah (Gen. xxxviii. 27); Leo in Daniel, the descendant of Judah (Gen. xlix. 9); the Virgo in

Wissenschaft des Judenthums,' 1881, pp. 473–4, has pointed out that the text of the Targum is full of faults. I have adopted his corrections where they seemed important.

the Three Children who, like the chaste virgin who knows only her own husband, remained faithful to their God and the Law (Dan. iii.); Libra in Job (vi. 2); Scorpio in Ezekiel (ii. 6); Sagittarius in Joseph (xlix. 24); Capricornus in Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 16); Aquarius in Moses (Exod. ii. 19). But when Haman came to the sign of Pisces, he exclaimed joyfully: 'This month can point to nothing propitious for the Jewish people, and in this month did their teacher (Moses) die.' He knew not that in this month Moses had been born; and he cried, 'As great fishes swallow little ones, so will I swallow Israel.' God said to him: 'Thou wicked man! Fishes do indeed sometimes swallow; but sometimes they are swallowed; and thou shalt be swallowed of those who were to be swallowed'" (Midrash, cp. Esther ix. 1). He had also overlooked, says the Targum, the passage which foretold that the sons of Joseph were to increase as the fishes of the sea.

CHAPTER XI.

2 *The stock and quality of Mardocheus.* 6 *He dreameth of two dragons coming forth to fight,* 10 *and of a little fountain, which became a great water.*

IN the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemeus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemeus his son, brought this epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemeus, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.

2 In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great, in the first day of the month Nison, Mardocheus

CHAPTER XI.

1. This in the LXX. forms part of the previous chapter, and closes that Version's text of the canonical Book of Esther. It is absent from the Gk. B and the Vet. Lat. On the phrase "this epistle of Phurim," cp. Esther ix. 20, 29; and on the historical value of this subscription, see Introduction, § II. i. (*f*).

2. As a heading to this verse the Vulgate has this note: *Hoc quoque principium erat in editione vulgata, quod nec in Hebræo, nec apud ullum fertur interpretum.* In the LXX., *vv.* 2–12 and ch. xii. are placed at the beginning of the canonical Book.

In the second year . . . of Artaxerxes] In the Greek, 'Ασυηρός. See Additional Note. Xerxes reigned from B.C. 486–65. His *second* year was probably that of his subjugation of Egypt (Herod. vii. 7; Justi, 'Geschichte des alten Persiens,' p. 113). Other years mentioned in the canonical Esther are the *third* (Esther i. 3), the *seventh* (Esther ii. 16), and the *twelfth* (Esther iii. 7). In the third year took place the feast which may have preceded or followed the convention of the leading men of Persia, summoned to advise the war with Greece (Herod. vii. 7, 8), and with which the canonical Book connects the disgrace of Vashti. In his fifth year (B.C. 480) was fought the battle of Salamis, and in his sixth (B.C. 479) the battle of Platæa. Such stories as those told about Xerxes in Herod. vii. 146–7, if genuine, prove him to have been anything but a fool; but it is quite in accordance with what is known of this king's weak and cowardly character (Herod. viii. 103) that he should seek to forget the disasters to his army in sensual indulgence at home (cp. Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra,' &c., p. 100). Absence from home upon his Greek campaign, and the precedence accorded to others before Esther (Esther ii. 8, 12, 17), will easily account for the interval between the divorce, or—according to the Targum on Esther i. 19, ii. 1, and the Midrash to the Book of Esther (see Wünsche, p. 35)—the death of Vashti and the marriage of Esther.

Nison] Called in the Gk. B "Adar-Nisan, *i.e.* Dystrus-Xanthicus." In the Jewish Calendar Nisan was the first and Adar the last of the months, both names being post-exilic. The Babylonian origin of the existing names for the months among the Jews is now generally admitted. In a list of the months found at Nineveh the names of Nisan and Adar are given as Nisa-an-nu, Ad-da-ru (cp. Shrader, 'Die Keilinschriften u. das A. T.'[2] pp. 379, 380). The 2nd Maccabees and Josephus usually give Macedonian names: so here, Xanthicus (April) = Nisan (cp. 2 Macc. xi. 30, 33, 38; Josephus, 'Antiq. Jud.' i. ch. iii. § 3), Dystrus (March) = Adar (Josephus, 'A. J.' xi. ch. vi. § 13). Fritzsche (p. 79) conjectures that the combination Adar-Nisan (or twelfth-first month) may represent the intercalary month sometimes inserted at the end of the Jewish year, and called We-adar (in the Nineveh table Ar-hu ma-ak-ru or maḫ-ru) sa Ad-da-ra (*i.e.* the month after Adar).

Mardocheus] A name taken by some to mean "belongs to Merodach," a well-known

the son of Jairus, the son of Semei, the son of Cisai, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a dream;

3 Who was a Jew, and dwelt in the city of Susa, a great man, being a servitor in the king's court.

4 He was also one of the captives, which Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon carried from Jerusalem with Jechonias king of Judea; and this was his dream:

5 Behold a noise of a tumult, with thunder, and earthquakes, and uproar in the land:

6 And, behold, two great dragons came forth ready to fight, and their cry was great.

7 And at their cry all nations were

Babylonian god, and "reckoned to be one of those names which were adopted by apostatizing or religiously indifferent Jews from their Babylonian neighbours" (Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra, &c.,' p. 101). If this be so, the Mordecai of the Book of Esther (cp. also Ezra ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7) is a signal instance of superiority to such associations. But it is more probable that the name of a Jew born at Susa would be of Persian rather than of Babylonian origin. The first element of the name recurs in such well-known names as Mardonius (Herod. vii. 5) and Mardontes; and the final syllable is akin to the termination in Artakes, Phaonaces &c. See the Additional Note. On his genealogy, see Esther ii. 5, note.

The identification of Mordecai with Matakas or Atakas, a eunuch who wielded great power at the court of Xerxes during the early part of his reign, is possible in so far that facts do not contradict it. The history of the reign of Xerxes is not carried in the canonical Book beyond the 13th year of the king's reign, and he reigned twenty years. Mordecai may have died before the advent to power of Artabanos, who was the royal favourite and chief minister of the king at the close of his life. The language of the Versions here attributes to him already high rank. Thus the Vulg. text corresponding to "a servitor (LXX. θεραπεύων) in the king's court (*i.e.* palace)" is *inter primos aulæ regiæ*.

3. *Susa*] Or in the O. T., Shushan. On the place see Dan. viii. 2, note. The palace was built by Darius, the father of Xerxes, on the same plan as that at Persepolis. In Loftus's 'Chaldæa and Susiana' (p. 423) may be seen an ancient ground-plan of Susa; the smaller mound depicted in it was probably the site of the palace. Susa was the residence of "the great king," and there were "his treasures of wealth" (Herod. v. 49). The place itself is now a mass of ruins (Justi, p. 112).

4. *He was . . . one of the captives &c.*] If this is to be taken literally (cp. the Targums on ii. 6), Mordecai must have been more than 110 years old. But this literal sense is evidently not intended. It was his family (cp. Gk. text B) which was carried captive in the reign of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) by Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 598); and his father's (Jairus) and grandfather's (Semei) names are given, while "Cisai, of the tribe of Benjamin," or Kish, is the well-known father of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1). Such genealogical gaps are not infrequent in biblical writings (cp. St. Matt. i. 1; 1 Esdras v. 5). Josephus ('Antiq. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 1) makes Esther and consequently Mordecai (cp. Esther ii. 7) of royal descent (*i.e.* through Saul).

A want of accuracy is to be noticed in these verses (2–4). The dream takes place in the "second year" of Artaxerxes; and the natural sense of *v.* 12 taken with xii. 1 would lead the reader to suppose that the conspiracy of the two eunuchs (ch. xii.) took place in that same year. The canonical Book, however, would seem (cp. Esther ii. *v.* 21, "in those days," with *v.* 16, "in the seventh year of his (the king's) reign) to place this conspiracy five years later. The Greek text A gets over the difficulty by supposing two conspiracies, a not unlikely thing at the court of one who died by the hand of conspirators, but evidently created here as a convenient solution. Thus, in the account of the first, the names of the conspirators are given, and their office is that of guards of the palace; in the second, they are not named, and their office is that of chiefs of the royal body-guard. The Gk. text B knows nothing of two conspiracies, but (see below) leaves the date of the conspiracy it reports so open that it is possible to refer it to the seventh year of Xerxes. The Vet. Lat. omits the first conspiracy, and the heading of the Vulg. of ch. xii. intimates that the narrative contained in this chapter is *repeated* from the second chapter. The variations in the narration of what was probably but one event are numerous, and will be noted in their proper places.

5. The "dream" or "vision" (Gk. B) opens in the Gk. A and Vulg. dramatically with two pairs of plural nouns followed by a singular:—"And lo! voices and tumult, thunders and earthquake," producing as their result "confusion" (τάραχος; Vulg. *conturbatio*) rather than "uproar." The Gk. text is more abrupt than the Latin.

6. *two great dragons*] *i.e.* in the explana-

prepared to battle, that they might fight against the righteous people.

8 And lo a day of darkness and obscurity, tribulation and anguish, affliction and great uproar, upon earth.

9 And the whole righteous nation was troubled, fearing their own evils, and were ready to perish.

10 Then they cried unto God, and upon their cry, as it were from a little fountain, was made a great flood, even much water.

11 The light and the sun rose up, and the lowly were exalted, and devoured the glorious.

12 Now when Mardocheus, who had seen this dream, and what God had determined to do, was awake, he bare this dream in mind, and until night by all means was desirous to know it.

tion (x. 7), Mordecai and Aman. The fight between these individual beasts became the signal for preparation of war on the part of "all nations" (*πᾶν ἔθνος*) against "the righteous people" (*δικαίων ἔθνος*). The Vulg. here terms the former *nationes*, the latter *gentem justorum*, but does not always observe the distinction (see x. 8, 9). By the latter (called also in *v.* 9 "the whole righteous nation," *πᾶν ἔθνος δίκαιον*, *gens justorum*) is meant the people of the Jews (cp. x. 8; Wisd. x. 15, xvii. 2). The gathering of the nations is prophetically described in Joel iii. 2; Zech. xiv. 2.

8. Cp. the language of this verse with Joel ii. 2; Zeph. i. 15; St. Matt. xxiv. 29. The afflictions are recounted in pairs. For "obscurity" the Vulg. has *discrimen*, using the word in the sense of critical and dangerous circumstances. The couplet "tribulation and anguish" occurs in Rom. ii. 9 (cp. also viii. 35). The Gk. text B renders these verses: "And lo! two dragons, and both came forward to fight. And their cry arose, and all things were moved by reason of the noise of this cry. Against all the peoples there witnessed a day of darkness and gloom and confusion of battle; and every nation made ready to fight. And we called upon the Lord by reason of the noise of their cry."

10. The "little fountain" developing into "the great flood" or river (x. 6, *ποταμὸς*) is Esther.

11. As "the dragons" and "the fountain" are personifications, so "the light and the sun" personify the Powers of deliverance over "darkness and obscurity" (*v.* 8). Some compare Wisd. v. 6, which however does not imply personification. A yet more definite personification identifies them with guardian Angels, such as Michael, "the great prince which standeth for the children of God's people" (Dan. xii. 1), and Gabriel, "who maketh men to understand visions" (Dan. viii. 17).

devoured the glorious] *τοὺς ἐνδόξους*; Vulg. *inclytos:* not the proud or boastful, but those occupying positions of honour and glory such as Haman (*ἔνδοξος* is applied to him in xii. 6). So the Gk. text B, which in other respects has a curious variation: "Light, the sun rose up, and the rivers (reading *ποταμοὶ* instead of *ταπεινοὶ*) were swollen and engulphed those of high repute." On the imagery of this dream, see Additional Note.

12. *until night*] This limitation is absent from the Vulgate; and the Gk. text B connects chapters and events as follows:—"And Mardochæus, on rising from his sleep, pondered anxiously what his vision might mean, and what the Mighty One (cp. Luke i. 49) was ready to do. And he hid his vision in his heart, and at every opportunity was studying it out, until the day on which Mardochæus slept in the court of the king with Astagus and Thedeutus" &c.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 2, 5–11.

2. Artaxerxes is the name given by the LXX. to the Ahasuerus (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ = Akhashverosh) of the Heb. and E. Versions of the canonical Book (see Esther i. 1. In this passage the Greek text B has 'Ασύηρος: cp. Tobit xiv. 15; Ezra iv. 6; Dan. ix. 1). אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is the Hebrew form of the Persian Khshayarsha; in Greek, Xerxes. Modern critics are pretty well agreed that the Persian king alluded to in the Book of Esther and in these 'Additions' was not Artaxerxes (Longimanus), the son of Xerxes, but Xerxes himself, the son of Darius Hystaspis.

The Rabbinical commentators have a great deal to say about him. They extract fanciful meanings from this or that portion of his name, and they scold him in the most hearty fashion. He was called Ahasuerus, says one, because he blackened (שהשחיר) the faces of the Israelites; or, according to another, because he macerated (שהכחיש) their heads;

or, once more, because he made them drink gall (ישהשקה אותן רוש ולענה). He was "brother" to (*i.e.* akin in character and act to) Nebuchadnezzar, because if the latter destroyed the temple of Jerusalem, the former hindered its restoration; he was a man who destroyed his wife (Vashti) at the bidding of his friend (Memucan = Haman; cp. Esther i. 15 &c.), and his friend (Haman) at the bidding of his wife (Esther; cp. Esther vii. 8). In the original of Esther i. 1 the emphatic הוּא before אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is taken to point him out as one of the five *bad* men similarly emphasised, viz. Nimrod, Esau, Dathan and Abiram (taken as one), and king Ahaz: cp. 2 Chron. xxviii. 22. (N.B. With laudable breadth of view the Rabbis specify also five *good* men thus singled out, viz. Abraham, Moses and Aaron (taken as one), David, Hezekiah, and Ezra.) Consequently he is *that* (boastful) man who ordered wines from the 127 lands of his 127 subject kings (Esther i. 1), that each might drink what was his wont: *that* unjust king, that fool, who exclaimed, "I had sooner my kingdom was shattered than that my decree should remain uncompleted:" *that* Ahasuerus whose demands were so foolish (*e.g.* in the case of Vashti), and whose decrees were so unjust (*e.g.* in that which commanded the destruction of the Jews), &c. &c. After a tempest of similar reproaches, one redeeming point is found for him: "Before Ahasuerus married Esther he was Ahasuerus; after his marriage with her, he behaved not unseemly." Cp. Wünsche, pp. 10, 11; Cassel, pp. 242–4.

Mordecai] The Targums on Esther ii. 5 and the Midrash give to the name an Aramaic etymology מירא דכא = fine Myrrh (cp. Bloch, p. 28), and thereby express his character and position: "As the myrrh is the chief of spices, so was Mordecai the head of the just men of his day" (Midrash, p. 43). "He was like the star Nogah, that star so brilliant among stars, and like the early dawn which precedes the full day. He was the Master of the Jews; he devoted himself to their greatness, worked for their welfare, and promised peace to the whole of his race" (cp. Targum Sheni on Esther x. 3; Cassel, p. 298; Midrash, p. 73). Rabbi Berachia, commenting upon Leviticus xxv. 47, discovers in the "sojourner or stranger who waxes rich," the Amalekite Haman who offered the king 10,000 talents of silver for permission to destroy Israel (Esther iii. 9), the "brother that waxeth poor," and in Mordecai the "one of his (the latter's) brethren who redeems him." Similarly Gen. xlix. 2 is made to furnish a characteristic application. Benjamin, the ravening wolf who "in the morning devours the prey," is king Saul, the first king of Israel, or the "morning" of Israel, and a descendant of Benjamin, who plundered the Amalekites. The wolf who "at even divides the spoil" is Mordecai, "of the tribe of Benjamin," who in the "evening" hour (*i.e.* the captivity) of Israel's existence divided with Esther the spoil of Haman (Esther viii. 7).

5–11. It has been already noted that some critics find in this passage an Egyptian colouring (x. 6, note). The water or river inundating like the Nile, the light (Ptah), and the sun (Ra) were Egyptian beneficent deities; and the dragon—whether the evil serpent, Apep (Apopis), the darkness, or the crocodile associated with "the almighty destroyer and blighter," the deity Set—was the type of the malevolent deity. These indications are so far in favour of what some critics hold, the Egyptian origin of these 'Additions.' The point must not, however, be pressed too far. The river Nile as a deity is male; not, as here, female. It is as the hawk, not as a dragon or serpent, that Horus "the great helper" fights the human-headed serpent Apep.[1] In the dream of Mordecai, if it be of Egyptian origin, the most exact Egyptian feature is the antagonism which it represents between good and evil. But this very antagonism is also the feature of Mazdeism. Hence other critics have ascribed to this dream a Persian origin. The distinctive dualism of Zoroastrianism was fully developed in the Achæmenian period. If its nature and teaching varied at different times and in different localities, it is curious to note that the times of Xerxes and Amestris—the date of events which these 'Additions' purport to describe—presented religious views at a stage parallel to the imagery of the text. In this reign Ormazd and Ahriman (to give the deified principles of light and darkness, good and evil, their modern spelling) were worshipped on equal terms (cp. Lenormant, 'La Magie,' p. 206). Altars were raised to both, and Amestris sacrificed "seven children to the god of darkness and the lower regions" (cp. Herod. vii. 114). Usually speaking, the serpent or dragon is the form assigned to Ahriman the evil, and he is opposed by Ormazd the good, not in the semblance of a dragon, but in that of men of kingly birth and presence, just as in Firdusi's Shah-Nameh the hero Feridun (or Thraêtaona) subdues the tyrant Zohak (the personification of the biting snake Azhi-dahâka). In these 'Additions,' however, the fighters are "two dragons," and they fight on equal terms. Is not this a reflexion of contemporaneous belief? Deities

[1] On the much-disputed points of Egyptian religion, myths, and divinities, consult *inter alia* Duncker, 'Hist. of Antiquity,' i. 42 &c.; Riehm, 'H. W. B. d. Bibl. Altertums,' *s. v.* Egypten; Sayce, 'The Ancient Empires of the East,' p. 59 &c.

whose worship had sunk to the same level may well have been conceived as antagonists of the same calibre. Water in the dream plays a most important *rôle*. The little fountain swelling into the great flood or river is evidently a considerable factor in the victory over the evil dragon which ensued. In the Zoroastrian religion Water was a deity which was held in hardly less honour than Fire. Of Water-deities Ardvîçûra Anâhita (Anaitis) is a goddess of great fame and power (cp. Spiegel, 'Eranische Alterthumskunde,' ii. 54 &c.; Haug, 'Essays on the Religion of the Parsees,' p. 178 &c.). In the Avesta one Yasht of considerable length is devoted to her honour. She springs from the summit of a mountain and develops into a thousand springs and a thousand canals. Her strength is great as that of horses; before her swirling, rolling waves everything bows irresistibly. Dahâka the serpent comes to her with a subtle petition fatal to men. She refuses it, and accepting that of Thraêtona helps him to destroy the tyrant (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' iii. 47, 48).

The veneration of the Persians for rivers—the visible representations of irresistible power—as intelligible as it is familiar (cp. Herod. i. 138), was strong in the times in question. The dream of Astyages (Herod. i. 107), the father of Mandane, turns upon the very same idea, if more coarsely presented, which is found in the dream of Mordecai, the uncle of Esther. In both, Water becomes an overflowing flood. It was a parable fulfilled in the prowess of Cyrus, the son of Mandane and the ancestor of Xerxes. What then could be more natural than that a Jewish writer, living in Susa and familiar with the early legend, should apply it to Israel, the child for whom Esther travailed, and whose conquest over enemies she was the means of securing?

CHAPTER XII.

2 *The conspiracy of the two eunuchs is discovered by Mardocheus,* 5 *for which he is entertained by the king, and rewarded.*

AND Mardocheus took his rest in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king, and keepers of the palace.

2 [a] And he heard their devices, and searched out their purposes, and learned that they were about to lay hands upon Artaxerxes the king; and so he certified the king of them.

[a] Esther 2. 21. & 6. 2.

3 Then the king examined the two eunuchs, and after that they had confessed it, they were strangled.

CHAPTER XII.

1. *Gabatha and Tharra*] In Esther ii. 21, Bigthan (or Bigthana, vi. 2) and Teresh. The Vulg. varies between Bagathan and Bagatha, Thares and Thara. Josephus ('Antiq. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. 4) calls them Bagathous and Theodestes (as if following a reading תדש instead of תרש. See Gk. text B, in xi. 12, note). Gabatha is the same name as Bagatha or Bigthana, the initial letters being reversed. The name given by Gk. text B, Ἄσταγος, corresponding to this, is probably Persian. Can it be a recollection of Atakas (or Matakas), the name of the eunuch-favourite (see xi. 2, note to *Mardocheus*), transformed by the scribe's necessity into a conspirator? Fritzsche points to the analogy of Astyages (Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 1) or Astakos (Thucyd. viii. 108). The special function of these "keepers of the palace" is defined by the Vulgate to be that of *janitores* (cp. Herod. iii. 140).

2. *purposes*] Μεριμναὶ is more than that. The distracting, anxious nature of their thoughts as to the success of their "devices" or reasonings (λογισμοὺς) is reflected in the *curæ* of the Vulgate. The Greek B had a different reading: "he heard their words (λόγους) and their calumnies." The same text adds that the object of the conspirators in laying hands upon the king was "to put him to death." They were angry, say some Rabbinical commentators, at the royal preference for Esther, they having desired the selection of another favourite; or they were irritated at the honours bestowed upon Mordecai. Therefore they purposed, says the Targum on ii. 11, to poison Esther and slay the king in his bed, or, according to the Targum Sheni (cp. Cassel, p. 266), to put a viper in the king's drinking-cup. This latter version is probably a reflexion of contemporary experience which has found its parallel in Christian antiquity in the legend connected with the history of St. John the Evangelist.

he certified the king of them] After "having well considered it" (Gk. B). According to Esther ii. 22, "Esther certified the king *thereof* in Mordecai's name," Mordecai having (according to the Targum) been informed of the conspiracy by a holy spirit, and then reported it to the queen. Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 4) gives another version of the story. Theodestes had a Jewish servant named Barnabazos. He became acquainted with the plot, and told it to Mordecai. Mordecai through Esther communicated it to the king.

3. *they were strangled*] The E. V. followed the reading ἀπήγχθησαν. The present

4 And the king made a record of these things, and Mardocheus also wrote thereof.

5 So the king commanded Mardocheus to serve in the court, and for this he rewarded him.

6 Howbeit Aman the son of Amadathus the Agagite, who was in great honour with the king, sought to molest Mardocheus and his people because of the two eunuchs of the king.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The copy of the king's letters to destroy the Jews.* 8 *The prayer of Mardocheus for them.*

THE copy of the letters was this: The great king Artaxerxes writeth these things to the princes and

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

Gk. text is *ἀπήχθησαν*, "they were led away," *i.e.* to death (cp. Vulg.). The text of Esther ii. 23 specifies their death to have been by hanging; Josephus, by crucifixion. Probably one and the same punishment—that accorded to rebels and traitors—is meant (see Esther ii. 23, note), viz. impalement (Herod. i. 128, vi. 30. See Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 141, 208). The previous "examination" was probably (see the Gk. and Lat. Versions) by torture.

4. The Gk. B omits any mention of Mordecai himself writing down these events, but it specifies: "And Mardochæus's name was recorded in the book of the king for the sake of recalling to mind these things." The "book of the king" was probably one of the records laid up in the royal archives at each of the three capitals of the empire—Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. The Greek writer Ctesias of Cnidos, physician to Artaxerxes-Mnemon (B.C. 405–359), describes them as written on parchment, and containing not only annalistic records, but also long narratives (Sayce, 'Introd. to Ezra,' &c. p. 96). The names and deeds of "benefactors" were entered in them (Herod. viii. 85; Thucyd. i. 129. 3). See xvi. 2, note.

5. Gk. B adds that Mordecai "was to have an eye on every door," *i.e.* to watch the *janitores* (*v.* 1, Vulg.).

6. This verse gives the writer's explanation of Haman's hatred of Mordecai. According to Josephus ben Gorion (xth cent.), the eunuchs were relatives of Haman, and amongst his most trustworthy friends. The biblical narrative accounts for Haman's hostility as due to want of respect to his person (Esther iii. 1). The refusal of reverence would accentuate the anger, already great, felt at the loss of his supporters. The title "Macedonian," given to Haman by Gk. B here, and by the Versions generally in xvi. 10, is taken by some to mean not that he was of Greek origin, but Greek in his traitor-wish to subjugate Persia to Greece. This is not, however, supported by xvi. 10 (see note). The "Agagite" (thought by Oppert, 'Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides,' p. 25, to be a place in Media) is in the Gk. text changed into Βουγαῖος (Vulg. Bugæus). This change, like that of Γωγαῖος, is probably due to a misreading (by alteration of the first letter) of "Agagite" (Agagæus). The suggestion that Βουγαῖος is a Gk. form of Bagoas (Bagæus, Herod. iii. 128, vii. 80) is coupled with as much conjecture as that which finds in Γωγαῖος a reflection of the name Gyges (Herod. iii. 122; cp. Additional Note to xiii. 12).

CHAPTER XIII.

1–7. These verses are in the LXX. placed in Esther, ch. iii., between *vv.* 13 and 14. The "copy of the letters" purports to be a "copy of the writing that the decree should be given out in every province, (and) published unto all the peoples." This edict against the Jews, professedly dictated by Haman, and that in favour of the Jews (ch. xvi.), pretending to be the work of Mordecai, are far more diffuse than any similar records of that past preserved to us. It is hardly correct to say that they contain "little that is either religious or moral" (Sayce, p. 110). In the Gk. text B the present letter is introduced thus: "And he (the king) gave his signature to the subjoined edict." In the Additional Note to *v.* 1 will be found the Targum Sheni form of the letter or decree. It will be seen at once how much it differs from that presented here.

1. *The great king*] The title of Darius Hystapis (the father of Xerxes) on the Behistân monument (see Vaux, 'History of Persia,' p. 89) is "the King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the great King of the provinces," &c.; and that of Artaxerxes (the son of Xerxes), "the great King, the King of Kings, the King of lands where all languages are spoken, the King of this great wide earth," &c. The inscriptions and Greek writers (cp. Herod. iii. 97, vii. 70) attest the accuracy of the assertion that the great empire extended from India to Ethiopia. Even had this not been the case, such a description would have been in accordance with the style of many ancient edicts in which lost and irrecoverable provinces were still reckoned as part of an indissoluble empire, much in the same way as the kings of England retained the title of kings of

governors that are under him from India unto Ethiopia, in an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.

2 After that I became lord over many nations, and had dominion over the whole world, not lifted up with presumption of my authority, but carrying myself alway with equity and mildness, I purposed to settle my subjects continually in a quiet life, and making my kingdom ‖peaceable, and open for passage to the utmost coasts, to renew peace, which is desired of all men.

‖ Or, *mild.*

3 Now when I asked my counsellers how this might be brought to pass, Aman, that excelled in wisdom among us, and was approved for his constant good will and stedfast fidelity, and had the honour of the second place in the kingdom,

4 Declared unto us, that in all nations throughout the world there was scattered a certain malicious people, that had laws contrary to all nations, and continually despised the commandments of kings, so as the uniting of our kingdoms, honourably intended by us, cannot ‖go forward.

‖ Or, *be settled.*

5 Seeing then we understand that this people alone is continually in opposition unto all men, differing in the strange manner of their laws, and evil affected to our state, working all the mischief they can, that our kingdom may not be firmly established:

6 Therefore have we commanded, that all they that are signified in writing unto you by Aman, who is ordained over the affairs, and is ‖next unto us, shall all, with their wives and

‖ Or, *second from us.*

France long after they had ceased to have any possession in that country. On the 127 satrapies, see Esther i. 1, note, and Additional Note to this verse. Evidently not satrapies proper are meant, but minor divisions of the empire. The satrap, or "crown-protector," was a tributary king, generally connected with the "great king" by birth or marriage. After payment of necessary satrapial expenses, the rest of the tribute (ranging as a total from 42,000*l.* to 250,000*l.* a year) was paid into the imperial exchequer. The Indian province, consisting of many subdivisions, is said to have paid by itself as much as 1,290,000*l.* in gold, and Babylonia 290,000*l.* (cp. Sayce, p. 55). The gold and silver were all collected at Susa, to which city converged the great imperial roads.

2. *lord . . . over the whole world*] Cp. the titles of the king in the previous note.

in a quiet life] ἀκυμάντους: lit., not washed or tossed by the waves, and therefore calm. Cp. Jas. i. 6, and the Vulg. here: *ut absque ullo terrore vitam silentio transigentes.*

peaceable, and open for passage to the utmost coasts] Instead of ἥμερον, "habitable," the E.V. seems to have read ἤρεμον, "peaceable" (cp. 1 Tim. ii. 2). The Gk. B rendering of the words "open" &c., viz. "traversable to the frontiers," illustrates more forcibly the implied fact that the border-provinces were always the weak point of the empire. These provinces adjoined powerful and restless foes; civil and military authority was weakest there, and in them revolts usually took their beginning.

3. *counsellers*] In Esther i. 4, "the seven princes of Persia and Media . . . which sat the first in the kingdom" (see note and on Ezra vii. 14). The qualities attributed here to Haman—"wisdom (σωφροσύνη) . . . goodwill (εὐνοία) . . . fidelity (πίστις)"—account for his "advancement" (cp. Esther iii. 1). His position (see also xvi. 11) was practically superior to that of first among the seven princes.

4. The language descriptive of the people of the Jews is based upon Esther iii. 8, but much expanded. The "certain people" is here "a certain malicious (δυσμενῆ, or "malevolent," Gk. B) people," further characterised in the account given by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.,' xi. ch. vi. § 5) as "separate, unsociable, neither observing the same religious practices as others nor using the same laws," and in his version of the edict (*ib.* § 6) as "a nation bearing malice to all men (δυσμενές: cp. the frequent charge made against the Jews of *odium humani generis*), different from them in laws, refractory to kings, strange in their moral practices" &c. Their evil influence was such that, according to Haman, they were able to prevent the union of the realm (συναρχίαν), so that "the kingdom never reached a stable condition" (Gk. B). See Additional Note.

5. A re-statement of the charge in *v.* 4, with variations. The Vulgate closes its rendering of this verse with a charge of disturbing the peace and concord of the provinces subject to the king.

6. *next unto us*] τοῦ δευτέρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

children, be utterly destroyed by the sword of their enemies, without all mercy and pity, the fourteenth day of the twelfth month Adar of this present year:

7 That they, who of old and now also are malicious, may in one day with violence go into the grave, and so ever hereafter cause our affairs to be well settled, and without trouble.

8 Then Mardocheus thought upon all the works of the Lord, and made his prayer unto him,

9 Saying, O Lord, Lord, the King Almighty: for the whole world is in thy power, and if thou hast appointed to save Israel, there is no man that can gainsay thee:

10 For thou hast made heaven and earth, and all the wondrous things under the heaven.

11 Thou art Lord of all things, and there is no man that can resist thee, which art the Lord.

12 Thou knowest all things, and thou knowest, Lord, that it was neither in contempt nor pride, nor for any desire of glory, that I did not bow down to proud Aman.

13 For I could have been content

Lit., "our second father." Cp. Vulg., "whom we honour as a father." This Version also calls him "chief over (*præpositus*) all the provinces." Cp. 1 Esdras iii. 7; Tobit i. 22.

be utterly destroyed] ὁλοριζεί; lit., "root and all:" cp. the phrase "root and branch." The date—the 14th of Adar—was the first of the two days actually celebrated as festivals. Hence it was by degrees confounded with the day—the 13th—on which the slaughter was originally intended (see xvi. 20; Esther iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1). Gk. B repeats the identification of Adar with Dystrus (see x. 13, note), and adds, "to kill all the Jews and make a spoil of their children;" the latter interpretation being introduced as a merciful rendering of that previous clause which enjoined utter destruction of "wives *and children*." The insertion of the name "Jews" is in contrast with the noteworthy absence in the other texts (here and in Esther) of this defining title. The designation of the race to whom Haman shews his hostility as "a certain people" indicated his contempt; and the blind, uninquiring acceptance by Xerxes of his favourite's opinion of them is quite in accordance with what history records of a weak and effeminate king. See Additional Note.

8, &c. In the Gk. text of the Book of Esther, Mordecai's prayer is placed after iv. 17. It is quite intelligible that the piety of later times should have sought to reproduce the words expressing the anguish of both Mordecai and Esther (Esther iv. 16). In both prayers large use is made of biblical language. Josephus (*l. c.* § 8) gives merely an extract explanatory of the reason of Haman's hostility and Mordecai's refusal to worship him; but Josephus ben Gorion (see the extract in 'Critici Sacri' *in loco*) expands it at much greater length than even the Midrash on this passage (see Wünsche, p. 64). The Midrash (on Esther iv. 7, 8) also states that when Mordecai gave to Hatach the copy of the murderous decree for Esther's perusal he bade him give her this message: "The dream (x. 5 &c.) which I told thee in thy youth, seems about to come to pass. Up, therefore! Pray to God for mercy! Go in to the king, and make request of him for the preservation of thy people and thy family."

9. The repetition of the title "Lord, Lord" marks his earnestness, and the selection of that title (κύριε), as well as "the King Almighty," indicates the thought uppermost in the prayer—the irresistible Power of God. He rested on that thought in the face of a danger irresistible by the power of man.

if thou hast appointed . . . gainsay thee] Lit., "if it be Thy will to save . . . none can resist Thy will" (Vulg.). Cp. the belief on this point given in Additional Note to *v.* 6. The thought is repeated in *v.* 11 as if introductory to *v.* 12.

12. Had then Mordecai been resisting God's will when he refused to bow down to "uncircumcised" (Gk. B) Haman? God, Who knew "the race of Israel" (Gk. B) and knew His suppliant's heart, knew that had it been His will, His servant would "for the salvation of Israel" have kissed the soles (*vestigia*, Vulg.) of Haman's feet. Mordecai gives his reason in *v.* 14.

There is nothing unhistorical in Mordecai's conduct, nor exemplifying bigotry on his part, if the customs of the age and other instances of a similar resolution be recalled. Two wealthy Spartans of distinguished birth, Sperthias and Bulis, once came to Xerxes at Susa. They came prepared to give up their own lives in satisfaction for the lives of the heralds of Darius, who had perished at Sparta. The king's guards endeavoured to compel them to prostrate themselves and worship the king. They refused. "It is not

with good will for the salvation of Israel to kiss the soles of his feet.

14 But I did this, that I might not prefer the glory of man above the glory of God: neither will I worship any but thee, O God, neither will I do it in pride.

15 And now, O Lord God and King, spare thy people: for their eyes are upon us to bring us to nought; yea, they desire to destroy the inheritance, that hath been thine from the beginning.

16 Despise not the portion, which thou hast delivered out of Egypt for thine own self.

17 Hear my prayer, and be merciful unto thine inheritance: turn our sorrow into joy, that we may live, O Lord, and praise thy name: and ‖destroy not the mouths of them that praise thee, O Lord.

‖ Or, *shut, or, stop not.*

18 All Israel in like manner cried most ‖earnestly unto the Lord, because their death was before their eyes.

‖ Gr. *mightily.*

our custom," they said, "to worship a man; neither have we come here for that purpose" (Herod. vii. 136). When Themistocles was an exile in Persia, he considered it his duty to pay this worship, on the ground that it must be pleasing to the gods who had so highly exalted the Persians. This δεισιδαιμονία was the exact opposite to the feeling paramount in the mind of Mordecai. Among Orientals prostration before superiors was general (Herod. i. 134; Rawlinson's 'A. M.,' iv. 180, 196; see Riehm, 'H. W. B. d. A. T.,' *s. v.* Kuss); and if the kissing of the feet appears to have been a sign of submission confined in Persia to kings (Xenophon, 'Cyrop.,' vii. 5, 32; see Schenkel, 'Bibel-Lexicon,' *s. v.* Kuss), Mordecai's willingness to accord it at God's bidding to a king's favourite would be an indication of humility. Cp. also Isai. xlv. 23, xlix. 23. See Additional Note.

14. Cp. Dan. iii. 18; 2 Macc. vii. 2. The Persian king was a sort of god upon earth; before him all bowed themselves down with the lowliest and humblest obeisance. His people accepted not only his deliberate will, but his merest caprice (cp. Herod. iii. 33–6, 80; Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. pp. 112, 152). Xerxes (Esther iii. 2) had willed that the same reverence should be paid to Haman as was paid to himself; but the deification of Haman was impossible to any devout Jew.

neither will I do it in pride] A repetition of the protest in *v.* 12. The Gk. B reads: "Yea, I will not do it in temptation;" *i.e.* the temptation to me at this moment is to reverence Haman with divine honours, that by that means his anger may be turned from me and my people: "I will not do it" (cp. St. Matt. iv. 10).

15. *O Lord God and King*] The Gk. and Vulg. Versions add a title singularly appropriate in a prayer for God's people; *e.g.* Gk. B, "Who didst make a covenant with Abraham" (cp. Gen. xii. 2, 3). This portion of the prayer is replaced in the Midrash (Wünsche, p. 65) and prefaced in Josephus ben Gorion ('Critici Sacri' *in loco*) by a petition for the destruction of Haman: "And now, our God! deliver us out of his hands, that he may fall into his own pit which he hath digged, and be taken in the net which he hath laid for Thy saints (cp. Pss. vii. 15, ix. 15), that the tyrant may learn that Thou hast not forgotten the promise which Thou hast made to us" (Lev. xxvi. 44). "Let them know" (continues Josephus b. G.) "that Thou didst deliver us into captivity, not because Thy power was shortened that Thou couldest not save us, but that we were sold (into captivity) on account of the iniquities of our fathers, and carried away from our own land on account of our sins" (cp. Dan. ix. 7; Tobit iii. 4).

inheritance . . . portion (*v.* 16) . . . *inheritance* (*v.* 17)] Three distinct words,—κληρονομία, μερὶς, and κλῆρος: the first and last being more common than the second, and all three designating special aspects of God's favour towards His people. For μερὶς see Deut. xxxii. 9; Ecclus. xvii. 17. In this verse, as so often, the deliverance from Egypt is pleaded as a reason for extending renewed preservation to a people so wonderfully delivered (cp. Deut. ix. 26, 29).

17. *joy*] εὐωχίαν: lit. feasting, and usually of multitudes (cp. 3 Macc. vi. 30). The Gk. B reads εὐφροσύνην, "gladness."

destroy not] μὴ ἀφανίσῃς. The sense intended is probably the same as in xiv. 9, "stop the mouth." So Vulgate here: *ne clandas ora te canentium.*

18. "What was Mordecai's next step?" asks the Midrash. "He called the children together, enjoined them to abstain from bread and water, clothed them with sackcloth, and seated them upon ashes. And they wept, and cried, and busied themselves with the Law" (see the Additional Note). Cp. Esther iv. 16: and note the simpler statement of this verse. Their "cry" was *pari mente et obsecratione* (Vulg.).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 1, 4, 6, 8, 12, 18.

1. *an hundred and seven and twenty provinces*] That number (cp. 1 Esdras iii. 2), say the Rabbis, was only half of that (arbitrarily placed at 252) over which David (cp. 1 Chron. xiv. 17), Solomon (cp. 1 Kings iv. 21), Ahab (1 Kings xviii. 10, 15), Nebuchadnezzar (cp. Dan. ii. 37, 38), Cyrus (Ezra i. 2), and Darius (Dan. vi. 26) are said to have reigned. And why only half? Because Ahasuerus had dared to divide (limit and so enfeeble) the kingdom of the God Who had placed His name in Jerusalem (Midrash, p. 12). When Esther became queen, she rightly became queen over 127 provinces, for was not that the number of the years of the life of Sarah (Gen. xxiii. 1), from whom she was descended (cp. Targum on Esther i. 1; Cassel, p. 11)?

The royal decree] In order that this might reach the 127 provinces, the king, says the Targum Sheni (on Esther iv. 1; Cassel, p. 273), sent for 127 scribes, one from each province; and the language of the decree was to the following effect:—"Ahasuerus the king to all peoples, nations, and languages (tongues) that dwell in my kingdom, greeting (cp. Dan. iv. 1). This is to make known that we have met with a man, not of our place or province, who hath made a league with us to destroy our enemies. This man's name is Haman. He is the descendant of king Agag, the son of Amalek the great, the son of Reuel, the son of Eliphaz, the eldest son of Esau; the descendant therefore of a wealthy and celebrated people. Haman hath addressed to us a petition on a trifling and insignificant matter, and hath represented to us the blameworthy customs and practices of the Jews. He hath told me that when the Jews came out of Egypt they were 600,000 strong; and he hath offered me 600,000 talents of silver, a talent per head, to give up to him this people for destruction. I have accepted this offer gladly. I have taken the money and have sold this people to be murdered. Therefore do ye also eat and drink and rejoice, as I eat, drink, and rejoice. Whosoever of you understands the use of the bow, let him seize his bow; or of the sword, let him grip his sword. Be strong on the 14th and 15th days of the month called Adar in our language. Spare not prince or lord or child, but slaughter them and seize upon their possessions, each one for himself. Further, I, king Ahasuerus, command all peoples, nations, languages, tribes, families, and cities, that wherever there be found Jewish man-servant or maid-servant there shall the owners of the same be executed at the gate of their city, because they have not obeyed my command that no Jew be met with in the territory of my kingdom."

In the Midrash (cp. Wünsche, pp. 54, 55) the king's letter resembles the above as little as it resembles the draft given in the text. Before Haman received the permission he sought, a long argument ensued between him and the king. "I cannot consent," the king is represented as saying. "Their God will not permit it. Remember what happened to other kings, far stronger and mightier than I, when they wished to lay their hands upon and destroy this people. They became a laughing-stock to all the inhabitants of the world, and so should we. Let me alone, and do not speak to me any more about them." Haman pressed the king, and the wise men were sent for. Ahasuerus met them in council, and asked them the question: "Do you advise us to devote this nation to destruction?" Their reply was unanimous. "Who has ever undertaken such a thing? Were you to destroy Israel, the world could not exist, for the world only exists through the Law given to Israel (Jer. xxxiii. 25). All nations would be strangers before God" (1 Kings viii. 41. Other texts follow illustrating the pre-eminence of Israel: *e.g.* Exod. iv. 22; Deut. iv. 7, xiv. 1; Ps. cxlviii. 14, 18). "How can a man who would lay his hand upon the children of God escape from Him Who disposes of things above and things below, in Whose hand is the life of all living things to raise up and bring low, to kill and to make alive? Consider what happened to such kings as Pharaoh and Sennacherib, who laid their hands upon Israel." Haman answered: "The God Who overthrew Pharaoh in the sea, and wrought wonders and deliverances for Israel, has long ago become old, and can accomplish nothing more (cp. Ps. xciv. 7). Did not Nebuchadnezzar go up and burn His temple, drive out and disperse His people among the nations? Where is there any trace of His power and might?" The king was convinced by Haman's reasoning, and the royal decree was issued. After alluding to Haman's royal descent and greatness, the decree describes the people whose destruction was the aim of Haman's "little and insignificant petition" as a people "despised by all nations, proud, opposed to the best interests of the (Persians), insolent to the king, full of cursing, and unthankful towards their benefactors." As an illustration of this last point, the decree—written from Haman's (the Amalekite's) point of view—specifies the ingratitude of Israel to the Egyptians. The manner in which this is drawn out is curious. "The king of Egypt (Pharaoh)," says Haman, "gave them a friendly welcome into his country, assigned them the best province of his land to live in, fed them in the days of famine, and permitted them to build themselves store-houses. Yet could he not win them. They plotted against

him. 'We would go three days' journey and sacrifice to our God (cp. Exod. v. 3) and return. Lend us garments, silver and gold.' And he lent them silver, gold, and raiment, and they loaded innumerable asses with them, so that they emptied the land of Egypt, and then fled away. When Pharaoh discovered their flight, he pursued them in order to recover his property. What did they do? There was a man among them named Moses, son of Amram, who was a magician. He took a rod, spoke some magical words, and struck the sea so that it dried up, and the people passed through on the dry land. I do not know" (Haman is made to say) "how they passed through, or how the waters were dried up. When Pharaoh saw this, he followed them to regain his money; but he was thrust him into the sea, I do not know by whom; and in the sea he and his whole army sank. This people were thus unmindful of the goodness extended to them by the king, whence you may perceive that they were unthankful.

"Further, consider how this people treated my ancestors (Amalek) whom they conquered in war (Exod. xvii. 8 &c.). Amalek consulted the wicked Balaam. 'See,' he said to him, 'how this nation has behaved to the Egyptians who were so kind to them. How will they behave to other nations. What do you advise me?' 'Go,' answered Balaam, 'and make war with them. It is the only way in which you can equal them: for not only do they rely on the merits of their forefather Abraham, but thou also, as an offshoot of that patriarch, canst make thy boast of those merits.' Therefore did Amalek attack the Israelites. What did Moses do? He had a disciple, by name Joshua the son of Nun, a cruel and heartless man. To him said Moses, 'Choose out men and fight with Amalek' (Exod. xvii. 9). I do not know who these men were, whether they were magicians or warriors. Moses took his rod, and, in short, Amalek was discomfited and his people smitten (Exod. xvii. 13). Similarly they smote Sihon and Og (cp. Num. xxi. 21, 33) and the kings of Midian (cp. Num. xxxi. 8). No one could resist them. What else did that minister Joshua do? He brought the Israelites into the land of Canaan; and it was not enough that he plundered the country, but he slew thirty-one kings and divided their land among the Israelites, and made slaves of those whose lives he spared. . . . Their first king, Saul, attacked the country of my ancestor Amalek, and smote 100,000 horsemen in one day. He spared not man, woman, child, nor suckling. Why he killed them, I know not. And how did he behave to my grandfather Agag? At first he spared him; but then came one Samuel, who clave his head and gave his body to the birds of heaven (cp. 1 Sam. xv. 33); why, I know not. Then followed a king of the name of David, a son of Jesse, who in a shameless manner levelled all kingdoms with the ground (cp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 9). His son, Solomon, who followed David in the kingdom, built a house for the Israelites, which he called a Holy Place; why, I know not. Into this they used to go before they went forth to war, employed magical rites, and when they came out smote down everything and laid waste the world. In their pride they rebelled against their God. He had grown old, so that Nebuchadnezzar came, burnt up their temple, carried away the people out of their land, and placed them among us. Since then they have never altered their feelings and acts of hatred; and although they know themselves to be among us as exiles, yet do they revile us and despise our belief in our gods. Therefore have we determined upon their destruction. We have cast lots to determine at what time we should carry out our plan, and the lot has fallen for the 13th day of the month Adar. Now hold yourselves ready, when these letters reach you, to smite on the day specified all Jews, without exception, who live among you; children and old men, infants and women, let none remain."

4. The arguments used by Haman to defame and disparage Israel before king Ahasuerus (cp. Esther iii. 8, 9) are expanded both by the Midrash (cp. Wünsche, p. 53) and the Targum Sheni (on Esther iii. 8; cp. Cassel, p. 269). A few extracts from the latter are here given:—

Haman said to the king: "There is the people of the Jews, scattered and dispersed among the nations in all provinces of thy kingdom. They are full of pride and conceit. In the month Tebet they bathe in tepid water, in the month Tammuz in cold . . . They do not live after our customs, and take no pleasure in our commerce. When they see us, they spit and consider us unclean. . . . We do not marry their daughters, and they do not marry ours. Should any one of them be required for the service of the king, he makes all manner of pretences of being occupied (*e.g.* one day is Sabbath, another is the Passover feast &c.). The day on which they wish to buy anything from us they call a day legitimate (for such purposes); but the day on which we wish to buy anything from them they call a day forbidden (for such purposes), and close the market against us. When the first hour of the day comes, they say, 'This is the hour in which we must hear the Shema (Deut. vi. 4 &c.). The second hour is the hour for prayer; the third for eating; the fourth for thanking God for the bread and water He has given; the fifth for going out; the sixth for returning' &c. &c. One day in the week they call their rest-day (Sabbath). They go to their synagogues,

read their (sacred) books, translate their prophets, curse the king &c. Eight days after a birth they circumcise the foreskin of their sons without shame, in order—as they say—to distinguish themselves from other nations . . . In the month Nisan they have eight festival days. . . . On the day of the Passover they go to the synagogues, read &c. (as above), and say, 'As what is leavened is removed from what is unleavened, so shall the rule of tyrants be removed from us, and we shall be freed from these foolish kings.' In the month Sivan they have two festival days. They go to their synagogues, read &c.; then they go on the roof of their house of God, throw down apples, gather them together, and say, 'As the apples are gathered together, so may our sons be gathered together,' &c. . . . On the first day in the month Tisri they go to their synagogues, read &c., sound the trumpets and say, 'On this day our remembrance ascends before the heavenly Father. May our remembrance be for our best good, but that of our enemies for their misfortune.'"

Similar specialities of custom are adduced with respect to their observance of the 10th of Tisri, of the feast of Tabernacles (15th of Tisri). Then follow some historical recollections:—

"Once they had a king of the name of David. He dealt hardly with us (Amalekites) and wished to exterminate us. He killed two-thirds of us, and the remaining third he devoted to slavery. After David there arose a king of the name of Nebuchadnezzar; he warred against them, destroyed their temple, plundered their cities, and carried them into exile. Yet do they not put aside their pride, but say, 'We are the sons of great forefathers. Never have we, from the earliest times, bowed before any king or obeyed any superior.' They send letters commanding prayers that the king should die and our dominion cease. When their forefathers went into Egypt, they were only 60 persons; when they went out of it, they were 600,000: and now that they are in exile and have nothing, they say, 'We are the sons of righteous and good men,' though there are no people in the world more poor and more faulty than they. This people is dispersed in every city; some are engaged in trade, some are men of rank. What they sell they sell deceitfully, while they buy everything under its value. They do not observe the decrees of the king, and the king has no need to spare them."

Haman then offers the king the money—100 sos for each. He reckons the number of the Jews as the same as that which came out of Egypt, and he estimates 600,000 sos as = 10,000 talents of silver. "The matter wants, O king, only a stroke of thy pen; and the money shall be paid into the royal chest."

"So much the more," is the trustful reflection of the Midrash, "did Haman accuse the Jews here below, so much the more did the angel Michael defend them in heaven. 'Lord of the world,' he cried, 'Thy children are accused, not of idolatry, unchastity, or murder, but of faithfulness to Thy laws.' 'By the life of thee,' answered God, 'I have never forsaken them and never will (1 Sam. xii. 22), let them deserve it or not, for the world cannot exist without Israel. If this wicked man purposes to destroy Israel for 10,000 talents of silver, he shall be contemptuously rejected' (cp. Cant. viii. 7)."

6. The Targum Sheni (on Esther iv. 1; cp. Cassel, p. 274) thus describes what Mordecai did when he heard that the king's decree was written and sealed. "He rent his clothes, covered himself with sackcloth and ashes, and cried aloud: 'Alas! how great is our impending misfortune which the king and Haman have determined (to inflict) upon us. He hath not purposed to destroy the half of us and to spare the other half or even a third or a fourth of us, but we are all—everyone of us—to be extirpated, root and branch.' When the Israelites saw the just and much-respected Mordecai in this plight, they gathered round him in innumerable numbers. In the midst of this assembly Mordecai placed himself and addressed them: 'Dear people, people so dear to our heavenly Father, do you not know what is happening? Have you not perceived that the king and Haman have determined to destroy us from the earth? Ah! we have no prince upon whom we can stay ourselves, no prophet who will pray for us, no land to which we can flee, for to every place is the decree gone out and to every province are the messengers sent. We are like a flock without its shepherd, a ship without its steersman, orphans who have no father, and sucklings bereaved of their mother.' Then was the holy ark brought out into the gate of Susa; the holy book taken out, covered with sackcloth and strewn with ashes, and out of it was read Deut. iv. 30, 31. 'O people of Israel,' continued Mordecai, 'people beloved by and dear to God; let us take into consideration what was done by the inhabitants of Nineveh. [Then follows a summary of Jonah iii. 4–10.] We will do the same and ordain a fast. We have been driven out of Jerusalem. It was in consequence of our sins that the voice from heaven cried to Nebuchadnezzar and commanded him, Go up to Jerusalem, destroy it, and consume the Temple in flames. Then Nebuchadnezzar shook his head and wrung his hands, for he thought of what had happened to Sennacherib' (cp. 2 Kings xix. 35). As Mordecai thought upon these things, (again) he rent his clothes, and spoke, weeping, 'Woe to you, O Israelites! that such a fate be yours!'"

As an additional indication of the trouble which was then prevalent, the Targum gives the following conversation:—"An Israelite came to a heathen and said to him, 'I pray thee, take me, my wife, and children as slaves that we may escape death.' 'See you not,' was the answer, 'what king Ahasuerus hath decreed? Every heathen who shall receive a Jew shall equally with the Jew be punished with death.'"

8. The translation of the Chaldee Version (De Rossi's; cp. Beelen, 'Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica,' ii. pp. 57, 64) of Mordecai's prayer is as follows:—

"And Mordecai the Jew prayed before the Lord his God and said, 'O God, Lord of all ages, my heart is not hid from Thee. It is not from pride of spirit or exaltation of heart that I have done this, and not bowed before Haman, this Amalekite. From fear of Thee have I acted. I was stirred up against him that I should not bow down to him, for I feared Thee, O God of ages, and would not give the glory due to Thee to any son of man made of flesh and blood. Wherefore I refused to bend the knee to this uncircumcised, unclean man; (I can) only (worship) Thy Name, the great and holy (Name) named over us. For what am I and my house that I should not bow to man in order to procure the redemption of Israel, and (seek) his help; yea, even to lick the dust of Haman's feet wheresoever he may set the sole of his foot? Surely in Thy word doth our soul hope, for Thou only art for us and our fathers. And now, O God, deliver us from his hand, and let him fall into the pit which he hath digged, and let him be taken in the snare which he hath hid and set for the feet of Thy saints. So shall all nations know that Thou hast not forgotten the covenant which Thou didst make with our fathers, and that Thou didst not deliver us into captivity, as on this day, because Thy hands were feeble: but on account of our sins were we sold (into captivity), and on account of our iniquities were we led away captives, for we have sinned against Thee. And now, O God, mighty to save, save us from his hand, and deliver us from his wicked devices. We are in trouble before Thee, deliver us! To Thee we flee to be raised up. Thou only canst establish the right hand of the poor, and deliver us from those who rise up against us. Remember that we are Thy portion from days of old, and that we are Thy beloved amongst the nations. In the divisions of men hast Thou separated us to be Thy lot, and among nations to be Thy beloved; and Thou hast sanctified us by Thy Name as (a mark of) separation from all people. And now, O God, wherefore should our oppressors say, "Surely they have no God to save them?" They will open their mouth to devour us Thine inheritance, and to praise their graven images and their idols (vanities), saying, "By these have we subdued this people." I pray Thee, O our God, deliver us from their hands. Let the nations be ashamed of their graven images and their temples, and their false gods; and let them put their hands to their mouths when they see Thy deliverance, O Lord. Have compassion upon Thy people and Thine inheritance. Let not the mouths of them who praise Thee be stopped, who continually, evening and morning, magnify Thy Name. Turn our sorrow into joy and praise. So shall we live and praise Thee for the good deliverance which Thou hast wrought for us.'"

The resemblances with the present Greek text and the differences from it will at once be seen by comparing the Version in the English Bible with this.

12. In the Targum Sheni on Esther ii. 3 (cp. Cassel, pp. 266–7) the king's servants, after listening to Mordecai's reasons (as in the text) for refusing to bow before Haman, turn upon him with this argument. "Why do you refuse, when surely one of your forefathers bowed before the ancestors of Haman?" "Who was he?" asked Mordecai. "Was it not your forefather Jacob who bowed before his brother Esau (Gen. xxxiii. 3), the forefather of Haman?" "I," answered Mordecai, "am descended from Benjamin. When Jacob bowed before Esau, Benjamin was not born, and he never bowed before man. . . . I will not bow before this tyrant and enemy, Haman."

Other reasons are ingeniously offered for Mordecai's refusal. (*a*) Haman, says the Midrash, concealed the image of an idol under his dress. To prostrate oneself before him was therefore to prostrate oneself before an idol (cp. also the Targum on iii. 2). Mordecai was acquainted with this: hence his refusal. (*b*) Haman had once been Mordecai's slave. There was a time when Haman and Mordecai were both sent out together on a military expedition. They had each their separate command, but Haman wasted his commissariat resources, and must have retreated from the fortress he was besieging had not Mordecai come to his rescue. But the condition of that rescue was that Haman must become Mordecai's slave. Therefore Mordecai would not prostrate himself before one who had once been his slave (see another version of the story in the Targum on Esther iii. 2). The first of these solutions is but a support of the fact that Mordecai based his refusal upon religious grounds; the second is a testimony to the Jewish dislike of others which, ready to sacrifice all to bigotry,

willingly invested Mordecai with pride and entire absence of feeling for a fellow-soldier in distress.

Cassel in his 'Commentary on the Book of Esther' (pp. 81–5, 94–8) elaborates a theory that the hatred felt by Haman, not for Mordecai only, but for the people of the Jews at large (Esther iii. 6), was based not upon mere vexation or annoyance at Mordecai's refusal to worship him, but upon a religious antagonism not less keen than that of Mordecai towards himself. The theory rests upon precarious etymologies and unsupported conjectures, and is quite unnecessary. Briefly it is as follows:—Xerxes was devoted to the Magian worship, and the elevation of Haman (Esther iii. 1) was due to an outburst of religious fervour. Haman's names indicate the religious tendencies of the man. In support of this "Haman" is derived from the sacred Haoma (Spiegel, 'Avesta,' ii. 75); and though the name—possibly Grecised under the form Omanes—does not occur in the classical nomenclature of Persians, yet it is traced in the "Umanish" king of Susiana found in the Behistân Inscription. The name "Hammedatha" and the designation "the Agagite" (Esther iii. 1) are alleged to indicate from their similar religious derivation a similar religious tendency. Hammedatha is Homdata (cp. the termination in the name Pherendates, Herod. vii. 67) or one sent (given) by Hom (Haoma). The Masoretic punctuation of אַגָגִי (Agagi) is rejected, and its affinity maintained with the Neo-Persian גואגה (Guageh, a title of honour, perhaps reflected in the name Gyges, Herod. i. 8), which has the sense of the member of a corporation. What corporation or religious body did Haman then belong to? What but the Magian?—that indicated by his name and designation; and as a Magian, Haman resented the insult to the religion he professed, and determined to punish it. Mordecai's contempt and refusal was a revolt against the recognized established religion. It was Judaism pitting itself against Mazdeism; and in so far as Haman could secure it, victory should rest with the latter.

18. The Targum Sheni (on Esther iv. 16; cp. Cassel, pp. 279, 283) narrates that when Esther's command to gather all the Jews in Susa was obeyed, there were collected 12,000 young men of priestly descent. "These took trumpets in their right hands and the Book of the Law in the left, and cried aloud with tears to Heaven: 'O God of Israel! Here is the Law which Thou hast given us. Behold! Thy people is about to be destroyed from the world. Who shall then read Thy Law and make mention of Thy Name?' Then fell they on their faces and cried, 'Hear us, O Father! Hear us, O King!' so that even the heavenly hosts wept, and the patriarchs sprang out of their graves. . . . In that night the wailing of the children of Israel ascended to Heaven and sounded like the cries of rams and she-goats. The Angels were affrighted, and said to one another, 'Is the hour come for the end of the world?' And they gathered themselves together and went into the presence of the Lord of the world. 'What is that cry like a goat's cry which I hear?' asked the Lord of the world. 'It is no goat's cry,' answered the Divine Mercy; 'it is the cry of the young Israelites whom the decree of Haman hath ordered to be destroyed.' Immediately was the Lord of the world full of goodness and compassion towards His people; and He determined to break the seals wherewith the miserable lot for Israel was sealed. He commanded the Angel of Unrest to go down, to make Ahasuerus restless, and take away his sleep." This was done, and the events described in Esther vi. followed.

CHAPTER XIV.

The prayer of queen Esther for herself and her people.

QUEEN Esther also, being in fear of death, resorted unto the Lord:

2 And laid away her glorious apparel, and put on the garments of anguish and mourning: and instead of precious ointments, she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she humbled her body greatly, and all

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *being in fear of death*] ἐν ἀγῶνι θανάτου κατειλημμένη; lit. taken with the fight of death. The E. V. followed the reading ἀγωνία (cp. 2 Macc. iii. 14, 16). See Additional Note.

2. *her glorious apparel*] *i.e.* her royal robes. The dress of the Persian queen is described as splendid; on her head she wore a tiara or crown (cp. *v.* 16; Esther i. 11, ii. 17). "Precious ointments" were freely used by the upper classes among the Persians, and were thought to have been a Persian invention. Men as well as women used them largely (see Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. pp. 164, 172, 203; cp. Esther ii. 12). On the violent contrast implied in Esther's conduct here, cp. Lam. iv. 5, "They that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills." See also Isai. iii. 24; Mal. ii. 3.

she humbled her body greatly] The Vulgate

the places of her joy she filled with her torn hair.

3 And she prayed unto the Lord God of Israel, saying, O my Lord, thou only art our King: help me, desolate woman, which have no helper but thee:

4 [a]For my danger is in mine hand.

5 From my youth up I have heard in the tribe of my family, that thou, O Lord, tookest Israel from among all people, and our fathers from all their predecessors, for a perpetual inheritance, and thou hast performed whatsoever thou didst promise them.

6 And now we have sinned before thee: therefore hast thou given us into the hands of our enemies,

7 Because we worshipped their gods: O Lord, thou art righteous.

[a] 1 Sam. 28. 21. Job 13. 14. Ps. 119. 109.

adds "with fasting" (so Josephus b. Gorion and Luther. Cp. Esther iv. 16). The words which follow are taken in the same sense by the Vulgate: *omnia loca, in quibus antea lætari consueverat, crinium laceratione complevit*, the curled elaborateness (cp. Grotius in 'Critici Sacri') of which was hateful to her. Gk. B gives another but less probable sense: "every token of her adornment and delight on her braided hair she covered with humiliation."

3. Esther's prayer is elaborated at considerable length and in feeling terms by Josephus b. Gorion (see 'Critici Sacri' *in loco*). The Midrash (Wünsche, p. 64) gives but a brief epitome of the prayer, and in language very dissimilar from that of the 'Additions.' See Additional Note.

Thou only . . . me, desolate woman] The alliteration of the Gk. σὺ μόνος . . . μοὶ τῇ μόνῃ, lost in the E. V., is preserved by the Vulgate, *rex noster solus . . . adjuva me solitariam*. The title "King" is dwelt upon throughout the prayer (cp. *v.* 12), as recalling the omnipotence and sole empire of the heavenly King of kings over the earthly king of kings (cp. xiii. 1, note), the "fleshly king" (*v.* 10). "I sit alone," Josephus b. Gorion makes her say, "in the house of the king, fatherless and motherless; but Thou art the Father of the orphan. As a poor orphan will wander from house to house asking alms, so do I go from window to window (of this house) looking up to heaven and asking (grace). Have mercy upon us!"

4. *my danger is in mine hand*] Gk. B, "my life is in my hand" (cp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 21; Job xiii. 14; Ps. cxix. 109). The E. V. and LXX. would perhaps mean simply "danger is near me or before me." Josephus b. G., adopting the sense "life," makes Esther (like Sara, the daughter of Raguel, Tobit iii. 12, 15) debate the advantage or the contrary of continuing to live: "My life is in my hand. Take it from my hand if it seem good in the eyes of Thy Majesty. But if Thou be not willing to take it, and dost will that I should continue in life to celebrate Thy Name (for in the grave there is no mention of Thy goodness), deliver, I pray Thee, the sheep of Thy pasture from these lions (see *v.* 13) who rise against them to destroy them."

5. *From my youth*] Rather, "from my birth" (ἐκ γενετῆς, St. John ix. 1). As Gk. B gives it, Esther had "heard from the book of her fathers" what God had done for His people; an interesting testimony to the ancient belief in the preservation of the O. T. writings among the "fathers" of Israel when in exile, and to Esther's special study of them. The Vulgate *a patre meo*, and the words of Josephus b. G.—"my father and mother have told me, and Mardochæus, Thy servant my teacher (*educator*), hath taught me"—rather recall the lessons imparted to her by others and equally never forgotten.

thou . . . tookest Israel &c.] Cp. Gen. xii. 1–3; Deut. xxvi. 5; Joshua xxiv. 2. The Gk. B adds at the end of the verse, "and didst provide what they asked for."

7. *we worshipped their gods*] Idolatrous images (see *v.* 8) are probably meant. The explanation (Grotius, Josephus b. G.) that the words refer to the national sins in the past of Israel and Judah (*e.g.* 2 Kings xvii. 10–16, 29–41; xxi. 7, 21; xxiii. 26, 27) is natural and easy; but not so probable as that the author of this prayer blamed a practice which marked renegade Jews of the time of Esther who lived in the Persian dominions (cp. "now" in *v.* 6, and see Additional Note). It is well known that the spirit of the Zendavesta was wholly averse to idolatry, and that in the earlier and purer days of Persian greatness images of the gods were utterly unknown among Persians (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 333). But with the growth of luxury and from the time of the accession of Xerxes, contact with foreign religious systems of idolatrous character gradually debased the pure and spiritual conceptions of the Zoroastrian. Mithra and Anaitis were honoured with statues, and the cultus of the latter was degraded by lascivious rites. The degenerate Persian and—if the words of the text have any historical reference to this later period—the degenerate Jew debased themselves by a sensualistic Nature-worship (cp. Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 343–6).

8 Nevertheless it satisfieth them not, that we are in bitter captivity: but they have stricken hands with their idols,

9 That they will abolish the thing that thou with thy mouth hast ordained, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop the mouth of them that praise thee, and quench the glory of thy house, and of thine altar,

10 And open the mouths of the heathen to set forth the praises of the ‖idols, and to magnify a fleshly king for ever.

‖ Gr. *vain things.*

11 O Lord, give not thy sceptre unto them that ‖be nothing, and let them not laugh at our fall; but turn their device upon themselves, and make him an example, that hath begun this against us.

‖ Gr. *be not.*

12 Remember, O Lord, make thyself known in time of our affliction, and give me boldness, O King of the ‖nations, and Lord of all power.

‖ Or, *gods.*

8. *they have stricken hands with their idols*] Lit. "they have laid their hands upon the hands of their idols." "Just as men," says Grotius ('Critici Sacri' *in loco*), "establish fellowship by joining of hands (Jer. l. 15; 1 Macc. xi. 50), so did they indicate their alliance with the gods by touching the hands of the images." The figure of joining hands is a familiar one for contracts or agreements (cp. Ezra x. 19). The Vulg. gives a slightly different sense, "They attribute the strength of their own hands to the power of their idols." "They praise," paraphrases Josephus b. G., "their images and worship them, saying, You have brought the Jews into our power,"—a conception common among Syrians and Assyrians (cp. 1 Kings xx. 23; 2 Kings xviii. 22, 33, 34); but far removed from the pure Persian belief, which, in attributing to Ormazd all victory and conquest, did so as to a spiritual Being, and not as to one represented by an image.

9. The words "destroy . . . altar" indicate intentions indirectly confirmed by the history of the times. While Darius reigned the Jews had profited by their opportunities and restored the Temple at Jerusalem (B.C. 514). In the beginning of the reign of Xerxes (B.C. 485) men "wrote unto him an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem" (Ezra iv. 6). The result was that during his reign of twenty years the Jews of Jerusalem seem not only to have been forced into inactivity; but their condition, religious and social, became every day worse. There was "great affliction and reproach" (cp. Neh. i. 3, v. 3. Sayce, 'Introduction to Ezra,' &c., p. 59). Reminiscences of this religious distress may be reflected in this passage.

10. *the praises of the idols*] εἰς ἀρετὰς ματαίων. The A. V. translates ἀ. "praises" in 1 Pet. ii. 9. The rendering of the Rev. V. there, "excellences" (cp. the marg. rendering of the A. V. "virtues"), expresses more effectively the force of the original. The LXX. uses μ. for idols as "vanity" in 2 (iv.) Kings xvii. 15; Jer. viii. 19. The apposition ἀρεταὶ ματαίων is, from its paradox, very striking.

a fleshly king] Σαρκικὸς, as distinguished from and inferior to πνευματικὸς, is the type of what is perishable (Job xxxiv. 15; Isai. xl. 6) and opposed to what is divine (Rom. vii. 25; Gal. v. 17); the mark of an earthly king of kings as inferior to the heavenly. The quasi-deification of the Persian king has already been mentioned (xiii. 14, note).

11. *give not Thy sceptre*] The sceptre was the symbol of royal authority (cp. Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17). To give over such authority to idols, "vain" gods, "them that be nothing" (τοῖς μὴ οὖσι; cp. 1 Cor. viii. 4, 10, 19), is deprecated in language reflecting familiarity with local usage. The "golden sceptre" of the Persian king (see engraving in Rawlinson's 'A. M.' iv. 153) was about 5 ft. in length, ornamented with a ball or knob at the head, and tapering to a point. If held out to one coming unsummoned into the presence of the great king, such intrusion was considered condoned; if not, the intruder would be punished with instant death by the attendants (cp. xv. 10; Esther v. 2). Cp. the history in Herod. iii. 76, 118 of the manner in which Darius Hystaspis and his fellow-conspirators entered the palace of the Pseudo-Smerdis.

him . . . that hath begun this] Gk. B supplies "evil." The Vulg. renders, *eum qui in nos cœpit sævire disperde*. The word (παραδειγμάτισον) translated here, "make (him) an example," is in Heb. vi. 6 translated "put (him) to an open shame."

12. Gk. B adds after "affliction," "and break us not in pieces." In the second clause, the prayer, hitherto embracing the national distress, becomes personal. Esther prays for herself, and her prayer (to *v.* 18) is first of all for courage (ἐμὲ θάρσυνον) and confidence (*fiduciam*, Vulg.). The title she uses, "O King of the nations," is in the Vulg. *rex deorum*. The latter title affirms the superiority of Israel's God over the gods of the

13 Give me eloquent speech in my mouth before the lion: turn his heart to hate him that fighteth against us, that there may be an end of him, and of all that are likeminded to him:

14 But deliver us with thine hand, and help me that am desolate, and which have no other help but thee.

15 Thou knowest all things, O Lord; thou knowest that I hate the glory of the unrighteous, and abhor the bed of the uncircumcised, and of ‖ all the heathen.

16 Thou knowest my necessity: for I abhor the sign of my ‖ high estate, which is upon mine head in the days wherein I shew myself, and that I abhor it as a menstruous rag, and that I wear it not when I am ‖ private by myself,

17 And that thine handmaid hath not eaten at Aman's table, and that I have not greatly esteemed the king's feast, nor drunk the wine of the drink offerings.

18 Neither had thine handmaid

‖ Gr. *every stranger.*

‖ Gr. *pride.*

‖ Gr. *quiet*, or, *private.*

Persians; the former expresses His dominion over that and every nation however victorious.

13. *eloquent speech*] λόγον εὔρυθμον, a word applied to musical time and cadence, and descriptive here of the effects Esther's *sermo compositus* (Vulg.) might produce; "make my words pleasing" (adds Gk. B). The "lion" in this verse stands evidently for the king. In Scrip. the "roaring of the lion," the king of beasts, is used to illustrate "the fear" or "the wrath" of a king of men (cp. Prov. xix. 12, xx. 2; and see also Ps. xxii. 21; Ecclus. xxviii. 23; and cp. 1 Pet. v. 8, 2 Tim. iv. 17). Thus Esther regards Xerxes as one whose heart required "turning" from hostility to favour. In the monuments the victory of the king over the lion or some grotesque monster (cp. Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 313) represents the victory of the good principle over the evil. Here Esther prays that the king may change his friendship for Haman into hatred, as one "fighting against" God's people.

14. *me that am desolate*] μοὶ τῇ μόνῃ: cp. *v.* 3, note.

15. How hateful "mixed marriages" or marriages with "strangers" were to the more devout-minded Jews of the times in question may be seen from Ezra x. 2; Neh. xiii. 23–27. Esther pleads the "necessity" (*v.* 16) which had forced her (Esther ii. 8–17) into a hateful alliance. Hence the Rabbis asserted that the king was never permitted to embrace Esther herself, but only her spirit (cp. Cassel, p. 71). What she can do in private (*in diebus silentii mei*) she does as a contrast to what she is forced to do in public. The king is to her "unrighteous" (ἄνομος), *i.e.* not guided by the law of Moses, "uncircumcised," and a "heathen" (lit. a "stranger," ἀλλότριος), not a member of God's chosen people. According to the Targum Sheni, Esther objected to go to the king "unbidden," on the ground that Mordecai had himself taught her that every Israelitish woman who had connexion with a heathen had no portion among the tribes of Israel. When she at length consented to go, she did so urging, "Hitherto have I gone to the king against my will. Now I will go; and if I die, I shall have a share in the world to come" (cp. Cassel, pp. 277–9).

16. *the sign of my high estate*] The royal crown (see Esther i. 11, ii. 37). "I wear it not," she says in Gk. B, "save on the day when I appear in public."

17. Herodotus states (v. 18) that the Persians had the custom, when they gave feasts, of placing at their side their wives and concubines. Here to eat at Haman's table —*i.e.* to eat at the table of any courtier, however high his position—is represented as a degradation, from which she, Esther, had been spared. The Gk. B, "Thy servant did not eat at their tables along with them," sinks the reference to Haman, and perhaps imagined such an occasion as that (Esther i. 10) which led to the downfall of Vashti. Esther, if compelled to be present, had at least refused to partake of the food offered (cp. Dan. i. 13, 15).

I have not greatly esteemed the king's feast] Cp. Esther ii. 18. In the time of Xerxes the habits of temperance and sobriety which had marked the ancient Persian régime were abandoned. The one meal a day was made to last from morning till night, and a feast would extend over "seven days" (cp. Esther i. 5). The sole drink—water—was replaced by wine, each man priding himself on the quantity he could drink, with the natural result that most feasts terminated in drunkenness. (Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 194, 195). One terrible story is given in Herodotus (ix. 110, 111) of the use made of the king's (Xerxes') birthday-feast by the revengeful Amestris. Cp. also the history of Herodias (St. Matt. xiv. 6–10).

the wine of the drink-offerings] A biblical

‖ Gr. *of my change.*

any joy since the day ‖ that I was brought hither to this present, but in thee, O Lord God of Abraham.

19 O thou mighty God above all, hear the voice of the forlorn, and deliver us out of the hands of the mischievous, and deliver me out of my fear.

expression (cp. Deut. xxxii. 38) for wine poured out and drunk in honour of heathen gods. If any allusion be intended to Persian religious rites, the words may refer to the Haoma-drink, the intoxicating beverage "which was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods" (Sayce, 'The Ancient Empires of the East,' p. 269; cp. Spiegel, 'Avesta,' ii. p. lxxii., &c.). The principle actuating Esther was the same as that at work in the case of Daniel (i. 8) and among the early Christians (1 Cor. viii.).

18. *since the day that I was brought hither*] ἀφ' ἡμέρας μεταβολῆς μου, *i.e.* from the day of a promotion or exaltation (Esther ii. 16) hateful to her.

19. *the voice of the forlorn*] ἀπηλπισμένων, "the despondent" (cp. Judith ix. 11). This portion of the prayer is amplified by Josephus b. G. as follows: "Now therefore, our God, the Father of orphans, stand at the right hand of Thy orphan who placeth her trust in Thee. Grant to her that she may obtain mercy in the eyes of this man, even king Ahasuerus. I fear him as the kid fears the lion. Humble him and depress him, together with those who are of his counsels, that being humbled he may be more lenient and more easily disposed toward my supplication; and that also on account of the grace and beauty which Thou, my God, art about to give me (cp. xv. 5; Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 8), at the time when I shall approach him to beseech him on behalf of my people. Incline his heart to hate Thine enemies and love Thy servants, the Israelites, who are Thy holy nation and Thy pure inheritance. For the heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord: the heart, I say, of kings is in Thy hand, O God, powerful, terrible, and glorious. Deliver us, I beseech Thee, from that fear and trembling with which I am afraid and tremble (cp. xv. 5), that I may come to him relying upon Thy goodness, and depart from him in peace."

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 1, 3, 7.

1. The Targum Sheni on Esther iv. 10 &c. (cp. Cassel, p. 277) represents as very strong the unwillingness of Esther to go to the king unbidden. Mordecai stirred in her "the fear of death" by the following arguments:—

"Perhaps thou thinkest that thou wast raised up (of God) only to be queen, or that thou needest not to pray for the Israelites. Should the foot of but one Israelite stumble, do not suppose that thou shalt escape punishment, for it was thy forefather Saul who hath brought this evil upon Israel. Had he obeyed what the prophet Samuel told him, the tyrant Haman, of the descendants of Amalek, had never fallen upon us. Had Saul slain Agag, then the son of Hammedatha had not trodden us down and sold us for 10,000 talents to king Ahasuerus; and God would not have delivered the Israelites into the hands of two tyrants.

"In former days Amalek, the ancestor of Haman, fought with Joshua, son of Nun, at Rephidim, and through the prayer of Moses Amalek was swept from the earth. Do thou arise and pray to our heavenly Father for Israel. He Who was just in those early days will also be just in these later ones. Is Haman the tyrant stronger than He? Is his command of more account? Is he stronger than his ancestor Amalek, whom God destroyed? Is he stronger than those thirty-one kings whom Joshua, at God's command, attacked and slew? Is he stronger than Sisera, who came against Israel with 900 chariots of iron . . . whom God gave into the hands of a woman who slew him? Is he stronger than Goliath, who defied the hosts of Israel, but fell to David and was killed by him? . . . Therefore do not cease from prayer or from supplication to the Creator. Often were the Israelites saved from destruction through the prayers of their ancestors; and He, Who at all times works miracles for them, will deliver to us also our enemies, that we may work our will upon them.

"Do not imagine that thou alone amongst all the Jews wilt escape. Shouldest thou neglect thy duty at this time, the Holy One, the deliverer of Israel, will bring them deliverance from elsewhere and by other means, but thou and thy father's house shall fall to the ground. Who can tell but that thou art called to royal dignity for this very end—to blot out the sins of the house of thy tribe?" According to the Targum on Esther iv. 12, the Angels Michael and Gabriel conveyed this message to Esther.

3. The Chaldee Version of Esther's prayer (as given by De Rossi; cp. Beelen, p. 67) may be thus translated:—

"And she fell upon her face and prayed, saying, 'I pray Thee, Lord God of Israel, King of kings and Creator of all things, Whose possessions are the heaven and earth, Who ruleth over the heights of heaven and the depths of earth, the sea and the depths and all the creatures (monsters) thereof: help (Thy) servant who sitteth alone, and hath no helper but Thee. In my solitude (desolateness) I sit here, and in the house of this king, without father or mother. Alone am I. Just as a poor orphan asketh food for mercy's sake from house to house, so do I ask Thy mercy and goodness from window to window of this house of king Ahasuerus, from the day when I was brought here till the present. O God, my life is as it were in my hands, that I should be put to death. Take my life from me if it seem well to Thee. But if it please Thee not, deliver the sheep of Thy pasture from the mouths of these lions, who open their mouths to devour them. I have heard from my fathers, and I myself have understood, how Thou didst lead our fathers from the midst of the peoples, and didst bring them out of Egypt, and didst slay all the first-born of Egypt on account of them. Thou didst lead Thy people from among them, and didst shew Thy mighty hand and uplifted arm to the Egyptians on account of Thy people. Thou didst make them to go through the wilderness, as a horse passeth through the desert, and cattle in the valley. Thou didst give them bread from heaven (to satisfy) their hunger; and when they were thirsty, Thou didst bring water out of the hardest rock. (Thou didst give them) flesh-meat and fowls of the air to satisfy them, and water out of the great rock at their desire. Thou didst feed them forty years in the desert, (in) a land without inhabitant; and Thou didst wipe out before them kings great and mighty. Thou didst cause them to possess the land, and in great goodness didst give them a notable land, a good possession. And when our fathers sinned against Thy great name, Thou didst deliver them into the hand of those who led them away captive; and lo! they are in exile this day.

"'I have also understood that Thou didst speak by Moses, Thy servant (cp. Levit. xxvi. 44), "When they be in the land of their enemies" (*i.e.* in the kingdom of Babylon), "I will not cast them away; neither will I abhor them" (*i.e.* when in the kingdom of the Medes and Persians); "to destroy them utterly" (*i.e.* when in the kingdom of Greece); "and to break My covenant with them in the kingdom of Edom; for I am the Lord their God" (even) in the days of Gog and Magog. But now our exile is not enough (punishment) for us, for they make us work severely; and they say that Thou didst not deliver them (*i.e.* other peoples) into their hands; but they praise their graven images and worship them and laud them, saying, "Ye are they who did deliver the people of the Jews into our hands." Therefore the soul of Thine handmaid is constrained to hold aloof from this people and to hate them: as the rag of a menstruous woman is put away, even so do I hate them. Also I hate and put far from me all the garments of my glory and all the ornaments of my beauty, and the crown of a queen which is on my head. I have had no gladness from the day they brought me here until now save in Thy word only, my King and my God. Do Thou therefore, O God, the Father of orphans, stand this day at the right hand of Thy orphan servant, whose hope is in Thy word, in Thy goodness, and in Thy mercy. Give me grace before Ahasuerus the king, for Thy servant feareth him as the kid is afraid before the lion. O God, I pray thee, soften (or humble) him and all his councillors that he may be gentle and kind to Thy handmaid on account of the favour and grace and splendour and beauty which Thou, my God, shalt give to Thy handmaid. And put it into his heart to hate their (*i.e.* Thy people's) enemies, and to have mercy upon Thy servants; for the heart of kings is in Thy hand, O God, glorious and terrible and strong. Deliver me now from the fear of him of whom I am afraid and whom I dread, and I will go into his presence in the name of Thy word. Set Thy fear upon him and bless; let the fear of Thee be in his heart, that I may depart from his presence in peace.'" The version of the prayer given by the shorter Targum (on Esther v. 1) is singularly offensive.

7. The Midrash at some length (cp. Wünsche, p. 57) and the Targums on Esther iv. 1 (cp. Cassel, p. 257) more briefly advance as a reason for the proposed destruction of the Jews that God was wroth with them for having partaken of the feast of Ahasuerus (cp. Esther i. 1–8). According to the Targum, the Jewish "princes and servants, nobles and princes of the provinces" (cp. Esther i. 3), "refused to remain when they saw exposed the vessels taken from the Temple of Jerusalem; and the people" (an expression taken to mean the Jews, Esther i. 5) "changed countenance when they saw those vessels;" but the presence of any Jew at all was, according to the Midrash, in distinct disobedience to the counsel of Mordecai. "The wicked Haman," says the Midrash, "came with subtlety against Israel to Ahasuerus and said, 'The God of the Jews hates debauchery. Give a feast, bring together loose women, and command the Jews to come, eat, and drink according to every man's pleasure.' When Mordecai

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heard of this, he charged the Israelites, 'Go not to eat at the feast of Ahasuerus. He hath invited you only to have matter of accusation against you before God.' But Mordecai's warning was not regarded. The Jews went, in number 18,500. They ate, drank, became intoxicated, and gave themselves up to lust. Then went Satan into the presence of God with this accusation, 'Lord of the world! how long wilt Thou be favourable to this nation? Behold, how they turn from Thee in heart and belief. If it seem well to Thee, destroy them out of the world, for they shew no penitence.' 'What then,' answered God, 'will become of the Law?' 'Lord of the world!' continued Satan, 'be content with the spiritual beings;' and God declared Himself content with the proposal. 'What shall I do,' said He, 'to a nation for whom I have wrought so many signs and wonders against their enemies? I will make the remembrance of them to cease from among men (Deut. xxxii. 26). Bring me a roll,' He said to Satan, 'that I may write upon it the decree of their destruction.' Then the Thorah (the Law) appeared before God in widow's garments, and wept before Him, so that the ministering Angels were also moved to tears. 'Lord of the world!' she cried, 'if the Israelites are to exist no more, what use shall we (the Commandments) be in the world?' (quoting Isai. xxxiii. 7.) The Sun and the Moon also heard the lamentation, and they drew in their light and covered themselves in sadness (cp. Isai. l. 3). Then ran Elijah, of blessed memory, in haste to the Patriarchs:—'How long are you, fathers of the world, sunk in deep sleep, and take no thought of the danger in which your children find themselves! The ministering spirits (of God), the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, Heaven and Earth are weeping bitterly, and do ye stand afar off and remain unconcerned?' 'What is the matter?' asked the fathers. Elijah answered, 'Because the Israelites partook of the feast of Ahasuerus, this fate is impending over them: they are to be extirpated out of the world, and the remembrance of them blotted out.' 'What can we do for them?' answered the fathers. 'Were we not punished for disobedience to the Law of God?' Then went Elijah to Moses. 'O thou true shepherd!' he said, 'how often didst thou help the Israelites in times of trouble, and didst turn aside their destruction! (cp. Ps. cvi. 23.) What sayest thou in this distress?' (cp. Isai. xxxvii. 3.) Moses asked, 'Is there a good man among them?' 'Yes,' was the answer, 'and his name is Mordecai.' 'Go then, and tell him that he there (as I here) must persevere in prayer to God that He will have mercy upon (His people).' 'Alas, O true shepherd,' answered Elijah, 'the decree for the destruction of Israel is already issued.' 'If it be sealed with clay,' continued Moses, 'our prayer to God can be heard; but if it be sealed with blood, then its contents will hold good.' 'It is sealed with clay,' replied Elijah. 'Then go,' said Moses, 'and cause Mordecai to know.'"

CHAPTER XV.

6 *Esther cometh into the king's presence.* 7 *He looketh angrily, and she fainteth.* 8 *The king doth take her up, and comfort her.*

AND upon the third day, when she had ended her prayer, she laid away her mourning garments, and put on her glorious apparel.

CHAPTER XV.

The "addition" contained in this chapter is placed by the LXX. at the commencement of ch. v. of the canonical Book of Esther. It is prefaced in the Vulgate by three verses, which are a reflexion of Esther iv. 13, 14: "Et mandavit ei (haud dubium quin esset Mardochæus) ut ingrederetur ad regem, et rogaret pro populo suo et pro patria sua. Memorare, inquit, dierum humilitatis tuæ, quomodo nutrita sis in manu mea, quia Aman, secundus a rege, locutus est contra nos in mortem; et tu invoca Dominum, et loquere regi pro nobis, et libera nos in morte."

The "addition" is evidently an amplification of the brief statements of Esther v. 1, 2. The introduction of such dramatic features as the wrath of the king changed into unbounded affection when he witnessed the fainting of Esther (*v.* 8) is also to be found in the narrative given by Josephus ('Antiq. Jud.' xi. ch. vi. § 9), the Midrash (Wünsche, p. 65), and Josephus b. G. ('Crit. Sacr.' *in loco*).

1. *upon the third day*] See Esther iv. 16, v. 1. "Never," says the Midrash (Wünsche, p. 67), "did the Israelites find themselves in trouble longer than three days;" and the saying is illustrated by reference not only to this case, but to that of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 4), of the Patriarchs (Gen. xlii. 17), of Jonah (ii. 1), and of Hosea (vi. 2).

her mourning garments] LXX. τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς θεραπείας, which would rather mean "the garments of her service." In Esther ii. 12, θ. is the Gk. rendering for a word translated by A. V. "purifications." The "garments of mourning" mentioned in xiv. 1 are not ἱ. τ. θ., but ἱ. πένθους. Accepting the sense "service" or "worship," the words "garments of

2 And being gloriously adorned, after she had called upon God, who is the beholder and saviour of all things, she took two maids with her:

3 And upon the one she leaned, as ‖ carrying herself ‖ daintily;

‖ Or, *delicately.*

4 And the other followed, bearing up her train.

‖ Or, *rose-coloured.*

5 And she was ‖ ruddy through the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was cheerful and ‖ very amiable: but her heart was in anguish for fear.

‖ Or, *as amiable, or, smiling.*

6 Then having passed through all the doors, she stood before the king, who sat upon his royal throne, and was clothed with all his robes of majesty, all glittering with gold and precious stones; and he was very dreadful.

service" would refer more probably to the service or worship Esther had been rendering to God (Ecclus. xxxv. 16) than to the service (Vet. Lat. *operationis*) or duties which were assigned to her position in the harem of the king. The Vulg. *vestimenta ornatus* is thought by Fritzsche to be a wrong reading for *vestimenta oratus*.

2. *being gloriously adorned*] LXX. γενηθεῖσα ἐπιφανής; cp. xiv. 1. The splendour of the dress of the Persian queen is a well-attested fact; yet is it noteworthy that while the dress of the Persian king and men can be faithfully reproduced from existing monuments (cp. Esther viii. 15), no representation of a Persian female has yet been found on the sculptures (Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 173, 176). On the dress worn by Hebrew women see Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' *s. v.* Dress; and Riehm's 'H. W. B. d. B. A.' *s. v.* Kleider.

two maids] In Esther ii. 9, seven are mentioned as assigned to her; according to the Targum, one for each day of the week. The Targum also gives their names. These maidens, say the Rabbis, were remarkable for their beauty (explaining thus הראיות in Esther ii. 9), and to them Esther gave whatever portion was assigned to her, in order to shew that she had no desire for anything in the king's palace. Cp. Cassel, pp. 59, 264. The "house of the women" or Gynæceum was, at Susa, a building separated from the king's house by a court (Esther v. 1), and contained at least three ranges of apartments. The Queen Consort appears to have had paramount power over all the inmates, whether male (eunuchs) or female, of her own suite (Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 174). The word ἅβρα (maid) is of doubtful origin (? חברה). The meaning "a favourite slave" is derived from ἁβρός, "graceful," "delicate." It was a frequent epithet among Asiatics. The *famula* of the Vulg., and the θεράπαινα of Josephus, sufficiently indicate its sense here.

3. *as carrying herself daintily*] Or, according to Gk. B, "as one delicately nurtured:" cp. the Vulg. *quasi præ deliciis et nimia teneritudine corpus suum ferre non sustinens*. The Midrash and Josephus b. G. see in the attitude of Esther, not weakness but queenliness. To lean upon one attendant, and to have the "gold-bedecked" train lifted from the ground by another, were marks of royal dignity assumed by the Persian queens when walking.

5. *but her heart was in anguish for fear*] Lit., "straitened" (ἀπεστενωμένη) from fear. The intensity of the contrast is like that attributed to Aeneas:

> "curisque ingentibus æger
> Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem."
> VIRG. *Aen.* i. 209.

The Vulg. expresses differently the same fact: *gratis ac nitentibus oculis, tristem celabat animum, et nimio timore contractum.*

6. The sculpture from Persepolis (given in Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 153) illustrates this verse. The king sits upon his throne bearing upon his head the *kidaris*, or the peculiar stiff cap, the base of which was encircled by a blue and white fillet or diadem. The royal robe, made long and flowing but confined round the waist with a girdle, with wide sleeves and close fit about the neck, was of purple colour, sometimes embroidered with gold and (probably) of rich silk material. Its costliness is indicated by the remark of Plutarch, that the entire dress of a Persian king was worth 2,925,000*l.* On his person he bore many golden ornaments. In his ears were golden ear-rings often inlaid with jewels, round his neck hung loose a golden collar of twisted work or chain, and golden bracelets with jewelled centres were upon his wrists. Attached to the golden girdle was a short straight sword, the plainness of which was a foil to the magnificence of the sheath, frequently formed of a single jasper, agate, or lapis-lazuli stone. The throne itself was little more than a high-backed, elevated seat, cushioned, but without arms; it was made apparently of wood, overlaid with plates of gold or silver so as to present an appearance of solid metal. It was supported on legs terminating in lions' feet, while the legs of the necessary footstool terminated in the

7 Then lifting up his countenance that shone with majesty, he looked very fiercely upon her: and the queen fell down, and was pale, and fainted, and bowed herself upon the head of the maid that went ‖before her.

‖ Or, *with her*, or, *by her.*

8 Then God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, who ‖in a fear leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, till she came to herself again, and comforted her with loving words, and said unto her,

‖ Gr. *in an agony.*

9 Esther, what is the matter? I am thy brother, be of good cheer:

10 Thou shalt not die, though our commandment be ‖general: come near.

‖ Or, *as well thine as mine.*

11 And so he held up his golden sceptre, and laid it upon her neck,

feet of bulls. "Thus the lion and the bull, so frequent in the symbolism of the East, were here again brought together, and represented as supports of the throne" (Rawlinson, p. 158. See Additional Note). The king—thus arrayed, holding in his hand "the golden sceptre" (xiv. 11, note), and seated on his throne under the embroidered canopy, supported by four pillars of gold inlaid with precious stones—"was very dreadful" (*terribilis aspectu*, Vulg.): all the more dreadful, says Josephus ('Ant. Jud.,' xi. ch. vi. § 9), from these visible accessories of majesty. Herodotus (vii. 187) describes thus the personal appearance of Xerxes: "Of the many myriads of men (who went on the expedition to Greece), not one of them was, for beauty and stature, more entitled to possess power." Yet was he a great coward (cp. Herod. viii. 103).

7. It was part of the court ceremonial that no one could enter the royal presence unless permitted to do so and introduced by the court chamberlain (cp. xiv. 11, note): and prostration—in token of worship of the deified man—was required from all (cp. xiii. 12, note). The Midrash and Josephus b. G. attribute the fierce looks of the king to Esther's neglect of the former point of etiquette. "There was a decree which ordained that if any approached the king, not having been summoned, they should die. Now Esther had entered the royal presence without having been called" (Josephus b. G.). She had come to him in "the perfection of her beauty" (*v.* 5, ἀκμῇ κάλλους); he "looked upon her" in the perfection of his anger (ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ); or as Gk. B expresses it, "like a bull in the height of his rage," a simile not without its interest when it is remembered how often in Persian palaces colossal human-headed bulls flanked the portals of the propylæa or gateways leading to the great buildings and throne-rooms (see woodcut in Rawlinson, 'A. M.,' iv. 267). "With flaming eyes," says the Vulg., "he shewed the fury raging within his breast;" or as Josephus b. G. puts it, "his eyes flared as with the flame of torches, on account of the greatness of the anger which increased more and more in his heart."

fell down] Cp. Esther viii. 3. The expression is too strong for Gk. B, which reads, "was terrified." The Vulg. and Josephus b. G. both alter the last words of this verse into "she rested her weary head upon her handmaid."

8. The Midrash (Wünsche, p. 65) opens this verse thus: "Our God saw the danger, and He had compassion upon His people. He turned away the sorrow of the orphan who had trusted in Him, so that she found favour before the king, and He increased her beauty and excellence." The same thought is amplified by Josephus b. G. The king, *festinus et metuens* (Vulg.), leaped up from his seat and then down from his throne (ἀνεπήδησεν ἀπὸ). The seat of the Persian throne was very high from the ground, and the king's feet rested on the stool (*v.* 6, note). Hence the Greek expresses literally the two rapid movements which the Persian king would have to make to reach Esther.

9. *thy brother*] A term of endearment (cp. Song of Solomon viii. 1), and implying protection.

10. *though our commandment be general*] Viz. the commandment which forbad approach to the king unsummoned (*v.* 7, note). It was general in that it applied to all subjects; but Esther (cp. xvi. 13) as queen (Josephus), as wife and friend (Midrash), was unaffected by it: *Non enim pro te sed pro omnibus hæc lex constituta est. Accede igitur, et tange sceptrum* (Vulg.). The Gk. B gives a different and less natural sense: "our business is mutual, and the threatening was not for thee. Behold the sceptre is in thy hand."

11. The Vulg. reads: "And as she still held her peace, he held up" &c.; and puts the final words of *v.* 12 more tenderly, "Why dost thou not speak to me?"

13. According to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.,' xi. ch. vi. § 9) Esther answered, "My lord, I cannot easily tell thee the cause why this (faintness) so suddenly happened to me; but when I saw thee, so great and glorious and terrible, my heart" &c.

12 And embraced her, and said, Speak unto me.

13 Then said she unto him, I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was troubled for fear of thy majesty.

14 For wonderful art thou, lord, and thy countenance is full of grace.

15 And as she was speaking, ‖she fell down for faintness.

‖ Or, *she fell in a swoon.*

16 Then the king was troubled, and all his servants comforted her.

I saw thee . . . as an angel of God] The Midrash and Josephus (both the historian and J. b. G.) omit this title. Probably they considered it unseemly as addressed to a heathen king. Achish, the woman of Tekoah, and Mephibosheth gave to David the same title when they laid stress upon his excellence and wisdom (1 Sam. xxix. 9; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, xix. 27). Here, as was natural, it was the "majesty" of Xerxes which elicited the expression from one familiar with the semi-deification which fenced in a Persian king. The Gk. B has a curious variation: "My heart was melted by the glory of thy rage, my lord. And her face was covered with sweat" (see Fritzsche's note *in loco*).

15. *for faintness*] *Pæne exanimata est* (Vulg.). "Again," says Josephus b. G., "as she spake with the king, she bowed her head upon her handmaid through weakness (from want of food) and sorrow. And the king, greatly distressed, wept before Queen Esther. Therefore did all the servants of the king pray the queen to speak to her lord the king, and set at rest the mind of him whom they saw to be so anxious. Then Queen Esther said to the king, If it please the king, I will make for him a banquet to-morrow, and there will I tell him for what cause I came into his presence unsummoned." Cp. the account in Esther v. 3, 4.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VERSE 6.

6. *the royal throne*] Very wonderful things are told in the Targums on Esther i. 2, in the Targum Sheni especially (cp. Cassel, p. 244 &c.), about this throne, its fashion, and its vicissitudes. "It was the throne of Solomon, which Hiram, the son of a widow of Tyre, had constructed. It was overlaid with the gold of Ophir and set with marbles and precious stones. No kingdom and no king possessed one like it (cp. 1 Kings x. 18–20). The pedestal would seem to have been hexagonal, each surface adorned with alternate figures of 12 lions and 12 eagles. Six steps led up to the throne: on the first step squatted a golden bull and a golden lion; on the second, a golden bear and a golden lamb; on the third, a golden eagle [according to Reiss (Grätz's 'Monatschrift,' 1881, p. 474), a tigress. He reads נמרא here, and an eagle, נשרא, in the next line] and a golden owl; on the fourth step, a golden eagle and a golden peacock; on the fifth, a golden cat and a golden cock; on the sixth, a golden hawk and a golden dove . . . When the king (Solomon) wished to pass to any place, the throne moved on wheels. When the king put his foot on the first step, the golden bull raised him to the second; from the second he passed to the third, and so on till he reached the sixth, when the eagles received him and seated him on the throne. . . . Once seated there, there came a great eagle, took the royal crown and set it upon his head; then by a mechanical arrangement a great serpent, lions, and eagles arose and protected the head of the king: a golden dove alighted from a pillar, opened the ark, took out the Book of the Law, and gave it to the king in accordance with the words of Moses (Deut. xvii. 18, 19). When the High Priest came to greet the king, and the ancients collected and sat on the right and left of the throne to administer justice, and there came witnesses who purposed to give false witness, then the wheels moved, the oxen bellowed, the lions roared, the bears growled, the lambs bleated, the owls whooped, the cats mewed, the peacocks cried, and the cocks crowed; and the hearts of the false witnesses were so struck with terror that they said to themselves, 'We must speak truth; otherwise the world will come to an end.'

"Now when the Israelites sinned, Nebuchadnezzar the tyrant king of Babylon came against them, and plundered the city &c. He wished to sit upon this throne, but he did not know its mechanism; consequently when he put his foot upon the first step the lion clawed him with its right claw and gave him a wound on his left foot, which he carried with him to the day of his death. After Nebuchadnezzar came Alexander, the Macedonian, and brought king Solomon's throne to Egypt. Sisak (So), king of Egypt, saw this glorious throne and wished to sit upon it. He (like Nebuchadnezzar) did not know the mechanical device by which to ascend the throne, and he too received a claw on his left foot from the right paw of the lion, which gave him the name of the limping Pharaoh till he died. Later on Antiochus Epiphanes came to Egypt, laid waste the land, and

carried away the throne on a ship. One of the feet of the throne with its golden chain was broken, and to this day no goldsmith has ever been able to restore it to its place. When the kingdom of this king came to an end, Cyrus the Persian followed him in the kingdom: and to him, because he had forwarded the rebuilding of the Temple, was accorded the great honour, which no other king ever had, of sitting on the throne of king Solomon." Cp. further A. Jellinek, 'Bet ha-Midrash,' ii. 83–6, v. 34–9.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The letter of Artaxerxes,* 10 *wherein he taxeth Aman,* 17 *and revoketh the decree procured by Aman to destroy the Jews,* 22 *and commandeth the day of their deliverance to be kept holy.*

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

THE great king Artaxerxes unto the princes and governors of an hundred and seven and twenty provinces from India unto Ethiopia, and unto all ‖our faithful subjects, greeting.

‖ Or, *well affected to our state.*

2 Many, the more often they are honoured with the great bounty of ‖their gracious princes, the more proud they are waxen,

‖ Gr. *their benefactors.*

3 And endeavour to hurt not our subjects only, but not being able to bear abundance, do take in hand to practise also against those that do them good:

4 And take not only thankfulness away from among men, but also lifted up with the glorious words of ‖lewd persons, ‖that were never good, they think to escape the justice of God, that seeth all things, and hateth evil.

‖ Or, *needy.*

‖ Or, *that never tasted prosperity.*

CHAPTER XVI.

This "addition" is placed in the LXX. after Esther viii. 13. In its diffuse and florid style as well as in its moral disquisitions, this decree differs greatly from other Persian decrees or letters recorded in Scripture (Ezra i. 2–4, iv. 17–22, vi. 3–5, vii. 11–26) and elsewhere (cp. ch. xiii. See also Sayce's 'Introduction to Esther,' &c. p. 31). The Gk. text B introduces it here with the words, "And he wrote the subjoined edict."

1. Cp. xiii. 1, note. The words "and unto all our faithful subjects, greeting," are a free rendering of the LXX. τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι. This may also apply to the princes, as in the Vulgate, *qui nostræ jussioni obediunt*, or in Gk. B, "who mind our affairs." The introduction, however, by the E. V. and Targum of the "third estate of the realm" is in accordance with the royal intention expressed in Esther viii. 9; and the characteristic of their "faithfulness" noted is that they are ready to take the king's part (cp. 1 Macc. x. 20), or to be of the same mind as he was. To limit the title "faithful subjects" to Jews is inaccurate. See Additional Note.

2. *their gracious princes*] Lit. "benefactors" = "those that do them good" (εὐεργέτας, *v.* 3; cp. xii. 4, note; St. Luke xxii. 25). The title Euergetes was given to Ptolemy III. (B.C. 247) by the Egyptians, in grateful recognition of his restoration of the statues of the national deities which Cambyses had carried away to Persia (see Daniel xi. 9, note). It is also the title given to Syloson the Greek and to Histiæus the Milesian as "benefactors" to Darius Hystaspis (Herod. iii. 140, vi. 30), and to Phylakos, son of Histiæus, as a "benefactor" to Xerxes (Herod. viii. 85, 90). The special treachery against "benefactors," alluded to in *vv.* 2, 3, is further defined in *v.* 12.

3. *not being able to bear abundance*] κόρος, lit. *satietas*, "satiety," "surfeit," the consequence of which is insolence (ὕβρις), with which it is often joined. Cp. the proverb τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν. The sense intended is given by the Vulg. *datam sibi gloriam non ferentes*. The benefits conferred upon such as Haman do but increase their pride, and (as *v.* 4 points out) even worse—their ingratitude.

4. The Vulg. paraphrases, *Nec contenti sunt gratias non agere beneficiis, et humanitatis in se jura violare, sed* &c. The "glorious words of lewd persons" are their vain-glorious or boastful words (κόμποις). There is nothing in the Greek texts or Josephus corresponding to "lewd persons"; the word used is ἀπειράγαθοι, *i.e.* persons without experience of good, or (*al.*) who have never received a favour, or (as E. V.) "that were never good." The Gk. B, "unused to suffering" (ἀπειρόπαθοι), reflects the truth that where suffering is there vainglory is not.

the justice of God, that . . . hateth evil] According to the Gk. "the evil-hating justice of God" &c. Without pressing too strongly the opinion that there is in this and similar verses not only a statement of the feeling of the God of the Hebrews against wickedness, but also a reflexion of the Persian belief of the essential antagonism between good and evil, it may be admitted that the tone of thought, the conspiracy against the king (*v.* 3)—the living

5 Oftentimes also fair speech ‖ of those, that are put in trust to manage their friends' affairs, hath caused many that are in authority to be partakers of innocent blood, and hath enwrapped them in remediless calamities:

6 Beguiling with the falsehood and deceit of their lewd disposition the innocency and goodness of princes.

7 Now ye may see this, as we have declared, not so much by ancient histories, as ye may, if ye search what hath been wickedly done of late through the pestilent behaviour of them that are unworthily placed in authority.

8 And we must take care for the time to come, that our kingdom may be quiet and peaceable for all men,

9 Both by changing our purposes, and always judging things that are evident with more equal proceeding.

‖ Or, *of our friends, put in trust to manage the affairs.*

representative of the Good Principle—and the epithet used by Esther to describe his antagonist as "Haman the Evil, an adversary and an enemy" (Esther vii. 6), are imbued with local colouring and appropriately express Persian opinion (see Cassel, p. 211).

This and the previous verse specify the king and his subjects as the objects of Haman's hostility. Between this and the next verse the Vulg. interposes words which specify individuals amongst the subjects, viz. such as Mordecai and the Jewish people (cp. *v.* 13). "They have broken out into so great madness, that they endeavour to undermine by lies (Vulg. *mendaciorum cuniculis conentur subvertere*) those who diligently perform the duties entrusted to them, and so administer all things as to be worthy of universal praise."

5. Where "falsehood" or the lying principle has thus for a time succeeded, rulers themselves are often and, in consequence of the deception practised upon them, the unintentional ministers of injustice. The Gk. text is difficult (see the paraphrase of Josephus), while it contains some striking expressions. Argument couched in persuasive language (παραμυθία is something more than "fair speech"), when addressed to too confiding princes by unscrupulous men, who are anxious only to forward the interests of their friends, may produce two effects:—(*a*) it may cause those already in authority to shed innocent blood (cp. for the phrase 1 Sam. xxv. 26; 2 Sam. xvi. 7; Ezek. xxiv. 6; St. Matt. xxvii. 4); a deed which brings vengeance in its train, and enwraps (περιβάλλειν) the doer as in a garment of incurable (ἀνηκέστοις) calamities: (*b*) it may be the means of raising to authority (so Gk. B) those who have committed such deeds of blood.

6. Note the contrasts. On the one hand, "falsehood (παραλογισμὸς; cp. Col. ii. 4) and deceit;" on the other, "innocency (ἀκέραιον; cp. St. Matt. x. 16, Rom. xvi. 16) and goodness" (εὐγνωμοσύνην, the character of the εὐγνώμων, the kind-hearted and considerate man). The former is the product of a bad disposition (κακοήθεια), and, as the Vulg. adds, is a characteristic of those who "estimate others by their own nature."

7. *by ancient histories*] If Persian, such as were alluded to in Esther ii. 23, vi. 1. These "records," if perpetuating the deeds of benefactors (the Persian Orosangæ; cp. Herod. viii. 85, 90), preserved also the acts of rebellion which often evoked them (cp. Esther ii. 23). This was also done in the Inscriptions at Behistán and Naksh-i-Rustám, which illustrate the rebellion and destruction of Gomates the Magian, the pseudo-Bardes (or Smerdis, Herodotus), and the civil wars which by the help of Ormazd he was successful in quelling.

what hath been wickedly done of late] Cp. *vv.* 13, 14; Esther iii. iv. The events are idiomatically described by the LXX. as ὅσα ἐστὶ παρὰ πόδας: cp. Josephus, "before our eyes," and our own idiom, "at our very doors." The Vulg. expands the clause, *ex his quæ geruntur quotidie, quomodo quorumdam suggestionibus regum studia depraventur.*

9. *changing our purposes*] This seems so untrue to the dictum (*e.g.* Dan. vi. 8, 15) that the law of the Medes and Persians once promulgated was irreversible, that two solutions have been proposed: (1) the Vulgate apologises for such seeming inconsistency, *Nec putare debetis, si diversa jubeamus, ex animi nostri venire levitate, sed pro qualitate et necessitate temporum, ut reipublicæ poscit utilitas, ferre sententiam.* (2) Fritzsche would change the Greek χρώμενοι ταῖς μεταβολαῖς into οὐ χ. τ. διαβολαῖς, "not using calumnies," an alteration partly supported by the language reported in Josephus, "not giving heed to calumnies (διαβολαῖς) and accusations." But neither apology nor alteration of the text is needed. The power of a Persian king to "change his purpose" and supersede decrees is historical. Cambyses, a predecessor of Xerxes, wished to marry his sister. This was not customary. Therefore he summoned the royal judges and asked them if there was any law permitting such a marriage. They answered that they could find no law permitting a brother to marry his sister, but

10 For Aman, a Macedonian, the son of Amadatha, being indeed a stranger from the Persian blood, and far distant from our goodness, and as a stranger received of us,

11 Had so far forth obtained the favour that we shew toward every nation, as that he was called our father, and was continually honoured of all men, as the next person unto the king.

12 But he, not bearing his great dignity, went about to deprive us of our kingdom and life:

13 Having by manifold and cunning deceits sought of us the destruction, as well of Mardocheus, who saved our life, and continually procured our good, as also of blameless Esther, partaker of our kingdom, with their whole nation.

14 For by these means he thought,

that they had found a law which permitted the king of Persia to do whatever he pleased. Cambyses married his sister (Herod. iii. 31. Cp. Dan. vi. 14, note). The Persian king was to his subjects "the sole fountain of law and right, irresponsible, irresistible" (Rawlinson, 'A. M.' iv. 152). Law was swallowed up in loyalty, in submission to the regal caprice or command, *Sic volo, sic jubeo.*

Xerxes was somewhat given to changing his purpose. Cp. the vacillation which marked his conduct before undertaking the expedition against Greece (Herod. iii. 12–19). Here the motive for change is a higher one. It is frankly admitted that the original "purpose" was bad. And further, for the future, a more just line of conduct is promised, viz. "always to discriminate the matters brought under the royal notice with more 'equal' (*i.e.* equitable, merciful, ἐπιεικέστερον, as in xiii. 3) proceeding."

10. In the Vulg. this verse is introduced by the words: *Et, ut manifestius quod dicimus intelligatis* &c.

Aman, a Macedonian] See xii. 6, note. The Vulg. adds to the description "a Macedonian" that he was this *animo et gente:* cp. *v.* 14. The eunuchs, Haman's friends, who conspired against Xerxes, are said by Josephus ben Gorion to have had the intention of taking the head of the Persian king as a present to the king of Greece. All this may be taken as so much explanation of the Hellenizing tendencies of Haman, or as an effort to remove from Persian-born men the stigma of conspiracy against their king. The opinion that the designation "a Macedonian" was, like "an Agagite," only a mode of expressing hostility of intention, is not borne out by the language of this verse; neither is there any support from MS. or otherwise for the conjecture that the original text was "a Median," which a Greek scribe altered into "a Macedonian."

11. *he was called our father*] This is additional to the title "next unto the king" given to him not only in this verse, but in different words in xiii. 3 (cp. Esther iii. 1; 2 Chron. xxviii. 7; 1 Esdras iii. 7). The title was one of respect among Orientals (cp. 2 Kings v. 13).

12. *not bearing his great dignity*] Vulg. *in tantum arrogantiæ tumorem sublatus est;* or, as Josephus describes him, "he neither bore his good fortune, nor used well the great good" (which had come to him). On the other hand, the character of Mordecai is that of a "saviour and continuous benefactor" (εὐεργέτην; see *v.* 2), one *cujus fide et beneficiis vivimus* (Vulg.); and Esther, the "partaker both of our life and kingdom" (Josephus), is "blameless." The Targum Sheni curiously, if unconsciously, calls her blamelessness in question by asserting that one out of three motives which had induced Esther to invite Haman twice to a special banquet (Esther vi. 4, 8) was her desire to inflame the king with jealousy and induce the self-questioning: "Why does Esther invite Haman alone out of all my great men?"

The conspiracy of Haman is represented as cumulative, both in point of wickedness and as regards the position of those it aimed at, viz. (1) the king, (2) Mordecai, (3) Esther, (4) the whole nation (*i.e.* of the Jews). The Israelites, says the Targum Sheni, tried to sell their children to the Persians in order to save them from death. The king's decree forbad any such purchase (see xiii. 6, end of Additional Note).

14. The object of Haman's conspiracy here given finds no support in the canonical Book of Esther. Cp. the Targums on Esther vii. 6. Such an aim may well have been in the minds of conspirators who knew what reverses had befallen the Persians in the wars with Greece; and it is consistent with such knowledge that the narrative here should present Haman as a Macedonian. In the canonical Book, the motive attributed to Haman is that of hatred to the Jew Mordecai personally, growing into a scornful intention of destroying his nation (Esther iii. 5, 6; ix. 24). Cupidity had further some share in determining Haman's actions (Esther iii. 11; vii. 4). But as regards the king individually,

finding us destitute of friends, to have translated the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians.

15 But we find that the Jews, whom this wicked wretch hath delivered to utter destruction, are no evildoers, but live by most just laws:

16 And that they be children of the most high and most mighty living God, who hath ‖ ordered the kingdom both unto us and to our progenitors in the most excellent manner.

17 Wherefore ye shall do well not to put in execution the letters sent unto you by Aman the son of Amadatha.

18 For he, that was the worker of these things, is hanged at the gates of Susa with all his family: God, who ruleth all things, speedily rendering vengeance to him according to his deserts.

‖ Or, *prospered.*

there are — if anything — indications that Haman had no sinister intentions against him, even if he used him as a weak tool for his own purposes (Esther iii. 7, vii. 4). Haman had, in fact, nothing to gain, but everything to lose by exchanging his position of chief favourite (Esther iii. 1, 2; v. 11) for that of arch-conspirator.

destitute of friends] LXX. ἐρήμους. The Vulg. expands the thought underlying this word, *illis* (*i.e.* Mordecai and Esther) *interfectis, insidiaretur nostri solitudini.*

15. *this wicked wretch*] Lit. "thrice-wicked" (ὁ τρισαλιτήριος). The epithet is also applied to Nicanor (2 Macc. viii. 34; xv. 3); a man as hateful to the Jews as Haman. The Midrash (Wünsche, p. 4) expresses the relations between Israel and Haman by quoting the text, "he (*i.e.* Israel) leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent (Haman) bit him" (Amos v. 19).

16. The conception of the character of the Jewish nation and of the Lord God of the Jews given in this verse is Jewish (cp. similar language in Dan. vi. 26; Ezra i. 3, vii. 21, &c.) rather than Persian. The title "children (sons) of the living God" is a title applied by Hosea (i. 10) to the children of the Restoration. Cp. Wisd. ii. 18.

who hath ordered the kingdom &c.] Darius Hystaspis, the father of Xerxes, was wont to attribute—judging from the inscription over his tomb at Naksh-i-Rastám—all that he had done to the favour of Ormazd. Ormazd was the "great god who had created heaven and earth, who made man," and had raised Darius to be "king, sole king of many kings" &c. "He made me king," says the inscription, "and I am king. By the grace of Ormazd, I have restored the earth. . . . All that I have done have I done through the grace of Ormazd." The monotheistic spirit of such language lent itself readily to application here to the "progenitors" of Xerxes, Darius (cf. Ezra vi. 8 &c.), and Cyrus (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2. Cp. also the language of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 34–7). To the words *cujus* (*Dei*) *beneficio et patribus nostris et nobis regnum est traditum*, the Vulg. adds *et usque hodie custodietur.*

Persian popular sayings appraised these progenitors as follows: "Darius was a trader, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father. The first, because he made profit of everything; the second, because he was severe and arrogant; the last, because he was mild, and always aimed at advancing the good of his people" (Herod. iii. 89; cp. ix. 122).

17. *sent unto you*] The Vulg. adds "in our name." This qualification and the being signed with the king's seal made the letter irrevocable (Esther iii. 12, iv. 8; Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15); "Wherefore," continues the Vulg., "judge (these letters) to be void" (or of none effect). Josephus places in the king's mouth language more imperial and formal: "I—having found that the Jews . . . live in the most excellent manner, and hold besides to the God Who hath preserved the kingdom to me . . .—not only absolve them from the revengeful punishment (decreed) in the letters sent . . ., but I wish to give them all honour, and I have crucified him who devised these things against them" &c. See *v.* 9, note.

18. *he is hanged . . . with all his family*] Or impaled (ἐσταυρῶσθαι); see xii. 3, note. As a matter of fact, the family of Haman was not put to death at the same time as Haman himself (Esther viii. 7, ix. 10). The so-called anachronism is, however, of slight importance when weighed against the certainty of what would occur (cp. Dan. vi. 24). Relationship to a rebel was a death-warrant. According to the Midrash on Esther vii. 9 (Wünsche, p. 71), the prophet Elijah assumed the form of "Harbonah, one of the chamberlains," and pointed out to the king the gallows prepared by Haman for Mordecai. Haman's death instead of that of his intended victim is quoted by the same authority as an illustration of Prov. xi. 8, "The righteous (Mordecai) is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked (Haman) cometh in his stead." See Additional Note.

his deserts] LXX. τὴν καταξίαν. Vulg. *quod meruit.* On the thought that not man

19 Therefore ye shall publish the copy of this letter in all places, that the Jews may freely live after their own laws.

20 And ye shall aid them, that even the same day, being the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar, they may be avenged on them, who in the time of their affliction shall set upon them.

21 For Almighty God hath turned to joy unto them the day, wherein the chosen people should have perished.

22 Ye shall therefore among your solemn feasts keep it an high day with all feasting:

23 That both now and hereafter there may be safety to us, and the well affected Persians; but to those which do conspire against us a memorial of destruction.

24 Therefore every city and country whatsoever, which shall not do according to these things, shall be destroyed without mercy with fire and sword, and shall be made not only unpassable for men, but also most hateful to wild beasts and fowls for ever.

but God took vengeance, see Deut. xxxii. 35; Ps. xciv. 1. The Gk. B reads, "there having been paid back to him the quite deserved retribution of the Judge, Who always sees to the bottom of all things."

19. *live after their own laws*] Lit. "permit them to use their own laws." Cp. the similar permission given by Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, to Ezra (vii. 25, 26). Antiochus the Great gave the same permission to the Jews who received him so readily (Joseph. 'Antiq.' xii. 3), and Cæsar Augustus gave a similar liberty to the Jews settled in Asia, Libya, and Cyrene (*ib.* xvi. 6).

20. *even the same day*] Viz. the day fixed by Haman for the destruction of the Jews (Esther iii. 13; viii. 11). The Jews were to avenge themselves on those *qui se ad necem eorum paraverant* (Vulg.).

21. *the chosen people*] LXX. "the elect;" a well-known name for the Jews (*e.g.* 1 Kings iii. 8; 1 Chron. xvi. 13; Ps. cv. 6; Isai. xliii. 20), but not likely to have been used by a Persian king.

22. *an high day*] Lit. a notable (ἐπίσημον) day: "notable" in the sense described in the LXX. of *v.* 23 (see specially Gk. B), "that now and hereafter it may be to the well-affected Persians a memorial of deliverance, but to them who lay plots a memorial of destruction." The Gk. B renders *vv.* 21, 22: "It has been decided by the Jews throughout the kingdom to keep the fourteenth day of the month, that is Adar, and to celebrate by a festival the fifteenth, because in them the Almighty wrought for them deliverance and joy."

23. The Vulg. paraphrases: "Celebrate (the day) with all gladness, that it may be known in times to come that all who faithfully obey the Persians receive for their fidelity a worthy reward; but that they who act treacherously against their kingdom perish on account of their wickedness."

24. *which shall not do according to these things*] Or, as the Vulg. explains: *civitas quæ noluerit solemnitatis hujus esse particeps.* The language of the latter part of this verse reflects that of such passages as Jerem. xxxii. 43, lii. 3; Ezek. xxv. 13, xxxii. 13. Cp. also the language of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iii. 29) and of Darius (*ib.* vi. 26). The reason for such extermination is appended by the Vulg. *pro exemplo contemptus et inobedientiæ.* To this verse the LXX. (cp. Josephus) adds the following sentence: "And let these copies be set forth before all eyes throughout the whole kingdom, and that the Jews" &c. (continuing as in Esther viii. 13).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 1 AND 18.

1. The Targum Sheni (on Esther viii. 13; cp. Cassel, p. 293) gives the tenor of this second edict as follows:—

"The king Ahasuerus to all the inhabitants of the islands and continents, to all governors of the provinces, to all princes and warriors of all lands, sendeth greeting. From this writing you shall most distinctly understand that I, although reigning over all the inhabitants of the islands and the continents, am not proud on account of my dominion. Much rather will I continually walk in the way of gentleness and humility, and reign peaceably, so as to secure you a truly happy life. To all who live in my kingdom, and to all who wish to trade with peoples and tongues either in the islands or on the continents, I am the same from one end of the land to the other. I would point out also to you that, notwithstanding the blamelessness and the faithfulness

of that people which loves all peoples alike, honours all kings alike, and deals honestly towards all their superiors, there are some persons who stand near the king, and to whom rule is entrusted, who have deceived the king by their intrigues and information, and have caused to be issued writings which are unjust before God, wicked in the sight of men, and grievous to the king. In accordance with the petition which these persons have presented to the king, a righteous people is to be broken up, and much innocent blood shed. Yet this people has done no evil nor deserved death. Much more are they an upright people, such as Esther, known for all her virtues, and Mordecai, skilled in all knowledge. There is no fault to be noted in them or in their nation.

"I thought indeed that the intention (abovenamed) had reference to another nation, and knew not that their speech was about the Jews, who are the children of the Lord of the world, Who is called the Creator of heaven and earth; Who, under circumstances of greater and mightier pomp than mine, hath ever guided them and their forefathers.

"Haman also, the son of Hamdatha of India, and of the family of Amalek, who was with us, and enjoyed at our hands great goodness, honour, and worth, whom we exalted and called 'father of the king,' and who sat at the king's right hand—understood not how to bear honour and to exercise authority, but purposed to destroy the king and deprive him of his kingdom. Wherefore have we condemned this Haman, son of Hamdatha, to be hanged in expiation of his deeds; and the Creator of heaven and earth hath made him atone for his thoughts."

18. The Rabbinical reflections connected with the hanging of Haman on the gallows he had erected for Mordecai are characteristic and suggestive.

(*a*) Why did Haman choose that form of death for Mordecai in preference to any other? "Haman," says the Midrash (cp. Wünsche, p. 65), "had 365 counsellors, as many as the days of the year; but no one gave him such good counsel as his wife Zeresh (cp. Esther v. 10, 14). He told her how Mordecai behaved to him (cp. Esther v. 9); and she said, 'If this man be a Jew, you can only get at him by some means which has not been practised upon any person of his nation. If you were to cast him into a furnace of fire, out of just such an one were Hananiah and his companions delivered; or into a den of lions, out of that Daniel came forth; or into a dungeon, out of one Joseph escaped. Would you place him over a heated vessel of copper? yet from that death was Manasses saved, in consequence of his prayer to God. Would you banish him into the wilderness? in such did his forefathers increase in great numbers, and survived temptations. Would you blind him? yet in his blindness Samson slew many Philistines. Crucify him! for we find no record of any of his people having to meet that sort of death.' The advice pleased Haman, and he made the gallows." Cp. also the Targums on Esther v. 14; Cassel, pp. 283, 288.

(*b*) But of what kind of wood did he make the gallows? "At the moment," say the Rabbis, "that Haman purposed preparing the gallows, God spake to the trees, 'Which of you will give yourself that Haman the wicked may hang upon you?' The various trees pleaded one after another to be exempted, on the ground (principally) that the Israelites were in Scripture compared with them. Thus argued the fig-tree (Hos. ix. 10), the vine (Ps. lxxx. 9), the pomegranate (Song of Songs iv. 3), the nut-tree (Song of Songs vi. 11), the myrtle (Zech. i. 8), the olive-tree (Jer. xi. 6), the apple-tree (Song of Songs ii. 3), the date-tree (Song of Songs vii. 8), and the willow-tree (Isai. xliv. 4). The acacia and fir trees prayed to be excused, since from them the beams of the Tabernacle and the Temple had been made; the cedar and palm tree, on the ground that they were the representatives of the upright (Ps. xcii. 13). At last the thorn came forward. 'Lord of the world! I have nothing which depends on me. I offer myself that this unclean man may hang on me. I am called a thorn, and he is a thorn which would bring sorrow to Israel. It is fitting that a thorn hang upon a thorn.' From the thorn was the wood taken and the gallows made. When they brought it to Haman, he reared it before the door of his house and shewed his servants how they were to hang Mordecai upon it. And a voice called to him out of heaven, 'This wood is exactly suited for thee: since the six days of Creation it has been so determined'" (a statement which the Rabbis support by finding the name Haman in the חמן עץ of Gen. iii. 11).

(*c*) Who hanged Haman (see Esther vii. 9, 10)? "The king," says the Targum Sheni, "commanded Mordecai to do this: and thus in Mordecai was fulfilled Prov. xvi. 7. 'Go,' said the king, 'take Haman, the enemy and oppressor of the Jews, and hang him on the gallows which he hath prepared for himself. Torture him, and deal with him according to your pleasure.' Then Mordecai went from the presence of the king, took Haman, and said to him, 'Come with me, Haman, thou enemy, hater and oppressor of the Jews, that I may hang thee on the gallows which thou hast erected for thyself.' And Haman the tyrant said to Mordecai the just: 'Before I am brought to the gallows, I pray thee bring me not to the gallows on which common criminals are hung. I am a man who have thought scorn of well-known heroes, and

have had under me the princes of provinces. Through my words have I made kings tremble, and a speech of mine has set lands in a state of fear. Vice-king was my title, and I have been called "father of the king." My desire is that thou shouldest deal with me as I had it in my mind to deal with thee. Oh! spare my honour. Do not kill me, do not hew me in pieces as once my ancestor Agag was hewn in pieces. Be good to me, Mordecai, and do not act towards me as a murderer, for among you are none such. Oh! remember not against me the hatred of Agag and the vengeance of Amalek. Revenge not thyself on me as upon an enemy, and deceive me not as my forefather Esau deceived. . . I am too shamefaced to look upon thy countenance, and I cannot open my mouth before thee, because I followed the advice of my wife and friends about thee. I pray thee, Mordecai, my master, spare my life, and do not destroy my name so hastily as that of my ancestor Amalek. Hang not my grey head on the gallows. If thou must cause me to die, behead me with the royal sword wherewith all the nobles of the kingdom are beheaded.' Then began Haman to cry and to weep; but Mordecai paid no attention to him. And when Haman saw this, he raised a lamentable cry in the midst of the palace garden and said: 'Hear me, ye trees and plants which I planted when I, the son of Hamdatha, journeyed from Alexandria to Bar-Panthera. Gather yourselves together and take counsel, for Haman shall be hanged on whichsoever of you is 50 cubits high' (cp. Esther v. 14). 'I am too short,' said the vine, 'and he must not be hanged on me, because men get from me wine for the drink-offering.' The fig-tree said, 'He cannot be hanged on me, because men pluck from me the first-fruits, and from me Adam and Eve had their clothing.' The olive-tree said, 'Not on me, because from me is obtained the oil for the lamps of the Temple' &c. &c. 'Of me,' said the cedar, 'make the gallows, and hang upon it the barbarous Haman and his ten sons.' So they hanged Haman on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, and the anger of God was stilled."

(*d*) The sons of Haman. The Targums (on Esther ix. 10 &c.; cp. Cassel, p. 295) give their names (to which some assign an etymological element bearing upon the fire-worship of the Persians; cp. Cassel, p. 226). It is illustrative of the hatred with which the later Jews regarded Haman and his family that they represent the ten sons as hanged on the same gallows as their father; a space of three cubits being assigned to each body, with an intervening space of one cubit between any two bodies, and the top of all being occupied by the body of Haman. Further, Mordecai is represented as coming to the spot where the eleven bodies were hanging, and thus addressing Haman: "Thou hadst purposed to do evil to the Israelites; but He Who knoweth all things, open or secret, hath permitted the evil to fall upon thine own head. Thou didst intend to kill us and deprive us of the protection of our heavenly Father, but now have we wrought our will upon thee and thy sons, and have hanged thee and them under thine own (protecting) wings." The bodies were left hanging many days; and when it was pointed out to Esther that this was a breach of the command (Deut. xxi. 23), she answered, "If the sons of Saul remained hanging for six months (in expiation of Saul's treatment of the Gibeonites: see 2 Sam. xxi. 1–10), how much longer ought Haman and his sons to hang, who wished to destroy all Israel?" Lastly, it is stated (Cassel, p. 230) that even in the present day when the ten names are read in the synagogues they are read in one breath, as a remembrance that the souls of all the ten passed away as in one breath, in expiation of the crime by which they purposed destroying Israel in one day.

In the 4th century and probably earlier the Jews, when celebrating the Purim festival, represented Haman as crucified; but by it they intended also to mock the crucified Christ: "Judæos quodam festivitatis suæ solemni Aman ad pœnæ quondam recordationem incendere, et sanctæ crucis assimulatam speciem in contemtum Christianæ fidei sacrilega mente exurere." Hence Theodosius in A.D. 408 forbad the practice. Cp. Cassel, p. 205.

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THE

WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTENTS, LANGUAGE, STYLE, AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

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IN the Middle Ages the line

> "Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando,"

was accepted as a rough outline of the subjects which should be explained in the Introduction to a sacred book. In the case of books of which the author is unknown, the more natural order is to begin with '*quid?*' We will therefore describe the character of the Book of Wisdom before we enter on other inquiries.

I. Character of the Book. ('Quid?')

The book falls into two main divisions—the first (I.) general and hortatory (i.–ix.); the second (II.) mainly consisting of historic illustrations (x.–xix.). The first division consists of two sections: (A.) Commendation of Wisdom as the guide to a blessed immortality (i.–v.); (B.) Commendation of Wisdom as the source of all moral and intellectual blessings (vi.–ix.).

First Section. A. Chapters I.–V.—*Wisdom the Guide to Immortality.*

Writing in the person of King Solomon, the author begins by an appeal to rulers to love righteousness, because the attainment of wisdom is only possible to those who live pure and moral lives. Wisdom is life and immortality; sin leads to punishment and death (chap. i.). In the next chapter he sets forth the sceptical despair, the sensual Epicureanism, and the malignant violence of scorners and apostates (ii.). With these he contrasts the hopes and blessings of the righteous and of their offspring, shewing that even a short and childless life is better than a godless old age and numerous offspring, since the righteous, under the protecting care of God, attain to a blessed immortality, whereas He arms Himself against the wicked (iii.–v.).

B. Chapters VI.–IX.—*Wisdom is to be sought as the Source of all blessings.*

Having thus defended the cause of Wisdom against ungodly scorners, he appeals once more to all earthly potentates to remember their responsibility and to seek and pray for wisdom.[1] Wis-

[1] Ewald prefers to join ch. vi. to the first section, in which he says that "the fundamental thought, complete in itself, is even outwardly brought to a close." Certainly after this section there is a perceptible change of method, and "the art shewn in the preceding portion is in abeyance."

dom is the true secret of power, the greatest of all earthly blessings, and the glorious source of all that is morally or intellectually to be desired. Without Wisdom man is ignorant, feeble, sensuous, unspiritual; he can be saved by Wisdom alone.

SECOND SECTION. CHAPTERS X.–XIX.—*Historical Illustrations.*

After these high eulogies of Wisdom as the source of immortality and of every blessing, the writer devotes the rest of the book to illustrations of Wisdom as a power in human history. The heroes of Wisdom are the heroes of Faith. Wisdom preserves the just and punishes the wicked, both individually and nationally.[1] She preserved Adam, and punished Cain and his guilty race; she preserved Abraham and Lot, but punished the people of Sodom; she preserved Jacob and Joseph, and she delivered Israel by the instrumentality of Moses (x.). The remaining chapters are chiefly occupied with a contrast between the punishment of Egypt and the fatherly providence which protected Israel. It is assumed throughout that the difference between the two nations consisted in the possession of Wisdom by the Israelites, and the neglect of it by the Egyptians. The writer therefore takes the opportunity to point out the relation between sin and punishment, and—more generally—the laws which determine the nature and limits of divine retribution. In the 12th chapter he shews, by the case of the Canaanites, that sinners are never destroyed by sudden and overwhelming ruin until they have first been warned by preliminary chastisements intended to lead them to repentance. He then introduces a digression (xiii.–xv.) to illustrate the nature, the origin, the folly, and the mischief of idolatry, reserving his sternest denunciations for the worship of clay images and of animals—forms of idolatry which were specially predominant in Egypt.[2] Throughout the four last chapters he develops a series of elaborate parallels between the fortunes of the Egyptians and the Israelites, founded on the narrative of the Plagues and of the Exodus. He dwells especially on the insect plagues, and the fire and hail, as contrasted with the gifts of quails and of manna (xvi.); on the plague of darkness contrasted with the light enjoyed by the Israelites in Goshen (xvii.); on the plague of the firstborn (xviii.); and on the passage of the Red Sea (xix.). He ends somewhat suddenly with a thankful recognition of God's love and mercy to His people (xix. 22).

LANGUAGE.—The language of the book is marked by a twofold peculiarity. (1.) On the one hand it abounds in Hebrew expressions, which prove that the author has been trained among Jewish associations; (2.) on the other, it shews a singular mastery of the Greek language in its later epoch of mingled decadence and development.

(1.) The Hebraic colouring is due to the use of Old Testament phrases and conceptions, of which many are derived from the LXX. These were no doubt adopted by the writer partly because he was a Jew, and was familiar with the Greek version of the Scriptures, and was addressing his own countrymen; but partly also from a literary desire to write in accordance with his assumed character of King Solomon, and therefore to assimilate his style, at least to some slight extent, to that of the older Sapiential books. Among the Hebraic phrases we may mention ἀπλότης καρδίας, i. 1; μερίς, κλῆρος, ii. 9; τρίβοι, ii. 15; λογίζεσθαι εἴς τι, ii. 16; πληροῦν χρόνον, iv. 13; ὅσιοι τοῦ θεοῦ, iv. 15; εὑρίσκεσθαι, in the sense '*to be recognised as*,' vii. 29, viii. 11; εὐθύτης ψυχῆς, ix. 3; ἄριστον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τινος, ix. 9; ἐν χειρί τινος, xi. 1; ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, viii. 21; υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, viii. 6; αἰὼν in the sense of '*world*,' xiii. 9; πλήττειν ἀορασίᾳ, xix. 17. To these may be added expressions directly borrowed from the LXX., such as ἐνωτίζεσθαι, ὀρθρίζειν ἐπί τι, &c.[1] Further than this, the structure of the writer's periods is Hebraic. He uses but few

[1] In this section Solomon is no longer referred to, and after ch. xi. the *special* references to Wisdom entirely disappear.

[2] The Jewish author whose poem was attributed to Phocyllides is more tolerant in his tone. He thinks that Polytheists might still obey the will of God.

[1] See further Grimm, 'Einl.' 5.

connecting particles, and those the simplest (such as καὶ, δέ, γάρ, δίο, ὅτι, διὰ τοῦτο), though he occasionally shews, by some faultlessly elaborate sentence (as in xii. 27), that he could easily have adopted a more Greek-like structure for his periods if he had felt inclined to do so. In the later chapters he abandons the 'sapiential' style, and launches into unrestrained rhetoric. Hence we infer that the more Hebraic form of the earlier chapters must be partly due to a desire to carry out his pseudonymity in an artistic manner, and that he abandoned this plan at a later stage of his work because he found it useless, and because it hampered the free play of his genius. At any rate the Hebraic parallelism is chiefly observable in the earlier chapters.

(2.) The writer uses such thoroughly classical phrases as ἀγῶνα νικᾶν (iv. 2) and διεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν (x. 15), and was evidently a master of Greek vocabulary. He even knew Greek well enough to be able to deal with it autocratically and in an independent manner. He is fond of compound words, such as κακόμοχθος, xv. 8; ὁμοιοπαθής, vii. 3; γηγενής, vii. 1; πολυχρόνιος, ii. 10; ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ix. 5; πετροβόλος, v. 22; παντεπίσκοπος, vii. 23; φιλάνθρωπος, i. 6; κακότεχνος, i. 4; δυσδιήγητος, xvii. 1; γενεσιουργός, xiii. 5, &c. He uses some words which are almost or entirely peculiar to himself, such as ἀκηλίδωτος, iv. 9; νηπιοκτόνος, xi. 7; τεκνοφόνος, xiv. 23; γενεσιάρχης, xiii. 3; βραχυτελής, xv. 9; εὐδράνεια, xiii. 19; μετακιρνᾶσθαι, xvi. 21; εἰδέχθεια, xvi. 3. Of some words, such as πρωτόπλαστος, and the powerful but strange word ῥεμβασμός, iv. 12, he was probably the inventor. Some of his expressions, such as "*a hope full of immortality*" (iii. 4), and "*O Lord, thou Lover of souls*" (xi. 26), are so happy and suggestive that they have passed into the current religious language of the world.

Style.—1. The style of the writer shews that he was naturally of a poetic temperament, and that he had been a student of Greek lyric and tragic poetry.

α. To this we owe such expressions as ἀδελφοκτόνοις συναπώλετο θυμοῖς, x. 3; λυθρῶδες αἷμα, xi. 6; ἀμβροσία τροφή, xix. 21; ἀπότομος (v. 20, 22; vi. 5, 11; xi. 10; xii. 9; xviii. 15); κνώδαλα, xi. 15, 16; ἄβατος, xi. 2. See especially the lyric outbursts in ii. 7–11; v. 9–13; xi. 8–10; xiii. 17–19; xvii. 17–21.

β. He is familiar with such Greek customs as initiation into the mysteries (viii. 4), the use of garlands at banquets (ii. 8), of wreaths to crown the victors in games (iv. 2), of little shrines (*aedicula*) for domestic deities (xiii. 15), and of the images of protecting gods at the prow or stern of vessels (xiv. 1). He uses such purely Greek terms as στεφανηφορεῖν, βραβεῖον, πρυτάνεις, πομπεύειν, ἆθλα, ἀγών, &c.

γ. Among Greek figures of speech he constantly employs *Chiasmus*, a means of giving emphasis to words by inversion of position, of which we have an instance in the first verse (see note), and in almost every chapter.

δ. In one passage he shews that he was familiar with the *Sorites* of the logicians. See notes on vi. 17–20.

ε. In some Greek poets (especially in Æschylus) we find an *accumulation of epithets* to a single substantive (πύργωσις ἐπιθετῶν). Philo, and other writers of the Alexandrian and later epochs, have imitated this peculiarity. A specimen of this occurs in vii. 22, 23, where there are twenty-one epithets to the word Wisdom. But the *number* of the epithets (3×7) is decided by Kabbalistic considerations.

ζ. Antithesis is of quite incessant occurrence. Perhaps the most striking instance is in xiii. 18, 19.

η. Assonances are frequent. In the very first verse we have ἀγαπήσατε . . . φρονήσατε . . . ζητήσατε; ἐν ἀγαθότητι . . . ἐν ἁπλότητι. Other instances are: ἀδόλως . . . ἀφθόνως, vii. 13; οὗς . . . θροῦς, i. 10; ἀσεβοῦς . . . χνοῦς, v. 15; εὐμαθῶς . . . εὐπρεπῶς, xiii. 11; ποθοῦσιν . . . ἀπελθοῦσαν, iv. 2. The writer evidently delighted in the rhythmical collocation of words.

θ. Alliteration is incessant, as in βέλους βληθέντος, v. 12; πανοπλίαν . . . ὁπλοποίησει, v. 18; ἰδίας ἰδιότητος, ii. 23; δίκαιος . . . δικαίως καταδικάσει, xii. 15; ὁσίως . . . ὅσια . . . ὁσιωθήσονται, vi. 11.

ι. We also find such marked *parano-*

masiae as ποταμοὶ . . . ἀποτόμως, v. 23; ἄτραπον . . . τρόπιος, v. 10; στενοχωρίαν . . . στενάζοντες, v. 3; μύσους μύστας, xii. 6; προδοσία . . . προσδοκία, xvii. 12; ἄργα . . . ἔργα, xiv. 5.

κ. Balanced clauses and assimilated endings (παρίσωσις, παρομοίωσις, Arist. 'Rhet.' iii. 9) occur in almost every chapter: as παροδεύσω . . . συνοδεύσω, vi. 22; εὐώδωσε . . . διώδευσαν, xi. 11; παισὶν . . . ἐμπαιγμὸν . . . παιγνίοις, xii. 25, &c.

2. Yet with all this Hellenic culture, this knowledge of the wealth of Greek vocabulary, and this power of putting its plasticity to the test by the invention of new derivatives, it is doubtful whether the writer does not fall into actual mistakes as to the meaning of words. It is, for instance, almost certain that he makes a wrong use of μεταλλεύω. The verb means 'to mine' (as in Deut. viii. 9, LXX.), but the writer twice over (iv. 12; xvi. 25) uses it in the sense of 'exchange' (Vulg. *transvertit*), as though he confused it with μεταλλοιόω. Similarly he uses the word φιλόψυχος in the sense of 'lover of souls' (xi. 26), whereas in classic Greek it has no other sense than that of 'cowardly' ('clinging to life').

3. The *rhythm* of the writer is very peculiar. The balanced antitheses of which we have spoken shew, to a marked extent, the influence of Hebrew parallelism (as in i. 1; ii. 1–6; vii. 17–21; xi. 9, 10, &c.); and yet the rhythmic clauses constantly recall the Greek iambic and hexameter, as well as the strophes and antistrophes, and the free asynartete metres of the Greek choruses. Thus we find such endings and beginnings as συναπώλετο θυμοῖς (x. 3); αὐτὴν ἐκ πόνων ἐῤῥύσατο (x. 9); ἔθηκε τρανὰς (x. 21); αἰῶνι δίδοσθαι (xviii. 4), &c. We are expressly told by Epiphanius that the book was written stichometrically ('De Mens. et Pond.' iv.), for he calls it a στιχήρης βίβλος. Nicephorus says that it contained 1100 στίχοι. In the Alexandrian MS. there are only 1098; but it is probable, from the additions found in the Vulgate, that one or two may have accidentally dropped out; as, for instance, in i. 15. We may say in general that the style is neither prose nor poetry, but the highly artificial rhetoric of a decadent period, which is put into the mouth of all interlocutors alike.

General Character.—1. The method of treatment which is adopted throughout shews that the author of the Book of Wisdom is fanciful rather than imaginative. He entirely lacks that fusing '*esemplastic*' power of imagination which enables great writers, like Milton and Dante, to compress an image into a single word or line. His effects are produced, not by one powerful delineation, but by the accumulation of particulars. His causal connexions (especially the incessant γάρ) are often loose. His *forte* is poetical description far more than sustained reasoning. With great rhetorical power he frequently becomes fantastic, and sometimes almost grotesque, in his combinations and descriptions. He passes lightly over difficulties; manipulates history by a purely subjective process; and leaves many antinomies not only unsolved, but even unnoticed. In studying the book it is impossible to resist a doubt that the tumultuous verbiage sometimes shrouds indefiniteness of conception. The writer is stronger as a stylist than as a logician. He is an eclectic without clear conception or definite system.[1] Throughout the historical section of his book he is at his best as regards the force of his expressions and the energy of his fancy, but at his worst as regards wearisome detail, tasteless exaggerations, hagadistic credulity, and narrow particularism. The vague obscurity of many passages is not due to deficient powers of expression, but to the want of precision in the writer's thoughts. The lack of simplicity betrayed by the exaggerations of the style—its occasional pomposity and its artificial elaborateness—is found also in the method of treatment. The book is in many respects the most valuable of the apocryphal writings. The author was abler, more eloquent, and more

[1] "Il touche à tout, il ne développe rien. La Sapience de Salomon n'affecte pas les allures d'une discussion raisonnée et scientifique. Elle a les qualités et les défauts de ce *dilettantisme rhétorique* qui est le caractère propre de la littérature philosophique des Grecs des siècles de la décadence." (Reuss.)

profound than the Son of Sirach; and his style, with all its faults, is superior to that of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Books of Maccabees, which have something of the same character. Still the Book of Wisdom is, as a whole, far inferior to the humblest of the canonical writings. It resembles in many particulars the Epistle to the Hebrews, but that Epistle is incomparably more logical, more truthful, more original, and more rich in divine instructiveness than the best efforts of the pseudo-Solomon.

2. But though the writer is neither faultless nor inspired, he has high claims on our respect and gratitude, and his book is the most beautiful and important work of Jewish Alexandrianism: for

i. He combines his Hellenic training with Hebraic faithfulness.

α. He had evidently been a student of Greek philosophy, especially of Plato and the Stoics. This is proved by such expressions as Πρόνοια, xiv. 3, xvii. 2; πνεῦμα νοερόν and λεπτόν, μονογενές, εὐκίνητον, πολυμερές, vii. 22; διήκειν καὶ χωρεῖν διὰ πάντων, vii. 24; ὕλη ἄμορφος, xi. 17; διοικεῖν, viii. 1, &c.[1] To these we may add the mention of the four cardinal virtues: σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, viii. 7;[2] the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of souls (vii. 1; viii. 19, 20); the description of the body as the tabernacle (σκῆνος) of the soul (ix. 15);[3] the notion that the body is the source of sin (i. 4; viii. 20); and the cosmogonic views indicated by such words as στοιχεῖα and σύστασις κόσμου (vii. 17). The conceptions that there is a soul of the world (i. 7; vii. 24; viii. 1); that God "has ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight" (xi. 20); and that God is τοῦ κάλλους γενεσιάρχης (xiii. 3),[1] are derived from Greek and not from Hebrew sources. The Sorites in vi. 17–20 shews an acquaintance with Greek forms of logic, and the selection of epithets in the characterisation of Wisdom (vii. 22–26) is probably founded on Stoic models.

β. Yet, though thus saturated with Greek culture, the writer remains a rigidly orthodox Jew. "The stuff is still Hebrew, but shot, as it were, with hues reflecting the light of Western speculation." Even when he adopts the language of Greek philosophy, he is not betrayed into dangerous errors, but confines himself within limits in which he can claim, at least by fair inference, the support of Old Testament revelation. He sees that Philosophy could not teach the idea of the True God (xiii. 9). Philo and Josephus were alike anxious to present Judaism to the Greek world in an attractive form, as an intelligent and philosophic religion. Josephus, in his 'Antiquities,' perpetually endeavours to colour and to smooth down everything which would have been shocking to refined prejudices, and thus he assimilates the worthies, the institutions, and the history of Judaism to Greek and Roman models, so far as this was at all possible. Philo, by the aid of an allegorical system, which he perpetually tells us that he did not invent,[2] but which had already been used by Aristobulus, and which was, so to speak, in the air, made Moses the precursor of Plato. The writer of the Book of Wisdom, so far from shewing any such anxiety, speaks of the views and practices of the whole heathen world with a scorn and indignation as severe as that of the sternest Apostles.

[1] See the notes on these passages.

[2] These are also found in Philo, 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 19, and in 4 Macc. i. 18, v. 22, xv. 7, where εὐσέβεια stands for φρόνησις. See Ewald, v. 480, &c.

[3] φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν, καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυφροντίδα, ix. 15. This is a clear reminiscence of Phædo, p. 81, c.: ἐμβριθὲς δέ γε τοῦτο οἴεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατόν· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεται. The chief *Stoic* elements are the conceptions of 'Providence' (xiv. 3; xvii. 2); the soul of the world (vii. 24), and the inherent dignity of manhood (xii. 8). The chief *Platonic* conceptions are those of 'matter' (xi. 17); pre-existence (viii. 20); the 'prison-house of the body' (ix. 15), and its natural sinfulness (i. 4; viii. 20).

[1] On this last passage see Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 212: "Ein schönes Bild das schon für sich allein, ohne andere Beweise für einen Hellenistischen Verfasser unseres Buches sprechen würde; denn in keinen jüdäischen Schrift wird man je die Schönheit im griechischen Sinne gepriesen finden."

[2] 'De Septen.,' 18, 19. 'De Vit. contempl.' 3. (See many other passages referred to by Zeller, 'Philos.' iii. 225; Siegfried, 'Philo,' 26.)

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ii. His Judaism is specifically Alexandrian, and he moves within the same circle of conceptions as his compatriot Philo. But though he exaggerates the historic narrative of Moses, he does not allegorise it away until nothing literal is left, as was the manner of Philo.[1] It is clear that he approaches more nearly than Philo to the Christian verities, and departs less widely from the truths which he had learnt from the Scriptures of his fathers.

iii. He has used expressions which are so full of value that they are freely adopted, whether from him or independently, by the writers of the New Testament. We find in him such words as *πίστις*, *ἐλπίς*, *ἀγαπᾶν*. He constantly recognises the Fatherhood of God. St. John has, in common with the author, *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* (John iv. 48; Wisd. viii. 8); *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* (1 John ii. 17; Wisd. v. 15); *ἄξιοι γάρ εἰσι* (Rev. iii. 4; comp. Wisd. iii. 5). St. Peter uses *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς* (1 Pet. ii. 12; comp. Wisd. iii. 7). St. Paul adopts the beautiful combination *χάρις καὶ ἔλεος* (1 Tim. i. 2; Wisd. iii. 9, iv. 15). The word *πανοπλία*, with the general description which it suggests (Wisd. v. 17–23); the allusion to the potter and the clay in Wisd. xv. 7; the remark that the visible reveals the invisible (Wisd. xiii. 5); and the description of the ruinous effects of idolatry (Wisd. xiv.), bear some resemblance to more than one passage of St. Paul (see Eph. vi. 13–17; Rom. i. 20, ix. 20–23, and i. 24–27), though we cannot (with Nitzsch) go so far as to say that they have suggested them. There are several turns of expression in the Epistle of St. James which make it highly probable that he had read and that he valued the Book of Wisdom.[2] Lastly, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was undoubtedly acquainted with this book, and made some use of it. Words so striking as *πολυμερῶς* and *ἀπαύγασμα* (Wisd. vii. 22, 26), with the train of thought which they suggest, are found in Heb. i. 1–3, and could only have been derived from this book. The connexion of the Word with a sword is found alike in Wisd. xviii. 22 and Heb. iv. 12. In both books 'death' is connected with the devil (Wisd. ii. 24; Heb. ii. 14). The phrase *τόπος μετανοίας* (Wisd. xii. 10; Heb. xii. 17); the application of the word *θεράπων* to Moses (Wisd. xviii. 21; Heb. iii. 5); and the conception of "the heart-searching eye of God" (Wisd. i. 6; Heb. iv. 12), are common to both. So also are the words *ὑπόστασις, μέχρι τέλους, τελειότης, βεβαίωσις, πρόδρομος, εἴσοδος, ἔκβασις* (in the sense of 'outcome' or 'death'); *εὐάρεστος, ἀμίαντος, μετετέθη* (of Enoch, Wisd. iv. 10; Heb. xi. 5), and many more.[1] To whatever extent the importance of these facts may be minimised, it remains true that the writer of this book had an honourable share in moulding the religious phraseology in which the Gospel was ultimately to be preached. "In the nervous energy of his proverbial style," says Ewald, "and in the depth of his representation, we have a premonition of St. John, and in the conception of heathenism a preparation for St. Paul, like a warm rustle of the spring ere its time is fully come."[2]

iv. Lastly, the book marks the highest point of religious knowledge attained by the Jews in the period between the close of the Old Testament canon and the beginning of the Gospel dispensation. It approaches the truth of an individual immortality beyond the grave (ii. 23; viii. 17; xv. 3; vi. 19); it expresses the nature of God as being predominantly 'love' (xi. 26; xii. 10); it represents love as the final law of creation (vii. 22, 23; xi. 24–26); and in its picture of the righteous sufferer it almost attains (however unconsciously) to a prophetic picture of the death of

[1] On his partial approximation to the allegoric method (as in i. 13, 14; xvi. 6, 7; xviii. 24, &c), see Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 207 fg.

[2] Compare James i. 5 with Wisdom viii. 21.
,, i. 17 ,, ,, i. 14.
,, i. 19 ,, ,, i. 11.
,, iii. 9 ,, ,, ii. 23.
,, v. 4–6 ,, ,, ii. 20.

[1] Nachtigal and others have supposed a reference to the Book of Wisdom in Luke xi. 49, *ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν*. But though the book is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria under the title *ἡ θεία σοφία* ('Strom.' iv. 16), the passage in St. Luke only bears a very remote resemblance to Wisdom ii. 12–20. See too Stier, 'Die Apokryphen,' p. 186 ff.

[2] 'Hist. of Israel,' v. 484 (E. Tr.).

Christ (ii. 13–20).[1] Whatever may be our estimate of the book in other respects, it undoubtedly holds an important position in the *Præparatio Evangelica*—the development of thought and of circumstances which prepared the way for the Gospel of Christ.

v. But the greatest theological advance in this book is shewn by the writer's eschatology. Before the Christian era Paganism had almost lost that belief in the immortality of the soul which many Greeks and Romans had derived partly from the reasonings of Plato, and partly from their contact with Oriental theosophies.[2] Even Cicero, when writing familiarly to his friends, and speaking as a citizen, shews that he scarcely believed the doctrine.[3] By writers like Juvenal and Seneca it is more or less entirely set aside.[4] By all except the most enlightened of the early Jews it seems to have been but dimly apprehended. But it gained strength during the Babylonian Captivity, until in Ezekiel and Daniel we find it clearly intimated; and in the days of our Lord the Pharisees had come to believe not only in the immortality of the soul, but even in the resurrection of the body. Tacitus was struck with the hold which this doctrine had taken upon their minds.[5] It must have been prevalent in the days of the Maccabees, or it would have been impossible to celebrate a solemn service on behalf of the dead.[6] Yet even in the Book of Ecclesiasticus the expressions used are vague and inconsistent, and are to be interpreted by views far more indefinite than the actual words connote to us.[7] Of the resurrection of the body there is scarcely even an ambiguous trace. But in the writer of the Book of Wisdom we see greater decision with respect to these subjects. He says nothing about resurrection, but he believes that immortality is conferred by virtue and wisdom; and although some of his expressions might be referred to an immortal remembrance, in other places he teaches that holy souls shall enjoy a conscious blessedness hereafter in the presence of God;[1] not, perhaps, in mortal bodies, but in a sort of disembodied light.[2] It is equally clear that he believed in a state of future retribution for the wicked, which he describes as thick darkness and hopeless death.[3] There is, indeed, a formal contradiction between some of the terms he uses, since in some places he says that the wicked shall be destroyed and annihilated, body and soul (i. 11), and yet that they shall be in conscious pain (iv. 18–20). Bretschneider and others have tried to reconcile the discrepancy by the notion of a purgatory which is to end in annihilation; Grimm and others, by regarding the "destruction" (i. 12) spoken of as "the second death" (Rev. ii. 11)—a *moral* extinction, which Philo also describes as "an endless death."[4] It may be considered doubtful whether the views of the writer went beyond a belief in the continuance of *some sort of retribution* beyond the grave, and he sometimes seems to mingle the conceptions of the posthumous condemnation of the bad by the living with those of a divine judgment pronounced upon the soul immediately after death.

vi. In one respect, however, the Book of Wisdom shews retrogression rather than progress. The very heart—the purest centre—of the religion of Israel, as represented by the Prophets, was the Messianic hope. It was the conviction that a Divine Deliverer would set them free from all perplexities, and—in spite of the miseries of the ideal "Just Man," as represented by suffering Israel—would vindicate His people, would redeem them from the hand of their enemies, and would fulfil to the utmost the great promises made to their fathers. This hope had sustained the heart of the

[1] "Quorum in uno, qui appellatur *Sapientia Salomonis*, passio Christi apertissime prophetatur." (Aug. 'De Civ. Dei,' xvii. 20, § 1.)
[2] Pausanias, 'Messeniaca,' xxxii.
[3] Cic. 'Pro Cluent.' lxi.
[4] Juv. 'Sat.' ii. 149; Senec. 'Ep.' 24.
[5] Tac. 'Hist.' v. 5.
[6] 2 Macc. xii. 44.
[7] Ecclus. vii. 17; xvii. 27, 28; xix. 19; xlviii. 11, &c.

[1] See Wisdom i. 15; ii. 22, 23; iii. 1–14; iv. 2, 7; iv. 10–v. 5; v. 15; vi. 18, 19; viii. 17; xv. 3.
[2] Wisdom iii. 7.
[3] Wisdom i. 12, 16; ii. 25; iii. 11, 18; v. 14, 15; vi. 10; xvii. 21.
[4] Philo, 'De poster. Caini,' § 3; 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 33 (Opp. i. 65). See Siegfried, pp. 252, 299. Compare Prayer of Manasses, *v.* 13.

Chosen People in the midst of their most overwhelming trials. The expected Messiah was, to some extent, national and exclusive, but the greatest prophets had admitted that He should not only dash the nations in pieces like a potter's vessel, but that he should be a Light to lighten the Gentiles. But during the period which followed the Captivity, and among the Jews who were most imbued with foreign influences, this hope (as is the case among many modern Jews) had altogether vanished, or had become indistinct in its outlines. In the Book of Wisdom, as in Ecclesiasticus, there is no personal and no suffering Messiah. The Messianic hope has come to mean nothing but the dominance of Israel and the universal worship of Jehovah (Wisd. iii. 8; v. 16; viii. 14).[1] Mention is made, indeed, of "a faithful prophet" in 1 Macc. xiv. 41; but on the whole the advent of a Divine Deliverer of the tribe of David has been merged, alike by Philo [2] and by the other writers of the Apocrypha,[3] into a vast, a dazzling, and an incoherent dream. Even in the Psalms of Solomon there is a Messianic kingdom, but there is no Messiah. What the Jew had gained in culture by contact with heathendom, he had lost in faith. The nation, after the Maccabean struggle, began to settle on its lees, content for the most part with religious formalism and material comfort.

II. Author of the Book. ('Quis?')

The consideration of the book itself—its style and language, its contents and tone of thought—has already shewn us some facts about the author. It enables us to affirm with confidence that he was an Alexandrian Jew of cultivated intellect, who was familiar with the Old Testament in the Septuagint Version, and who had some acquaintance with Greek literature and philosophy. He had at least a smattering of scientific knowledge, or at any rate was acquainted with the names and subjects of various sciences (vii. 17–20; viii. 8) which had been successfully developed in the heathen world (xiii. 9). He was familiar with the charm of art (xiv. 14, 18), even in its highest developments (xv. 4, 5). He was also capable of nice discrimination between the different grades of idolatry, and could treat with relative tolerance its least ignoble forms (xiii. 1–9). He had, in some form or other, become acquainted with the speculations of Euhemerus as to the origin of some forms of idolatry from reverence to ancestors or passionate affection for lost relatives (xiv. 15), or the apotheosis of rulers (xiv. 16, 17). He had heard of the speculations of Epicureans (ii. 6–9) and Materialists (ii. 2–5). He had grasped the Hellenic conception of the beauty of the external world, and of the inferences which that beauty suggests (xiii. 7–9). He was not unacquainted with moral speculation (xvii. 11) and psychological analysis (xvii. 12). All these circumstances make it certain that the book could not have been written by a *Palestinian* Jew. The special familiarity with Egyptian animal-worship (xv. 18), and with the manufacture not only of clay idols, but of these idols deceitfully coloured and gilded to imitate metal (xv. 9), indicates a writer whose home was in Egypt. The Jews of Palestine cherished an almost fanatical hatred against the "wisdom of Javan." They maintained that the subtlest elements of spiritual truth evaporated in the crucible of an unhallowed language. They said that the God of Shem could not speak in the unblessed accents of the sons of Japheth. As a counter-manifesto to the exultation of the Alexandrian Jews on the publication of the Law in Greek, they kept that anniversary as a fast, and said that it was a day of evil omen, as

[1] Compare Ecclus. iv. 15; x. 13; xxxv. 17–19, and *passim*.

[2] In Philo the conception of the Logos supersedes that of the Messiah. Perhaps the nearest approach to Messianism in his writings is found in 'De Execrat.' (Opp. ii. 435, 436.) See Ewald, v. 307–312.

[3] The chief expectations are a recall of the Dispersion and a revival of Prophecy (Bar. ii. 34, 35; iv. 36: 2 Macc. ii. 18); the conversion of the heathen (Tobit xiii. 11–18; xiv. 6, 7); the endless glory of Israel (Ecclus. xxxvii. 25, xliv. 13; 2 Esdras vi. 56–59); the coming of Elijah (Ecclus. xlviii. 10, 11); universal peace (Ecclus. i. 23, 24). See on this subject Hilgenfeld, 'De Messia Judaeorum;' Drummond, 'The Jewish Messiah;' Oehler in Herzog, *s. v.* Messias; Hamburger, 'Talm. Wörterb.,' *s. v.* Messias; Grätz, 'Gesch. d. Juden,' 217 fg.; Weill, 'Le Judaïsme,' iv. 401–483, &c.

deadly as that on which Israel had danced around the golden calf (Frankel, 'Vorstudien,' i. 61). It was the aspiration of the learned Rabbi Jochanan Ben Napuchah to unite the *tallith* of Shem with the *pallium* of Japheth (Midr. Rabba, § xxxvi. on Gen. ix. 23; Jer. Sotah, *ad fin.*, &c.). But in these larger and more liberal views the school of Gamaliel stood alone among the Jews of Palestine. The narrower Rabbis placed Greek learning under the same category as Egyptian thaumaturgy, and declared that, if Greek knowledge could be sought at all, it could only be at times which belonged neither to the day nor to the night (Menachoth, 99. 2). The fury which assailed the whole career of Gamaliel's greatest pupil—the Apostle to the Gentiles—was due in great measure to the Heaven-taught universality of sympathy which made him enter into the feelings and sympathise with the gifts of the Gentiles.

We may conclude with certainty that the book is *not a translation*.[1] If it had not been written in Greek, it could not have abounded in the assonances and paronamasiae by which it is characterised.[2] A translation may, indeed, occasionally and accidentally fall into such a mode of expression, but in no faithful translation could they possibly be of frequent occurrence.[3]

1. From all this it is clear, without any further argument, that we may at once set aside the pseudonym of SOLOMON. It is highly improbable that the writer ever intended any one of his readers to suppose that he was reading the actual words of the wise king. The book was written as a manifesto, a polemic, an exhortation to contemporaries who had apostatised from Judaism into materialism, or idolatry, or open immorality. The adoption of the name of Solomon belongs only to the literary form, and could neither have deceived, nor was for a moment intended to deceive, the contemporaries for whom the book was written. The supposed Solomonian authorship is only introduced in a direct and secondary manner (vii. 1–21; viii. 10–16; ix. 7, 8). In highly uncritical periods the pseudonym may have been taken for a reality, but it is at least doubtful whether the abler Fathers (Clemens of Alexandria, Didymus, Origen), in quoting passages from the book as being by 'Solomon,' meant this popular reference to be regarded as a critical decision.[1] A modern writer might traditionally assign a passage of Ecclesiastes to Solomon, or of one of the later Psalms to David, in a sermon or general allusion, merely with reference to ordinary custom, and yet he would think it hard if this were treated as representing a deliberate and critical opinion as to the authorship. The title 'Wisdom of Solomon' in the Syriac, Arabic, and other versions, is so far from indicating a real belief as to the authorship, that the Syriac version distinctly mentions the opinion that the name was only assumed. The Vulgate calls it *Liber Sapientiae*. Even Jerome, in his preface to the book, speaks of it as '*pseudepigraphus*.' That any modern critic should have supported the Solomonian authorship (as was done by J. A. Schmid in 1858), only proves that in the nineteenth century writers can still be found to maintain a preconceived hypothesis, so absurd as to need no refutation. A theory given up by St. Jerome and St. Augustine as untenable even in their day, need not delay us now.[2]

The writer was probably induced to adopt his transparent pseudonym because 'Solomon' had become a sort of

[1] It has been mistakenly supposed that Nachmanides professed to have seen a Hebrew original of the book; what he had seen was a translation of it into Hebrew. (Grimm, p. 9.)

[2] See Jer. 'Praef. in libr. Sal.'

[3] For instance, in the LXX. (Ps. xiii. 3) we have ἠχρειώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα. In our own Anglican version we have "He that *wavereth* is like a *wave* of the sea" (Jas. i. 6). But there are more phenomena of this kind in the Book of Wisdom than in all the LXX. put together.

[1] Similarly St. Augustine sometimes quotes it as Scripture ('De Civ. Dei,' xi. 10, § 1), and yet was well aware (Id. xvii. 20, § 1) that it was not by Solomon. Some confusion has been introduced into the question by the fact that all the five Sapiential books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus) are constantly referred in a general way to 'Solomon.'

[2] "Non autem esse ipsius (Salomonis) non dubitant doctiores." (Aug. 'De Civ. Dei,' xvii. 20, § 1.)

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collective name for all sapiential Hebrew literature, just as all Psalms were collected under the name of David, and Greek fables were usually assigned to Æsop. It was traditionally supposed that Solomon was a master of all wisdom (Eccles. i. 16, &c.; Ecclus. xlvii. 13; Wisd. vii. 17–21; Jos., 'Antt.' ii. 5). All known Hebrew proverbs of any value had been collected under his name. It was therefore naturally borrowed by the writer of a book who so many centuries later handled some of the same topics in something of the same style. As the Book of Ecclesiastes is written from the standpoint of Solomon in his old age, weariness, and repentance, the author of the Book of Wisdom makes him speak as a king yet youthful and innocent (viii. 10).[1] This gave a sort of ideal weight to his appeal to rulers, as well as to his denunciation of the Epicureanism, which the Hellenising apostates whom he has in view may possibly have supported by a misuse of passages quoted from the Book of Ecclesiastes.[2]

2. St. Augustine's conjecture that the book was written by JESUS, SON OF SIRACH ('De doctr. Christ.' ii. 8), may be left without further notice, because it has found no follower, and was even withdrawn by the writer himself ('Retractt.' ii. 4).

3. The perverse hypothesis (?) of J. M. Faber that the book was written by ZERUBBABEL (!) may be noted in passing, as a literary curiosity.

4. Lutterbeck suggested that the author was the philosophic and Hellenising Jew ARISTOBULUS, the friend of Ptolemy Philometor. But we know nothing of the writings of Aristobulus except from fragments preserved by Eusebius in the 'Praeparatio Evangelica.' There is nothing in these fragments, beyond a single commonplace of Alexandrian philosophy, which lends any probability to the conjecture. Aristobulus, "King Ptolemeus' master" (2 Macc. i. 10), who lived in such intimate relations with the Egyptian royal family, could never have written vi. 1–5; nor does the highly prosperous condition of the Jews under Ptolemy Philometor accord with the general tone of a book which implies that "the righteous," *i.e.* all orthodox and faithful Jews, were liable to violent persecutions (ii. 10; iii. 10; xii. 22, &c.).

5. Nor again can the book be by PHILO, as was conjectured by "nonnulli scriptorum veterum" (Jer.), Nicolas of Lyra, Luther, Strigel, Calovius, and others.[1] We can assign decisive reasons for the rejection of this opinion. It is true, of course, that the writer moves within the general circle of Philonian conceptions,[2] and also that the few political indications of the book suit well with the era of Philo: but

(1.) The *style* of the book is wholly unlike that of Philo. It is more living, impassioned, and eloquent, while at the same time it is more rhythmical, artificial, and euphuistic. The structure of the periods is in general far simpler, while at the same time it is more poetic and ornamental.

(2.) The *treatment of Scripture material* is different. The author of the Book of Wisdom is more of a Hagadist than Philo; *i.e.* he makes greater use of the Jewish Hagadoth, or traditional extensions of the Mosaic history. Philo allegorises rather than exaggerates. Pseudo-Solomon exaggerates rather than allegorises. It seems strange that any commentator who is at all familiar with Philo's habitual method of dealing with Scripture should suppose that he could possibly have written a book of which the method is so un-Philonian as that of the Book of Wisdom.[3]

(3.) Philo rarely quotes the Psalms or

[1] Ewald, 'Gesch.' iii. 2, 553.

[2] For special passages which Solomon could not have written, see ix. 8; xv. 4, 14.

[1] The Muratorian Canon has "Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis scripta," and Dr. Tregelles conjectures that *ὑπὸ Φίλωνος* may have been corrupted in the original Greek into *ὑπὸ φίλων* ('Journ. of Philolog.' 1855, p. 37). Reuss contents himself with the remark that the assignment of the book to Philo by St. Jerome and others "prouve seulement que l'étude de la philosophie philonienne était fort peu avancée encore." (Introd. p. 505.)

[2] See notes on i. 4; viii. 19, 20, &c. Siegfried, 'Philo,' pp. 222, 223.

[3] In Philo the symbol is everything; the fact little or nothing. This is not at all true of the author of Wisdom. He scarcely goes beyond the strictest limits of the Old Testament when he identifies the serpent of Paradise with the

the Prophets. In pseudo-Solomon there are frequent allusions to both.

(4.) The *manner* of the two writers is different. In reading Philo we are sailing amid "a dead sea of icy abstractions;" in reading pseudo-Solomon we move amid a series of burning pictures.

(5.) The *philosophy* of the two writers is different. In Pseudo-Solomon we find no trace of two conceptions which in Philo's writings are predominant and fundamental—namely, the trichotomy of human nature (see notes viii. 19; ix. 15, &c.)[1] and the doctrine of ideas.[2]

(6.) The *terminology* of the writers is different. In pseudo-Solomon the word '*Logos*' has none of the prominence which it has in Philo. There is no speculation about the Logos, nor is it to the same extent hypostatised. In ix. 2, xi. 17, xvi. 12, xviii. 15, pseudo-Solomon hardly goes beyond the limits of the Old Testament.

(7.) The two writers are not even agreed *in their view of Wisdom*, for in Philo Wisdom is almost identical with the Logos (Gfrörer, 'Philo,' i. 213; see 'Leg. Allegg.' [Opp. i. 56]; 'Det. pot. insid.' § 31 [Opp. i. 213]; 'De profug.' § 20; Siegfried, 'Philo,' p. 222)—a thought on which the author of 'Wisdom' does not touch.

(8.) The *theology* of the two writers is different. Both recognise the predominant love of God, but pseudo-Solomon believes in an evil spirit (ii. 24), whom Philo ignores. They take different views of the Serpent in Paradise (ii. 24, Philo, 'De Mund. Opif.' 56; 'De Agric.' 22; 'Leg. Allegg.' iii. 21), and of the brazen serpent, which pseudo-Solomon takes literally (xvi. 5, 7), and Philo regards as a symbol of sober-mindedness ('De Agric.' 21; 'Leg. Allegg.' ii. 20).

(9.) Further, there are several minor discrepancies between Philo and this writer: as in vii. 2; viii. 20; xi. 15; xvii. 14. Both writers deal ably with the origin of idolatry (xii. xiii.; Philo, 'De Monarch.' i. 1–3); but even on this point it will be seen from the notes that their views are not identical.

We may then regard it as certain that Philo did not write the Book of Wisdom, which is not included in the list of his books either by Eusebius ('H. E.' ii. 18), or by Jerome ('Catal. Script. Eccl.').

6. Little need be said about the supposition of Drusius, Wernsdorf, &c., that the Book of Wisdom was written, or edited (Bellarmin, Huetius, &c.) by the ELDER PHILO; for of that writer we know next to nothing, and Josephus names him as *a heathen* who had written about the Jews ('c. Ap.' i. 23). Whether this Philo be the same as the author who wrote a Greek poem about Jerusalem is uncertain, and is a matter of little importance.[1]

7. Only one other name has been suggested. Noack attributed the book to APOLLOS.[2] That Apollos could not have written it *after his conversion* is abundantly evident, but Dean Plumptre has argued with great ingenuity that he wrote it before his conversion. His two papers on the subject were published in the 'Expositor' (vol. i. pp. 329, 409), and, like all the works of the learned author, are full of ingenuity. He points out (1) resemblances of thought between the Book of Wisdom and the Epistle to the Hebrews (which, in common with an increasing number of critics, he accepts as the work of Apollos). (2.) Affinity of language between both books and the writings of Philo. (3.) The fact that both the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of Clemens Romanus to the Romans shew an acquaintance with the Book of Wisdom, Clemens being the first Christian writer who quotes or notices it. (4.) The style of the Book of Wisdom resembles what we should expect of Apollos from the reference to him in Acts xviii. 24–28. (5.) Apollos, like the writer of this book, was a cultivated

devil (ii. 24); or describes the brazen serpent as "a symbol of salvation" (xvi. 5–7); or calls the pillar of salt "a monument of an unbelieving soul" (x. 7). He goes a little farther in passages like x. 10–17; xvii. 21: but even there he scarcely approaches the manner of Philo. The nearest resemblance is in xviii. 24.

[1] Philo, 'De Congr.' 6; 'Leg. Allegg.,' i. 22. Gfrörer, i. 382. Siegfried, 235–242. Dähne, i. 288.

[2] See especially Philo, 'De Vict. offerent.' 13.

[1] See Fabricius, 'Bibl. Graec.' iii. 736.

[2] 'Der Ursprung des Christenthums,' i. 222. Noack supposes that Apollos wrote it with the help of the Apostle Paul!

Alexandrian Jew, acquainted with the works of Philo, or at least with his familiar conceptions, and (assuming him to have written the Epistle to the Hebrews) fond of stately words and sentences, yet so modest as to suppress his own name. (6.) Clemens of Rome is familiar both with the Book of Wisdom and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and quotes them in near juxtaposition. (7.) They are united in the same sentence by Irenaeus (Euseb. 'H. E.' v. 26). Ably as the theory is elaborated, it falls to the ground when we remember (i.) that there is absolutely no resemblance between the *general* style of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Wisdom; (ii.) that the method of referring to the facts and words of the Old Testament is very different in the two books; and (iii.) that in the Epistle to the Hebrews we scarcely find a trace of the familiarity with Greek learning and philosophy which is so remarkable a feature of the Book of Wisdom.

We must therefore give up all attempts to discover the actual name of the author of the Book of Wisdom. We must also reject three other vague conjectures respecting him.

α. There is not a tittle of evidence for the notion that he was one of the traditional seventy translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek.

β. Nor can we infer that he belonged to the sect of the Therapeutae.[1] No such inference can be drawn from iii. 13–15, where preference is given to virtuous childlessness over wickedness abounding in offspring; nor from the declared superiority of brief and virtuous life to dishonoured age (iv. 8, 9); nor from the assumed direction to pray towards the sun (xvi. 28); nor in any other passage of the book.

γ. Nor can it be held that he was a Christian.[2] There is no trace in the book of any knowledge of Christ; nor of the Incarnation; nor of the Atonement; nor of the Resurrection; nor indeed of any doctrine distinctly Christian. How different is the writer's tone towards idolatry from that which breathes through the courteous and noble speech of St. Paul at Athens! Luther said of the book quite truly that it "*stark jüdele.*"[1] Here and there (as in i. 13; ii. 23; vii. 6; viii. 21; xiv. 3, &c.) the writer seems to have a theoretic glimpse of the truth so nobly stated by St. Peter and St. Paul, that "in every nation they who fear God and work righteousness are accepted of him" (Acts xi. 35), and that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him," since we are all "the offspring of God" (Acts xvii. 26–29). But he has not sufficient grasp of this theoretic truth to save him from the narrowest and most repellent form of Jewish particularism (vi. 4–7; x. 15; xi. 1–15; xii. 19–22; xv. 2, 14; xviii. 1, and *passim*), to an extent which even leads him to misunderstand the plainest lessons and misinterpret the plainest facts of Jewish history (iii. 16–18; iv. 3–5; x.–xix. *passim*). In point of fact the Jehovah of the Book of Wisdom is essentially that which the New Testament teaches us that He is *not*—namely, "a respecter of persons" (xi. 10).[2] If the writer's eschatology shews some development in its apparent recognition of future retribution (iv. 19) and future blessedness (v. 1), and of a day of future reckoning (iii. 18; iv. 20), yet on the other hand he not only falls behind the writers of the New, but even below the prophets of the Old Testament, in the fact that he seems (as we have seen) wholly to have lost sight of that hope of a personal Messiah which is the very heart of the truest Judaism. In this he resembles Philo in one of the weakest of his religious characteristics. Salvation with the author of the Book of Wisdom consists in the attainment of wisdom. It is an arbitrary fancy which sees in the allusion to the Ark in xiv. 7, "blessed is

[1] See Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 265. Dähne, 'Alex. Religionsphil.' ii. 170. Jost, 'Gesch. d. Judenth.' i. 378.

[2] Kirschbaum, Weisse, &c.

[1] See Ewald, 'Gesch.' iii. 553. It is clear that the passages chiefly referred to (iii. 5; iv. 2, 10; v. 17; vii. 26; ix. 8, 15 ff.; xi. 10, 24; xiv. 7) are quite insufficient to prove that the writer was a Christian.

[2] This is all the more remarkable because the Wisdom-literature of the O. T. (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes) is absolutely free from the taint of particularism.

the wood whereby righteousness cometh," any real prevision of the Cross of Christ; nor is there anything which can be interpreted into a Christian reference in ii. 17–20 or v. 1–5. Though some passages may perhaps be reckoned as "*unconscious* prophecies," one fact should be decisive: the book does not contain the faintest trace of the Incarnation, and *therefore no Christian could have written it.*

Unity of the Book.

As to the unity and completeness of the book there can be little doubt. Houbigant, in the middle of the 18th century,[1] was the earliest to suggest that the first nine chapters were by Solomon, and the remainder by a translator. The attempt to disintegrate the book was carried still further by Eichhorn and Bertholdt. Bretschneider divided it between four different authors, and finally Nachtigal (1799) tried to prove that it was an anthology of the praises of Wisdom to be chanted in antiphons, and composed by *seventy-nine* different authors! It is not worth while to dwell further upon perverse hypotheses and fantastic arguments which have long been exploded and abandoned. The difference of treatment and method in the first and second sections arises from the difference of subject-matter, but the style of thought and language is identical throughout. There is in every section the same monotony of causal connexions (especially by means of γὰρ and ὅτι), and the treatise is marked by a clear unity of purpose from beginning to end.

Grotius, followed by Grätz, thought that the book had been manipulated by a Christian *interpolator*. The latter points to such passages as ii. 24; iii. 13; iv. 1; xiv. 7, in proof of his hypothesis.[2] A reference to these passages will convince most readers that iii. 13, iv. 1, belong rather to moral philosophy than to any distinct Christian teaching; ii. 24 alludes to a notion which is equally found in Josephus and in the Rabbis; xiv. 7 is nothing but an allusion to the Ark, which has been applied to the Cross by Christian readers.

[1] 'Prolegomena in Script.' ii. 160.
[2] Gratz, 'Gesch. d. Jud.' iii. 443.

Ideal of Wisdom.

There were among the ancient Hebrews three great classes of religious teachers—Priests, Prophets, and those who for want of a better name may be called Moralists, Humanists, or the Wise (Jer. xviii. 18).[1] The Priests were mainly concerned with the *minutiae* of the Levitic law, and were occupied in securing that accurate observance (ἀκρίβεια) of all the Mosaic institutions which constituted the ideal of "righteousness" (צְדָקָה, δικαιοσύνη). The Prophets, conscious of the slothful formalism which resulted from exclusive attention to external regulations, spoke with almost scornful depreciation of rites and ceremonies, and with all the passion of genius enforced the supreme importance of eternal laws. The Sages taught in a less exalted tone the lessons of prudential experience. They began indeed (Prov. i. 7), and ended (Eccles. xii. 13), with the fundamental truth that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge," and that "to fear God, and keep His commandments, is the whole duty of man." But they did not trouble themselves with all the sacerdotal prescriptions which were afterwards known as the Halakha, and, instead of adopting the method of lofty theoretic teaching, they contented themselves for the most part with broad practical instruction delivered in the form of gnomes or proverbs. To this kind of teaching was given the name of 'Wisdom' (חָכְמָה), and the literature to which it gave rise is hence known as 'the Chokmah' or Sapiential literature. It cannot be called a Hebrew Philosophy.[2] The Jews had no philosophy, and the books which dealt more or less directly with 'Wisdom' are too popular, too undeveloped, too loosely

[1] These Humanists or Gnomologists were found among other Eastern nations: 1 Kings iv. 30; Jer. xlix. 7; Obad. 8.

[2] Michaelis inaccurately speaks of Solomon as "a philosopher." So too Oetinger and De Wette. But Ritter rightly refuses this title to Jewish modes of thought. Dr. A. B. Davidson points out that the Hebrew Wisdom differs from all secular philosophy: (1) in its starting-point; (2) in its method. It aims at the *recognition*, not the *discovery* of God. It professes to verify, not to infer. It takes secure refuge from speculative difficulties in moral facts.

unsystematic to be dignified with any such title. A nation which was absorbed in the contemplation of a uniquely revealed religion had little or no need for a speculative philosophy.

The Sapiential books of the Old Testament are the Books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes; and they shew a gradual and remarkable development in the views of the Jewish writers.

1. At the earliest stage, in the Book of Proverbs, we see an absolute and unclouded belief in the truth that happiness and holiness, sin and sorrow, are severally united; that even in their earthly circumstances the wicked are miserable and the godly are blessed (Prov. xi. 31; x. 27; xvi. 19, 20, &c.). It is *the era of principles*, theoretically accepted as though they were true without exception.

2. It was impossible that this era should last long. Its fundamental hypothesis was out of harmony with universal experience. In some of the Psalms (xxxvi., xxxix., xlix., lxxiii.), we already find that the facts of life have come into hard collision with this beautiful theory, and that "the equation between occurrence and principle" is not found to be so perfect. The wicked sometimes prosper; the good are sometimes plunged into misery and misfortune. The Psalmists strain every nerve to explain these facts in accordance with the accepted orthodoxy. It is *the era of difficulties*. The mode of meeting them was of necessity partial and arbitrary, for it often rested on the assumption that the prosperity of the ungodly before they died was always overthrown by visible retributions.[1] The writer of the magnificent Book of Job endeavoured to grapple with the problem still more closely. He sets before us the picture of the great and holy Sheykh of Uz suddenly, by no fault of his own, but through the envy of the Evil One, ruined, pauperised, hopelessly bereaved, smitten with incurable leprosy, and reduced to sit upon his dunghill, a very scorn of men, amid the taunts of orthodox friends, who with ever-increasing bitterness urge him to confess the secret crimes which, in accordance with the current religionism, can alone explain the crushing incidence of such misfortunes. Though all appearances are against him, though his own previous conceptions seem to be shaken to their foundations, the sufferer still proclaims his unshaken trust in God. The youthful Elihu, discontented alike with the complaints of Job and the dogmas of his friends, attempts to found his vague Theodicaea on the infinite greatness and power of God and the ignorance of man. Then God, as with a thunderclap, closes the controversy, not condescending to argue or to justify His ways to man, but pointing him to the proofs of transcendent mercy and omnipotence in the works of nature; bidding him listen to the hawk's cry and gaze on the plumes of the ostrich; pointing him to Behemoth crashing through the forests and Leviathan tempesting the seas; turning his gaze on the clouds, and the lightning, and the constellations, and the dawn. And then in the end, when the problem has been faced, when Job confesses and is content, he is again crowned with sevenfold prosperity.

3. Then followed *the era of quiescence*. The disharmony between theory and experience was admitted, and as far as possible utilised as an additional reason for moral steadfastness. The Book of Ecclesiastes presents the problem of life in this later aspect. It sets before us the despair and scepticism of a sated worldling, not the anguish of an afflicted saint. The Jewish thinker of that epoch had begun to see that the appeal to God's omnipotence was not a solution of the difficulty, but only the expression of a trust that it would some day be solved. Yet even through despair and satiety the Preacher learnt by means of evil that good is best; and he too, while he does not even profess to offer any explanation of the insoluble, discovers and proclaims that the only thing which can make life tolerable is trustful obedience to the law of God.[1]

After the close of the Old Testament canon, Sapiential literature still survives,

[1] See Ps. xxxvii. 25, 35 ff.

[1] See some suggestive papers on the Wisdom of the Hebrews, by Dr. A. B. Davidson, in 'The Expositor,' xi. 321; xii. 381, 436.

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though under different conditions and in altered forms. In the Apocrypha, the Books of Wisdom, of Ecclesiasticus, and of Baruch belong to this class of literature. Outside the Apocryphal canon we have the Fourth Book of Maccabees; the writings of Philo, in which we have a sort of eclectic philosophy of religion; and books like the Book of Enoch, in which the Sapiential element melts away into that apocalyptic literature in which the literary activity of the Jews expended itself during the last epoch of their national existence.

The service rendered to the main object of the Wisdom-literature by these later books is due to the ever-deepening conviction of a sentient and individual life beyond the grave. This, indeed, must ever remain the most important factor in our attempts to solve the mysteries of life,—the undeserved prosperity of the wicked, and the sufferings of the innocent. The Psalmists had pushed back the solution to the end of *mortal* life, and had to be content with the belief that in the long run, and as the general rule, the godly are not ultimately forsaken, nor the wicked finally prosperous. But gradually men came to recognise that it is by no means always that in this life the intolerable wrong is atoned for. Job was restored to health and wealth, but after all Job might have died on his dunghill or in misery as thousands of good men have done before and since. But the later 'Humanists' push the solution beyond the limits of this life altogether, and build their justification of God to man on the doctrines of their eschatology.

The Book of Wisdom belongs to a period during which the Jews had been profoundly affected by Hellenic influences. Already during the Babylonish captivity they had been providentially taught the lesson that

> "All wisdom is not hid in Moses' law,
> The Pentateuch, and what the Prophets wrote.
> The Gentiles also know, and write and teach
> To admiration, led by Nature's light."

When they came into close contact with the infinite charm of Greek thought and Greek life in its better and purer phases, all but the most obstinately narrow among them learnt yet more clearly that they were neither the sole children of God's love nor the exclusive recipients of His blessings. In Alexandria especially—where they had equal civil and political privileges with the other citizens; where they forgot their own language and knew no language but the common Greek; where their own sacred books were no longer a sealed and mystic volume, but had been placed in the Alexandrian library at the request of the Egyptian princes, and were open to the study of every intelligent heathen; where they themselves became familiar with the profound philosophical writings of Plato, of the Stoics, and of other Greek schools of thought,—in Alexandria more than in any other city of the Roman Empire, it was impossible for an educated Jew to be unaffected by Hellenic influences.

The adoption of Hellenising *customs* as distinguished from Hellenic modes of thought never made much progress among the Jews. It was viewed with profound disfavour. Jason and Menelas, the priests who tried to introduce Greek practices among the Jews, are called "ungodly wretches" by the author of the First Book of Maccabees. Some Jews carried their admiration of heathendom to the extent of apostasy, and even voluntarily obliterated the marks of circumcision which every Jew regarded as the seal of God's covenant with his race.[1] It is against such apostates—who openly adopted the Epicurean motto, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and were faithless to the guide of their youth—that the religious polemic of this book, and its historical arguments, are chiefly directed.

On the other hand, the moral and religious *thoughts* of the Alexandrian Jews became deeply imbued with principles which they had learnt from Greek philosophy. Hellenic customs were evil; Hellenic culture was admirable. Whatever might be the opinion of the Rabbis

[1] ἐπισπασμός, 1 Cor. vii. 18; Jos. 'Ant.' xii. 5, § 1. The attempts to introduce Hellenising innovations for the overthrow of Judaism are described in 1 Macc. i. 11–15, 41–61; 2 Macc. iv. 10–15. Those who thus tried to obliterate their circumcision were called מְשׁוּכִים. See Ewald, 'Hist. of Isr.' v. 268–271 (E. Tr.).

of Jerusalem, the Theosophists of Alexandria firmly believed that Greek studies were in no respect injurious to their national faithfulness. Philo, however much he platonises, never for a moment forgets that he is a righteous and orthodox, though illuminated and intellectually emancipated, Jew. He adopts a syncretism by which he is able to reconcile the Timaeus with the First Book of Genesis, and the Old Testament in general with the Platonic dialogues and the writings of the Stoics. In those writings he found that the philosophers, by applying the method of allegory to the Homeric writings, were able to reconcile Homer with Thales, and Anaxagoras, and Aristotle. Philo applies the same method to the Old Testament until he and other Jewish *literati* persuaded themselves that the Greek philosophy was profoundly religious, and the Jewish religion profoundly philosophical. Indeed Aristobulus (B.C. 160)[1] and other Jewish writers believed and endeavoured to prove that all Greek poets and philosophers, from Orpheus and Pythagoras downwards, had come into contact with Hebrew teachers, and were ultimately, however unconsciously, the pupils of Moses.[2]

We have already seen that the author of Wisdom was familiar with the thoughts of Greek philosophers, and that to a certain extent—but not to any extent inconsistent with orthodoxy—he had adopted them. Upon him and his contemporaries the old problem of the Book of Job was pressing in a different form. He was no longer in the blooming period of Aristobulus, when the Jews stood in high favour with the government, and when the bitter envy and hostility of other races in the city had not yet been excited. After the days of Ptolemy Physkon, race hatreds raged in Alexandria until they culminated in the brutal persecutions which the Jews had to endure at the hands of their fellow-citizens in the days of Caligula and under the government of Flaccus. The author of the Book of Wisdom has to face the question how such a state of things is compatible with the faithfulness of the chosen people. His solution of the old problem is involved in the eulogies of Wisdom. It is practically a Stoic view of life and providence. Wisdom is the preserver, the deliverer, the sole source of immortality, the unique bestower of every blessing. She gives joy and peace (viii. 16–18), and consolation in sorrow (viii. 9), and power (viii. 15), and fame, and honour, and immortal memory (viii. 10–16), and is better than all riches, and health, and beauty (vii. 7–10). He who possesses her needs nothing besides. He who is without her is on the path of destruction. Wisdom more than atones for every earthly calamity. Childlessness and a short life might be regarded as misfortunes; but when they befell the possessor of wisdom, they were blessings far more consummate than the many children of long-lived sinners (iv. 1–8). Ideally the faithful Israelite was the wise man, and therefore, like the Stoic 'wise man,' he was a king of men and a favourite of heaven. The punishments of the heathen were long-continued, overwhelming, and retributive. Israel too might suffer, but his sufferings were only such as were due to mild and fatherly correction. The afflictions of the godly are compensated beyond the grave; "righteousness is immortal." This is the basis of the writer's ethical system, and it has well been said that it conducts us to the threshold of Christianity.[1]

What then is the writer's conception of Wisdom? Like Jesus the son of Sirach, he uses the word in all sorts of intermingled senses, because his conception of wisdom is complex and many-sided. Sometimes he uses the word objectively for the Wisdom of God;[2] sometimes subjectively

[1] On Aristobulus see Valckenaer, 'Diatribe de Aristobulo,' 1806; Siegfried, 'Philo,' 24; Dähne, 'Alex. Relig. Philos.' ii. 73; Gfrörer, 'Philo,' ii. 71; Ewald, 'Gesch.' iv. 335. Fragments of his book on the Pentateuch (*Syngramma* or *Prospephonema*) are preserved by Eusebius, 'Præp. Ev.' vii. 13, 14; viii. 6, 9, 10; ix. 6; xiii. 12. Clemens of Alexandria, 'Strom.' v. p. 595, says that he tried to reconcile the Old Testament with Aristotelianism.

[2] Philo finds in Moses an anticipation of all that was most valuable in Greek philosophy. 'Vit. Mos.' ii. 4; 'De conf. ling.' 20; 'Quod omnis prob.' 8.

[1] Wisd. i. 15; iii. 1–10; viii. 17.

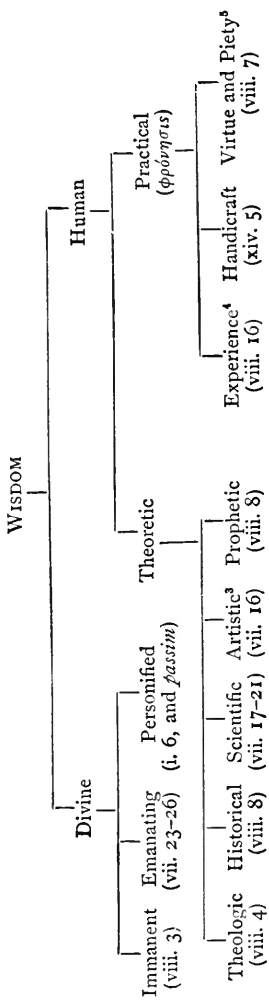
[2] Wisd. vii. viii. ix. Comp. Job xii. 13, xxviii. 23; Prov. viii. 22–31; Ecclus. i. 1, 4, 9,

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for the wisdom of man: sometimes he applies the word to theoretic wisdom, sometimes to practical.[1] Wisdom is at once the sum total of the Divine perfections (vii., viii., ix.) and the synthesis of all the highest moral and intellectual qualities of man (vii. 17–21; viii. 7, &c.). The reader will perhaps best understand the latitude in which the word is used to imply at once the providence of God and the culture and virtue of man, if I draw out the senses attached to it in different passages in the annexed rough table.

We may therefore sum up by saying that, on the Divine side, Wisdom is the Spirit of God, regarded by man under the form of Providence (i. 4, 7; vii. 7, 22; ix. 17): and, on the human side, Wisdom is "trustworthy knowledge of the things that are" (vii. 17); "a knowledge of Divine and human things, and of their causes"[2] (4 Macc. i. 16), regarded by God as manifested in moral life. But "one set of terms does service to express both the intellectual and the moral wisdom. The 'wise' man means the righteous man; the 'fool' is one who is godless. Intellectual terms that describe knowledge are also moral terms describing life."

Wisdom is throughout the book repeatedly *personified*, but never in reality hypostatised. When the writer speaks of Wisdom as a living being, he is as conscious as the writer of the Book of Proverbs that he is only adopting a poetic figure of speech. But gradually the language reacted on the conception, and Wisdom came to be regarded, not only, like our word 'Providence,' as a reverential synonym for the manifestations of God, but also as possessing an



idealised and separable existence. In this way the Wisdom-literature, though it was in no respect directly Messianic, yet contributed to the Christology of the Old Testament. The suffering and

xxiv. 3–6; Baruch iii. 29. There is not in this book any clear identification of Wisdom with the Logos, nor indeed is the Logos as a Person, or at any rate as an all-but-personal entity, otherwise recognised than as a figure of speech (xviii. 15). If Wisdom is spoken of as a Person, in language which Christians might apply to the Son, or the Holy Spirit (i. 4–7; vii. 22; ix. 1, 2, 17; xii. 1; xviii. 15, &c.), this is also true of Prov. viii. 22–31, and other passages of the Old Testament.

[1] See Job xxvii. 3; xxxii. 8. Mr. Deane quotes the remark of Prof. Huxley (which would have been heartily endorsed by the writers of Sapiential books), "The only medicine for suffering, crime, and all the other woes of mankind is Wisdom" (see xvi. 12, 13).

[2] "Sapientia est rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia." (Cic. 'De Off.' i. 43; ii. 2.) Pseudo-Solomon's conception of Wisdom is more Hellenic than that of Prov. viii., and that in Ecclesiasticus (i. 6 fg.; iv. 11 fg.; vi. 18 fg., &c.).

[3] Comp. Ex. xxxi. 3; xxxv. 31.

[4] Prov. iii. 13–19, viii. 14; Ecclus. i. 4.

[5] Comp. Job xxviii. 12–14; Ps. cxi. 10; Prov. ix. 10, xv. 33; Ecclus. xix. 25, &c.

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holy saint, who is made immortal by righteousness, becomes in this book, no less than in the Psalms, an ideal which had in it a prophetic element, and which helped the early Jewish-Christian Church to get over the stumbling-block of the Cross, and to recognise in Jesus the fulfilment of the long anticipations of a yearning world.

III. Object of the Book. ('Cur?')

The object of the book seems to have been threefold, with reference to the condition of three classes of readers.

1. It was *hortatory*. "The righteous man"—*i.e.* the Jewish people, and the religious Jew of the writer's day—seems to have been in a condition of depression and persecution. He is here encouraged by the thought that Wisdom is the source of all blessings, and better than all the best earthly blessings. Wisdom is an attribute of God, and is a gift to man. Nay, more, Wisdom is a divine and living spirit, which permeates the universe and is filled with love to the human race. Life without her is full of deadly peril, and inevitable misery; with her the hopes of man, even when he is afflicted, are full of immortality. These consoling thoughts are mainly developed in x.–xi. 4.

2. The book was *apologetic*. Various objections were urged against the faith of the fathers. Old problems were revived, and the answers to them were declared to be insufficient. The inequalities of earthly justice, and the delays of retribution, and the trials of the good were used as arguments in favour of sceptical conclusions. In this book such difficulties are met both directly and indirectly. The writer's Theodicaea is involved in his praise of Wisdom; in his description of the blessings which she confers; in the declaration and demonstration of her loving character and easy attainment; in the promise that she will bestow on them who seek her an immortality which shall more than atone for earth's most intolerable wrongs.

3. The book was *a twofold polemic*.

α. Its earlier section was aimed at Hellenising Jews, who had proved faithless to their national religion. We see from the first two Books of Maccabees, 3 Macc. ii. 31, and from the writings of Philo ('De poenit.' § 2; 'De conf. ling.' § 2; 'Vit. Mos.' i. 6), and we know from the story of renegades like Tiberius Alexander, the nephew of Philo, that there were at this epoch some Jews who openly embraced heathen customs and became the votaries of purely heathen systems of philosophy. Not content with this (ii. 12; iii. 10), these men treated faithful Jews with scorn (ii. 12), and even with actual persecution (ii. 10–20). The first five chapters are specially devoted to the refutation and warning of such faithless sensualists, in order that other Jews might be saved from their tendency to succumb to the seductions of a philosophy which was subversive both of morals and of religion.

β. The last sections of the book, especially chapters xiii.–xv., are a polemic against idolatry, but specially against the image-worship and animal-worship of the Egyptians; and this polemic is historically continued in the poetically idealised sketch of the contrasted fortunes of Egypt and Israel at the epoch of the Exodus. At the same time this series of pictures was meant not only to influence the mind of any heathen enquirer who was inclined to become a Jewish proselyte, but also to deter Jewish waverers from the criminal folly of sacrificing their connexion with the chosen people, its religion, promises, and hopes. If Wisdom was the chief good, it could be attained only among those who knew and worshipped the one true God.[1]

IV. Date. ('Quando?')

The exact date at which the book was written can unhappily be as little determined as the name of the author. We have a *terminus a quo* and a *terminus ad quem*, but they leave between them a space of some 250 years.

The *terminus a quo* is the date of the Septuagint version. The writer could not have known Hebrew, or if he did he at any rate prefers to make use of the LXX. If this could not be decisively

[1] We find the same stormy zeal against idolatry, mixed with the deepest scorn, in 'Bel and the Dragon,' and 'The Epistle of Jeremy.'

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inferred from vi. 7; xi. 4; xii. 8; xvi. 22; xix. 21, it is proved by xv. 10, where the writer alludes to the LXX. version of Is. xliv. 20, where "his heart is ashes" varies from the Hebrew, "*he followeth after ashes.*" Again, in ii. 12 the phrase ἐνεδρεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστι is borrowed from the LXX. version of Is. iii. 10, δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δυσχρ. ἡμῖν ἐστι, where the context and the Hebrew text of the original are wholly different ("say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him").

Since then we know with reasonable certainty that the date of the LXX. version falls within the years 284–246 (the epoch of Ptolemy Philadelphus), the book must have been written after that time.

The *terminus ad quem* is the date of the apostolic writings, since the author shews no acquaintance with a single doctrine which can be called distinctively Christian.

A vague chronological *datum* is found in the impression left by the book that the faithful Jews were at the time suffering from open persecution (iii. 1; v. 1; vi. 5–9; xii. 22, 23). Now the Jews were highly favoured by the early Ptolemies. They suffered persecution in the days of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 221–204) and of Ptolemy Physcon (B.C. 145–117; Jos. c. Ap. ii. 5), and of Cleopatra (*id., ib.*); and they suffered yet severer persecutions in the days of Caligula (A.D. 38–40) and Nero (A.D. 66). No one has supposed that the Book of Wisdom was written so late as the days of Nero, but Noack and Grätz assign it to the days of Caligula, because they think that xiv. 16–20 is a reference to the insane attempt of Caligula to place a colossal statue of himself in the Temple. It is obvious that there is nothing sufficiently definite in this passage to make the allusion certain. The whole passage is indeed suitable to the epoch in which every dead Caesar received his apotheosis, just as the condemnation of eclectic tolerance in xv. 15 suits the politic facility with which the Romans sanctioned every local cult of the nations which they conquered. On the other hand, apotheosis was a common practice among the Ptolemies, of whom Ptolemy Lagi and his wife Berenice were called θεοὶ σωτῆρες even in their lifetime, and were honoured with altars and temples. Zeller ('Philos. d. Griechen,' iii. 583) sees in the appeal to δικασταὶ περάτων γῆς an allusion to the Triumvirate, but obviously this is a most precarious inference. Hence, in the absence of precise data, conjecture has fixed on widely separated periods. The dates as proposed by different enquirers are as follows:—

Welte, B.C. 217.
Bruch, between B.C. 221–204 (under Ptolemy Philopator).
Heydenreich, &c., B.C. 160, during the Maccabean war.
Gutmann, not before B.C. 150.
Lutterbeck, about B.C. 130.
Gfrörer, about B.C. 100.
Grätz, Noack, Plumptre, between A.D. 38–40.

Others content themselves with more general indications. Bauermeister, De Wette, Ewald, all fix on the period between the first acquaintance by the Jews with Greek philosophy and the birth of Christ.

The impression left on the mind of the present writer is that the book was composed in the Roman epoch, and by an author who was familiar with the speculations of Philo, but regarded them from a completely independent point of view. The impression that he was to some extent influenced by the views of Philo, and that Philo was not influenced by him, is very strong. If he had preceded Philo, some traces of the powerful style and individuality and phraseology of the Pseudo-Solomon must surely have been observable in the voluminous pages of the Jewish Theosophist.

Any one who will read the Book of Wisdom side by side with Philo's 'Life of Moses' and 'Legatio ad Gaium,' will see that the indications of the book correspond with the political conditions of the reign of Caligula, and with the literary tendencies of the Jews at that time. If the author was later than Philo, the date of the book cannot be earlier than A.D. 40.[1] I cannot believe that it

[1] See xiv. 16, 17. Since writing the above, I find that Kuenen adopts the same view ('Rel. of Israel,' iii. 180). He thinks, however, that the book has not reality enough about it—is too calm and artificial—to have been written during the actual spasm of persecution.

was written by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whether he were Apollos or some other early Christian; but it is certainly possible, and in my opinion probable, that it was written in the decade after the death of Christ.

V. History of the Book.

If we pass over as indecisive the passages in the New Testament which have been compared with the Book of Wisdom, the earliest quotation from it is found in the first Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 27), who clearly refers to Wisd. xi. 22; xii. 12. In the ninth chapter of the Ep. of Barnabas there is the same quotation as in Wisd. ii. 12, but this may have been derived independently from the LXX. version of Is. iii. 10. Eusebius ('H. E.' v. 21) says that Irenaeus, in a book διαλέξεων διαφόρων, quoted from the Ep. to the Hebrews and "the so-called (τῆς λεγομένης) Wisdom of Solomon." And in an extant book of Irenaeus ('Adv. Haer.' iv. 38) he undoubtedly refers to Wisd. vi. 19. In the Canon of Melito (Euseb. 'H. E.' ii. 24) he mentions "the Proverbs and Wisdom," but it is not improbable that the true reading may be Παροιμίαι ἡ (or ἡ) καὶ Σοφία, since alike Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom are quoted by the Fathers as Σοφία or πανάρετος Σοφία. The Muratorian Canon, after mentioning the Epistle of Jude, and the third and fourth Epistles of John, adds the perplexing clause, "*Et Sapientia Salomonis ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta.*" The mention of the Book of Wisdom among early Christian writings is so strange that Credner, Wieseler, Grimm, and others suggest that the true reading was not *et* but *ut*, and that the writer's meaning was that the Epistles referred to were pseudepigraphical, "just as the Book of Wisdom was composed in honour of Solomon by his friends," *i.e.* by those who admired the Book of Proverbs (comp. Prov. xxv. 1). Many of the later Fathers quote the Book of Wisdom, call its writer "a prophet," and assign to it the authority of an inspired writing; but in the more critical Fathers we generally find some caution as to its title, such as τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Σαλωμῶντος σοφίαν (Orig. c. Cels. v. 29). Among Roman Catholics and in the Greek Church it is still regarded as canonical, in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent and the Synod of Jerusalem (1672). Protestant writers, while for the most part they attribute to it a high value, refuse (with Luther) to accept it as either canonical or inspired,[1] but only read it with the other Apocryphal books, "for example of life and instruction of manners," without applying them to establish any doctrine (Art. vi.).

VI. The Text.

The chief Uncial manuscripts of the book are the Sinaitic (ℵ); the Vatican (B); the Alexandrine (A); the fragments of the Codex Ephraemi (C), and the Codex Venetus (*Ven.*). The translators of the A. V. chiefly follow the Complutensian edition of 1517.[2]

VII. Versions.

The chief versions are the Itala, which St. Jerome admitted into the Vulgate without any important alterations, with the remark, "*in eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . calamo temperavi; tantummodo canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans;*" the Syriac, which is sometimes little more than a paraphrase; the Arabic; and the Armenian.

VIII. Commentaries.

The Homilies of Ambrose and Augustine on this book are lost. The first extant commentary is that by Rabanus Maurus. Other mediæval commentaries are those of Walafrid Strabo, Anselm, Nicolas of Lyra, Hugo of St. Cher, Bonaventura, and Holkot. In the period suc-

[1] In the Homilies, however, it is cited as "the word of God," and even "the infallible and undeceivable word of God."

[2] Many valuable suggestions respecting the text may be found in Reusch, 'Observationes Crit. in Lib. Sap.' 1861. Other books on the subject are Thilo, 'Specimen exercitt. crit. in Sap. Sol.' 1825, and the collation of various readings in Holmes and Parsons' ed. of the LXX.

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ceeding the Reformation, some of the best (both Romanist and Protestant) are those of Nannius (1552); Lorinus (1607); Corn. à Lapide (1638); Grotius in 'Critici Sacri;' Strigel (1575); Calmet (1724); Houbigant (1777); Kleuker (1785); Hasse (1785); Nachtigal (1799); Bauermeister (1828); J. A. Schmid (1858); and Gutberlet (1874). By far the best and most useful commentary is that of C. L. Wilibald Grimm in the 'Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch' of Fritzsche and Grimm (6th ed. 1860). To this excellent commentary, which may be regarded as superseding the comment published by the author in 1837, I have been more largely indebted than to those of any other writers.

In English we have the edition of R. Arnald (1744–1752), often printed with the commentary of Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby; the second volume of the Annotated Bible of the Rev. J. H. Blunt; the commentary of the Rev. W. R. Churton in the 'Commentary on the Old Testament' published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and his notes in the volume edited by him under the title of 'The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures;' the American edition of the Apocrypha, with notes by Dr. E. C. Bissell (published uniformly with Lange's Commentary by Messrs. Clark, Edinburgh, 1880); and the Book of Wisdom, with Introduction, &c. by the Rev. W. J. Deane, published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881, which will be found very useful, and abounds in valuable quotations.

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THE

WISDOM OF SOLOMON.[1]

CHAPTER I.

2 *To whom God sheweth himself,* 4 *and wisdom herself.* 6 *An evil speaker cannot lie hid.* 12 *We procure our own destruction:* 13 *for God created not death.*

[a] LOVE righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth: think of the Lord with a good (heart,) and in simplicity of heart seek him. [a] Deut. 1 16. 1 Kings 3. 3. Ps. 45. 7. Isai. 56. 1.

[1] This title is found in ℵ [Σοφία Σαλομῶντος]; in B [Σοφία Σαλωμών]; in A [Σοφία Σολομῶντος]. In the Syriac version it is called 'The Book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon;' in the Arabic, 'The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, the son of David;' in the Vulgate, 'Liber Sapientiae.' Epiphanius and Athanasius call it πανάρετος Σοφία, a name which it shared with Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote from it under the title of ἡ θεία Σοφία. Jerome's distinct assertion that the book is pseudepigraphical led to the omission of Solomon's name. Augustine inaccurately calls it 'Liber Christianae Sapientiae.'

I.–V. Wisdom the Means of attaining to a blessed Immortality.

CHAPTER I.

Wisdom only attainable by moral purity, whereas sin leads to punishment and death.

1–5. Wisdom is to be sought in the knowledge of God, and is only attainable through sincerity.

1. *Love . . . think of . . . seek.*] The three verbs are in the aorist in the Greek. The present tense would have implied the necessity for continuous effort; the aorist expresses the emphatic, unconditional nature of the duty as requiring immediate and concentrated effort. It is interesting to observe that, in the Sixth Heaven of the 'Paradiso,' Dante sees the blessed spirits arranging themselves in letters which form this verse, "*Diligite justitiam vos qui judicatis terram.*"

righteousness.] The word does not mean ordinary justice; nor that accurate ceremonial conformity (ἀκρίβεια, Acts xxii. 3) which our Lord described as "the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees" (Matt. v. 20); nor of course does it connote any of the Pauline and theological senses of "justification." It means moral integrity, sincere allegiance to the will of God shewn by obedience to His laws. Comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 4: "He that ruleth over men must be just, *ruling in the fear of the Lord.*" This kind of "justice" (צְדָקָה) and "uprightness" (יֹשֶׁר) was the special ideal of the Jew under the Old Testament dispensation: Gen. vi. 9, xviii. 19; Eccles. vii. 20; Is. xxvi. 7; Ezek. xviii. 5; Hos. xiv. 9; Mic. vi. 8; Matt. i. 19, &c.

ye that be judges of the earth.] Another division of the book begins similarly, at the 6th chapter, with an appeal to kings. The word "judges" is used as a synonym for "rulers" (comp. Ecclus. x. 1, 2), because to "sit in the gate" and decide the disputes of his people was the chief function of an Oriental governor (vi. 4, ix. 7; Ps. cxxvii. 5; Prov. xxii. 2; Dan. ii. 49; Am. v. 15, &c.). We must not suppose with Luther that the writer had kings and rulers especially — still less that he had them exclusively—in view. It is clear from chapter ii., and from chapters x., xi., as well as throughout the book, that the precepts are intended to be general, while they had *immediate* reference to apostatising Jews. The address to kings and rulers is intended to give weight to the truths enunciated. It is a part of the artistic stateliness (σεμνότης) of the style.

think of the Lord with a good (heart).] Rather, "think concerning the Lord with integrity." Gr. ἐν ἀγαθότητι; Vulg., *in bonitate.* The meaning is not "think noble thoughts of God,"—the opposite to that, "thinking not well of God," to which the writer alludes in xiv. 30 (comp. Ps. l. 21); for that would have been expressed by some such adverb as ὀρθῶς. The context shews that the meaning is, "Let your thoughts of God be accompanied by an upright life." The word ἀγαθότης does not occur in the N. T., nor in the LXX., but is found again in vii. 26, xii. 22; Ecclus. xlv. 23. Like ἀγαθωσύνη, it means "goodness" (Rom. xv. 14), without which no man can see or know God (xv. 3; Heb. xii. 14).

in simplicity of heart.] That is, with no reservations; with no attempt to face both

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2 For he will be found of them that tempt him not; and sheweth himself unto such as do not [b] distrust him.

3 For froward thoughts separate from God: and his power, when it is tried, ‖ reproveth the unwise.

4 For into a malicious soul wisdom

Deut. 4. 9. Chron. 5. 4.

‖ Or, *maketh manifest.*

ways, or to serve two masters (1 Chron. xxix. 17; Eph. vi. 5; 1 Macc. ii. 37). The opposite of this simplicity is "the double heart" (Ps. xii. 2; Jas. i. 8, iv. 8). For the necessity of this simplicity of heart, see Acts ii. 46 (ἀφελότης); 2 Cor. xi. 3.

seek him.] In Scripture we are constantly bidden to "seek" God; that is, to know His will, and to lose ourselves in Him by living to His glory (Deut. iv. 29; Heb. xi. 6). "There is nothing better," says Philo, "than to seek the true God, even if the finding Him should escape human capacity" ('De Monarch.' 5). "Our nature, in order to seek and find Him," says Origen, "needs the aid of Him who is sought."

This first verse, as is often the case in ancient writings, strikes the key-note of the whole book. It will be observed that this book, in which Solomon is represented as speaking as a youth (viii. 10), begins with the exhortation with which Ecclesiastes ends (Eccl. xii. 13). See Ps. cxi. 10. "Dès le début l'auteur fait ressortir le grand principe de la philosophie juive: l'inséparabilité de la sagesse et de la vertu" (Reuss).

2. *he will be found.*] The same is said of Wisdom in vi. 12, 16; Prov. viii. 17.

of them that tempt him not.] God is tempted in many ways, but especially by doubting of His power and goodness (Deut. xxxiii. 8, &c.); or by the practical defiance of a godless life (Deut. vi. 16; Acts v. 9). The latter is here intended; for "those that tempt Him not" is the antithesis to "with a good heart," of the previous verse.

sheweth himself.] Compare Ex. xxxiii. 18–23, of which the spiritual counterpart in the N. T. may be seen in John xiv. 21.

unto such as do not distrust him.] Namely, unto "the simple-hearted," who take Him at His word. The verb ἀπιστεῖν only occurs seven times in the N. T., and not once in the LXX. In the Apocrypha it is only found in this book and in 2 Macc. viii. 13. The Alex. MS. reads μὴ πιστεύουσιν, "those who do not trust Him." If this be the right reading, the "sheweth Himself" must be understood to mean "as *an enemy*" (comp. Mk. xvi. 16).

These two verses in the original illustrate the highly-polished style of the writer. They are marked by an elaborate symmetry, full of rhythmical assonances artificially arranged:

Ἀγαπήσατε . . . φρονήσατε . . . ζητήσατε,
ἀγαθότητι . . . ἁπλότητι.

In the second verse εὑρίσκεται, by the sort of introverted parallelism which the Greeks called *Chiasmos*, corresponds to the last verb ζητήσατε, and ἐμφανίζεται to φρονήσατε. The participles μὴ πειράζουσιν and μὴ ἀπιστοῦσιν are parallel respectively to ἐν ἀγαθότητι and ἐν ἁπλότητι. Rhythmical arrangements are found in some of our Lord's discourses, and occasionally in St. Paul, and frequently in St. John, St. James, and St. Jude; but in other respects the elaborate artificiality of the style finds no parallel in the N. T. except in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

3–5. The thoughts of *vv.* 1 and 2 are developed in these verses. Moral perversity separates men from God (3); wisdom and sin cannot dwell together (4) because their natures are mutually repellent (5).

3. *froward thoughts.*] Rather, "perverse reasonings." The word σκολιὸς means "crooked" (xvi. 5), and the nature of these "crooked thoughts" is illustrated in ii. 1–20. The expression "a crooked generation" occurs in Deut. xxxii. 5, Acts ii. 40, Phil. ii. 15; and "the crooked" are contrasted with "the good and reasonable" in 1 Pet. ii. 18. The word λογισμοὶ almost always has a bad sense, as in xi. 16; Prov. vi. 18; 2 Cor. x. 4.

his power, when it is tried.] When God's power is *put to the test* by those who "tempt" Him (comp. Heb. iii. 9), it convicts (or perhaps "punishes") the foolish. The word ἐλέγχει, rendered "reproveth," sometimes involves the idea of punishment: 2 Sam. vii. 14; Job xiii. 10. The punishment here implied is the penal blindness of impious folly.

the unwise.] The word (ἄφρων) occurs in the Septuagint version of the Proverbs to express blasphemy, scorn, and impurity (Prov. i. 22; vii. 7; xxiv. 30, &c.). For its use in the N. T., see Luke xi. 40, xii. 20; Eph. v. 17.

4. *into a malicious soul.*] The word rendered "malicious" (κακότεχνος) means "evil-devising." It does not occur in the N. T., nor in the LXX. It recurs in xv. 4 and 4 Macc. vi. 25. It was one of the many poetic words derived from Homer by the Alexandrian dialect. An "ill-devising" soul is one which is "an inventor of evil things" (Rom. i. 30).

wisdom.] In a quotation of this verse in a letter of Macarius "discipline" (παιδεία) is substituted for "wisdom"—probably by a slip of memory. For the full meaning of the word "wisdom," see the Introduction. As a condition to which man can attain it is a

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shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.

5 [c] For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and [‖] will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in.

6 For wisdom is a [d] loving spirit;

[c] Jer. 4. 22.

[‖] Or, *is rebuked, or, sheweth itself.*

[d] Gal. 5. 22.

combination of the highest mental excellence (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' c. vi. 7)—which leads to "a knowledge of things divine and human and of their causes" (Philo, 'Congr. erud. grat.' 14)—together with the issue of such knowledge in a holy life.

shall not enter.] The future is used in the "gnomic" sense, which is often attached to the aorist in Greek, and to the present in English. It expresses a normal fact.

that is subject unto sin.] The original is much more forcible, "that is sunk in sin;" literally, "impawned to sin" (*καταχρέῳ*. Vulg. *subdito*, for which a better rendering would have been *oppignerato*). The word does not occur either in the LXX. or the N. T., but the notion which it expresses is found in Rom. vii. 14, "sold under sin," and in Christ's parable of the unforgiving debtor. This phrase must be regarded as one of those "lightning glances of the author's mind" which, as Ewald says, frequently illuminate these earlier chapters.

It will be observed that in this verse "soul" and "body" make up the totality of our being, as in 2 Macc. vii. 37. The Platonic and Philonian trichotomy of human nature into body, soul, and spirit, which is (in a deeper and higher sense) sanctioned in the N. T. (1 Thess. v. 23), is not formally recognised in this book (ix. 15; xvi. 14), which makes no perceptible difference between "spirit" and "soul." The "holy spirit" is identical with some aspects of "wisdom," as in the next verse. Neither here nor elsewhere does the writer adopt the notion that the body is *inherently* vile and base (see viii. 19, 20). The general idea of the verse is that of Jer. iv. 14; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15: "The dove cannot live in unclean places."

5. *the holy spirit of discipline.*] The article is not expressed in the original, because the phrase "holy spirit" is almost personal. It occurs first here and in ix. 17, though the LXX. have "spirit of holiness" (Ps. li. 13). "Discipline" here means the method whereby God trains souls by merciful correction; teaching them—sometimes even by suffering them to fall into evil—that good is best (Prov. iii. 11; Heb. xii. 5–11).

deceit.] Alike self-deceit and hypocrisy (1 Pet. ii. 1; Rev. xiv. 5). "Blessed is the man . . . in whose spirit there is no guile" (Ps. xxxii. 2).

from thoughts that are without understanding.] See the note on *v.* 3. In the Book of Enoch this view is still further developed, and Wisdom becomes a sort of Astraea. "Wisdom came to dwell among the children of men, and found no dwelling-place. Then returned Wisdom back to her place, and took her seat among the angels" (Enoch xlii. 2).

will not abide.] The verb used (*ἐλεγχθήσεται*, Vulg. *corripietur*) is the same as in *v.* 3, and literally means "will be *convicted*" or "*shamed*." The holy spirit of wisdom will blush or be grieved (Eph. iv. 30) at the presence of moral impurity, and will, as a consequence, depart (Gen. vi. 3, LXX.). Hence the A. V. makes the verb a synonym of the two previous verbs, a rendering which practically expresses the sense.

The moral lesson that impiety and impurity are fatal to the knowledge of God is common to all ages and nations. That which is spiritual can only be spiritually discerned, and the spiritual faculties, if they are left unexercised, perish of atrophy.

"Corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animam quoque praegravat una,
Atque affigit humi divinae particulam aurae."
HOR. *Sat.* ii. 2, 77–79.

"The soul of man should be as a glittering mirror. When there is rust on the mirror, the face is not reflected by it. So when there is sin in the man, such a man cannot see God" (Theophylact, 'ad Autol.' i. 2). Comp. Ps. cxi. 10; Ecclus. xv. 1: and in the N. T. John vii. 17; Rom. i. 19–26.

6–11. Wisdom cannot tolerate the impious words which betray an evil heart.

6. *For.*] (The word introduces the reason why these results ensue.) Wisdom loves man, and therefore *withdraws* from him (*v.* 5) when he sells himself to iniquity. His words reveal his character, and Wisdom leaves him to be punished by his God.

wisdom is a loving spirit.] Another reading (A) adopted by the Vulgate is *σοφίας* (*Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiae*). "The fruit of the Spirit is Love" (Gal. v. 20). The word *φιλάνθρωπον* means "loving mankind," and here retains its true sense, though it sometimes merely means gentle. The adjective, "philanthropic," does not occur in the N. T., but the substantive and adverb are found in Acts xxvii. 3, xxviii. 2; Tit. iii. 4. The love of Wisdom for mankind (vii. 23) involves her hatred of sin. This "humanitarian" conception of "wisdom" among the Jews is beautifully illustrated in the Book of Proverbs.

and will not acquit a blasphemer of his ‖ words: for God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue.

‖ Or, *lips.*

7 For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world: and that which ‖ containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice.

‖ Or, *upholdeth.*

and.] The conjunction, here as often, has a cumulative and causative sense, "and therefore."

will not acquit.] The word ἀθῳώσῃ, from which the unclassical verb of the original (ἀθῳώσει) is derived, means properly "scatheless," but comes to mean "innocent," as in Matt. xxvii. 4, 24; Jer. xviii. 23, xlix. 11.

a blasphemer.] The word originally means "one who speaks injuriously or calumniously," but here, as in the N. T., is used for one who speaks against God.

of his words.] Literally, "for his *lips*." Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 21; Heb. xiii. 15, and the curious expression "the calves of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2). The use of "lips" for "words" is due to the pictorial and concrete character of the Semitic idiom.

of his reins.] The insight of God begins with the deepest springs of the thoughts. He witnesses a man's inmost emotions, watches his heart, hears his tongue. See Heb. iv. 13. The "reins" are regarded as the ultimate sources of desire (ἐντεῦθεν κινοῦνται τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οἱ λογισμοί, Theodoret on Ps. vii. 9; *ap.* Suid. Rev. ii. 23). The Engl. word comes from the Lat. *renes*.

a true beholder.] The word ἐπίσκοπος is here used in its first sense of "inspector," "overseer" (Job xx. 29). The word "true" means "genuine," "undoubted" (comp. xii. 27).

7. *For.*] Rather, "because" (Vulg. *quoniam*). The omnipresence of God is given as the reason why sin cannot escape His cognizance.

the Spirit of the Lord.] The phrase is found even in Gen. i. 2, but of course it was not understood in all its true significance till after Pentecost.

filleth.] Rather, "hath filled;" the perfect implies that which *has been* and *still is*. So Philo ('Quis rer. div. haer.,' § 38) speaks of the Logos as "having utterly filled the totality of being," and says, "God hath filled all things, and hath penetrated all things, and hath left nothing empty or void of Himself" ('Leg. Allegg.' iii. 2). He frequently recurs to this thought. From vii. 24, viii. 1, it is clear that when the writer is speaking of wisdom in its highest sense, and as personified, he identifies it with the Spirit of God. But he must not be accused of Pantheism, for he is not describing any mere *anima mundi*, but "the fulness of Him who filled all things with all things," Eph. i. 23. The same thought occurs in Jer. xxiii. 24; Ps. xxxix. 7. Doubtless a Stoic might have used the same words, but their connotation would have been different. Compare the well-known lines of Philemon:

ὁ δὲ παρὼν ἁπανταχοῦ
πάντ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἶδε πανταχοῦ παρών:

and Pope's—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That changed through all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth as in the etherial flame;
* * * *
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

the world.] Literally, "the inhabited world," but often used in a general sense, as in Heb. ii. 5. The word does not occur in the LXX.

that which containeth all things.] The word "containeth" (marg., upholdeth) is here used in the old sense of "holds together," and is derived from the Vulg. *hoc quod continet*. It means "that which holds the universe together" (τὸ συνέχον). The phrase is borrowed by the Alexandrians from the Greek philosophers. Aristotle ('de Mundo,' 6) spoke of ἡ τῶν ὅλων συνεκτικὴ αἰτία. The notion of the Divine power, like a band or chain (δεσμός), keeping the universe from falling to pieces, is repeated by Xenophon, Cicero, and Philo ('De Profug.,' 20; 'Quis rer. div. haer.,' 38). This phrase does not occur either in the Old or New Testament; but (see last note) we find the essential thought in Eph. i. 23, and in Col. i. 17, "In Him all things cohere (συνέστηκεν);" and in Heb. i. 3, where Christ "upbears (φέρων) all things by the utterance of His power." Comp. Ecclus. xliii. 26, "By His word all things consist" (σύγκειται). The same thought lies in the Latin "*machina*" or "*fabrica mundi*," adopted by our own poets:

"Thine *this universal frame*,
Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!" *Par. Lost*, v. 154.

"The spangled heavens, *a shining frame*,
Their great Original proclaim."
ADDISON.

hath knowledge of the voice.] Just as every voice is a breath of articulated air which vibrates through space, so every voice causes, as it were, a *moral* vibration in the spirit which is circumfused through all things. It wakes an echo which "rolls from soul to soul, and lives for ever and for ever."

8 Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid: neither shall vengeance, when it punisheth, pass by him.

9 For inquisition shall be made into the counsels of the ungodly: and the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord for the ‖ manifestation of his wicked deeds.

10 For the ear of jealousy heareth all things: and the noise of murmurings is not hid.

11 Therefore beware of murmuring, which is unprofitable; and refrain your tongue from backbiting: for there is no word so secret, that shall go for nought: and the mouth that ‖ belieth slayeth the soul.

12 Seek not death in the error of your life: and pull not upon your-

Or, reproving.

‖ Or, slandereth.

8. *Therefore.*] Because of God's omnipresent omniscience.

vengeance.] Lit., "Justice," personified, as in xi. 20, and Acts xxviii. 4.

when it punisheth.] The verb (ἐλέγχουσα) is the same as in *vv.* 3, 5. Comp. Heb. xii. 5.

pass by him.] The same verb (παροδεύσῃ) as in ii. 7, v. 14. It does not occur in the N. T., and in the LXX. only in Ezek. xxxvi. 34. Euripides has the same thought:

> οὔ τοι προσελθοῦσ' ἡ Δίκη σε πώποτε
> παίσει πρὸς ἦπαρ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων βροτῶν
> τιν' ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ σῖγα καὶ βαρεῖ ποδὶ
> στείχουσα μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς ἀεὶ βροτῶν.

9. *inquisition shall be made.*] Lit., "there shall be an enquiry." The word is used by Shakspeare in 'As you Like It,' ii. 2, and in Ps. ix. 12; Deut. xix. 18.

into the counsels.] In a bad sense, as in Ps. ix. 23. The word (διαβούλιον) is unclassical, and does not occur in the N. T.

the sound of his words.] Lit., "the hearing of his words" (Vulg., *sermonum . . . auditio*).

the manifestation.] The word ἔλεγχον might have this sense, but it is better to render it "reproving" (as in marg.) or "punishment" (Vulg., *correptionem*), as in *v.* 8.

10. *the ear of jealousy.*] This is the common Hebrew adjectival genitive, like "judge of injustice," "steward of injustice," "son of destruction," "hearer of forgetfulness," "prayer of faith," &c. God is called "jealous" in an anthropopathic sense, sometimes to describe His care and love for His people (Is. ix. 6), and sometimes to indicate that, because of this love, He will punish (Nah. i. 2), and that His Law is surrounded by awful sanctions (Ex. xx. 5, &c.). Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 2.

the noise of murmurings.] There is an intentional assonance between οὖς and θροῦς (*Lauschen* and *Rauschen*). On the sin of "murmuring," see Ex. xvi. 7; 1 Pet. iv. 9. It is evident that the Alexandrian Jews, surrounded by heathens who hated them and placed in sorely trying circumstances, were tempted to unbelief and murmuring just as their fathers had been. To them the oppression of God's chosen people, who were faithful to God's own law, seemed an almost insoluble problem, and the eschatological truths by which alone it was explicable were as yet but partially known.

11. *which is unprofitable.*] The writer was evidently familiar with Greek figures of speech. He clearly regarded murmuring as *sinful*, and not merely as *useless*. The word must therefore be regarded as a *litotes*, i.e. the use of a mild word in order to suggest to the reader the mental substitution of a much stronger word, as when Virgil calls Busiris, the cannibal King of Egypt, "unpraised"—"*illaudati Busiridis aras.*" Compare the use of the same word (ἀνωφελής) in Tit. iii. 9; "inconvenient" (οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) in Eph. v. 4; and "useless" (ἄχρηστον) in Philem. 11.

backbiting.] Not, as in 2 Cor. xii. 20, 1 Pet. ii. 1, evil speaking of men behind their backs (*detractio*), but secret disparagement of God. The verb καταλαλεῖν is found in the LXX., Numb. xxi. 5, &c.

for there is no word so secret, that shall go for nought.] Rather, "because a secret utterance shall not go forth without result," *i.e.* without meeting with due punishment.

that belieth.] That utters lies against God.

slayeth the soul.] The allusion is not to annihilation, but to moral and spiritual death. The immortality of the wicked is only concentrated death. On the eschatology of this book, see the Introduction.

12–16. Souls only die by suicide. The death of souls is self-induced.

12. *Seek not death in the error of your life.*] Rather, "Strive not after death," "Be not eager for death." Vulg., *Nolite zelare mortem.* Do not so "zealously affect" death as to drag it upon yourselves (15). It is a very noble and profound exhortation, suggested by Prov. viii. 36; xxi. 6. A life that "wanders" into false directions finds that they all end in death of the spirit. In seeking them the soul *really* seeks death. For the phrase ζηλοῦν, comp. Acts xxi. 20, xxii. 3; 1 Cor. xiv. 12. The Rabbinic

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Deut. 4. 24. selves [e] destruction with the works of your hands.

Ezek. 3. 32. & 3. 11. 13 For God made not death: [f] neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living.

14 For he created all things, that Gen. 1. 1. they might have their being: [g] and the generations of the world were healthful; and there is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth:

15 (For righteousness is immortal:)

16 But ungodly men with their works and words called *it* to them: for when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made a covenant with

exegesis extracted mysteries from the repetition of words in Scripture; and from the common Hebrew phrase "to *die* the *death*," Philo ('Leg. Allegg.,' i. 33) infers that there is a death of the soul as well as of the body.

pull not upon yourselves destruction.] The metaphor is from pulling down a building on our heads. A man who drags down upon himself such destruction by moral perversity, has "to sit in the ruins of his life."

with the works of your hands.] Evil *actions*, even more surely than evil words, precipitate the ruin which follows the abandonment of a soul by Wisdom.

13. *For God made not death.*] See ii. 24. The conception of the writer in this paragraph is very vague, but he hazards the general assertion that man by his sin, and not God, is the cause and source of all physical, no less than of all moral evil. He had learnt from the O. T. (Ezek. xviii. 32; Hos. xiii. 9) that *souls* only perish by being self-destroyed; but he expands the thought in a manner not found in Scripture, and surrounded by difficulties.

neither hath he pleasure.] See xi. 24; Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

14. *that they might have their being.*] The writer seems to regard all the evil and dangerous elements in created things as due to a distortion of their true functions; as constituting, not their στάσις but their ἀπόστασις, not their true life but a phase of death. There seems to be a similar thought in Rom. viii. 20, 21, where St. Paul speaks of the creation as having been subjected to "the bondage of corruption, not willingly, but because of Him who subjected it in hope."

and the generations of the world were healthful.] Rather, "the creatures" (the created *genera* and *species*) "of the world are healthful." The word γενέσεις means "productions," as does also the Latin *nationes*, though the Vulgate translation here (*sanabiles fecit nationes terrae*) is often misunderstood. Hence God is called γενεσιάρχης, γενεσιουργός, xiii. 3, 5. It is only *per accidens* (according to the author) that created things are otherwise than salutary. His view was partly founded on Gen. i. 31; iii. 17, 18.

there is no poison of destruction in them.] The word φάρμακον in the original is not always used in a bad sense; hence the descriptive genitive is attached to it to define its meaning (Vulg. *medicamentum exterminii*). The poisonousness and destructiveness of creatures are here declared to be not *inherent*, but only relative to fallen man.

nor the kingdom of death upon the earth.] Rather, perhaps, "nor is there a palace of Hades upon earth," though the other version is also tenable. There is "a prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2), and there are "world-rulers of this darkness" (Eph. vi. 12), and Satan may even be called "the king of this world" (John xvi. 11); but death and Satan are only partial and temporary usurpers (ii. 24). Βασίλειον is used for "a palace" in Prov. xviii. 19; Luke vii. 25 (*plur.*).

15. (*For righteousness is immortal.*)] There is no parenthesis. "Righteousness" is here almost synonymous with "wisdom," and "wisdom" is called in Prov. iii. 18, "a tree of life." With this thought compare the saying of Antisthenes, βουλομένους ἀθανάτους εἶναι δεῖ ζῆν εὐσεβῶς. There is no sufficient authority for the addition of the clause "but injustice is an inheritance of death" (*injustitia autem mortis acquisitio est*), which is found in some MSS. of the Vulgate. It may, however, be genuine, since it completes the parallelism; agrees with the number of lines in the Stichometry of Nicephorus; and supplies a subject for the "it" (αὐτὸν) in the next verse.

16. *with their works.*] Lit. "with their hands," which some understand to mean that men *beckoned* to death; but, as Philo says, "hands are a symbol of actions."

called it to them.] If the added clause be spurious, "it" (αὐτὸν) must still refer to "death" (θάνατον), involved in the ἀθάνατος of the previous verse.

when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought.] Rather, "regarding it as a friend, they melted away" (Vulg. *defluxerunt*). If ἐτάκησαν meant "they consumed to nought," the end of the verse would be somewhat of an anti-climax. Grimm points out that the verb might mean "they died

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it, because they are worthy to take part with it.

CHAPTER II.

1 *The wicked think this life short,* 5 *and of no other after this:* 6 *therefore they will take their pleasure in this,* 10 *and conspire against the just.* 21 *What that is which doth blind them.*

FOR the *ungodly* said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, [a] Our life is short and tedious, [b] and in the death of a man there is no remedy: neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave.

2 For we are born at all adventure: and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been: for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and a little spark in the moving of our heart:

[a] Job 7. 1.
[b] Matt. 22. 23. 1 Cor. 15. 32.

with love for it"—a strong expression, which suits the bitter sarcasm of the passage. The aorists are *gnomic,* i.e. they represent a normal state of things.

and made a covenant with it.] This is borrowed from Psalm xxviii. 15. Comp. Ecclus. xiv. 12, "the covenant of the grave."

they are worthy to take part with it.] They deserve "to be of death's lot" (comp. ii. 24), and not "in the hands of the Lord," iii. 1.

CHAPTER II.

OPINIONS AND PRACTICES OF THE GODLESS.

1–5. They deplore the shortness of life.

1. *For the ungodly.*] The nominative is supplied from the last verse. The "*for*" gives the reason why they are "worthy to take part with death," since they look on death as the final conqueror.

reasoning with themselves, but not aright.] Rather, "*they said among themselves,* reasoning not rightly." "Themselves" is used for "one another." Both in the classics and in Hellenistic Greek reciprocity is often extended into identity. "*Not aright,*" an instance of *litotes* (see note on i. 11) for "perversely" (σκολιῶς; comp. i. 3).

tedious.] Rather, "painful," "grievous." The word λυπηρὸς is not found in the N. T., but occurs in Prov. xiv. 10, &c. It is a commonplace that the days of man's life are, for the most part, "few and evil" (Gen. xlvii. 9), and there is probably no truth for which a greater *consensus* of opinion could be adduced from the testimony of all nations and all ages.

in the death of a man there is no remedy.] At the hour of death no healing (ἴασις, Vulg. *refrigerium*) will avail. The expression resembles that of Shirley:

"There is no armour against fate."

neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave.] 1 Cor. xv. 32. This rendering is adopted by the Vulg., Syr., Arabic, and by many commentators. Ἀναλύειν may mean "to return," as in 2 Macc. xiv. 44, Luke xii. 36 (πότε ἀναλύσει ἐκ τῶν γάμων), Judith xiii. 1 (ἐσπούδασαν ἀναλύειν), 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c. The article in the Greek is then *generic,* as our version rightly renders it ("*any* man"). The clause might, however, be translated, "nor was any *deliverer* from Hades known," for in xvi. 14 ἀναλύει means "recalls" or "brings back." The thought will then resemble that of Psalm xlix. 8, 9. These materialists and freethinkers might be supposed to deride all stories of raising the dead, whether in the O. T. or in mythology (Alcestes, &c.). On their lips—since they deny man's immortality—"Hades" can only mean "the state of death," "the grave" (Sheol).

2. *at all adventure.*] αὐτοσχεδίως, not as in the Vulg. *ex nihilo,* but "anyhow," "by chance," *temere et fortuito* (comp. Cic. 'Tusc. Disp.' i. 49). There is a similar thought in Eccles. iii. 19.

as though we had never been.] The expression is borrowed from Obad. 16. Compare

"Quaeris quo jaceas post obitum loco?
Quo *non nata* jacent."—SENECA.

in our nostrils.] Gen. ii. 7; Job xxvii. 3.

and a little spark in the moving of our heart.] The A.V. here follows the very inferior reading of ὄλιγος (C) for ὁ λόγος. It is clear that ὄλιγος, though found in some quotations of the verse, is a clerical blunder. Render "and our reason (ὁ λόγος) is a spark (produced) in the beating of our heart." We have here a curious piece of ancient materialism, founded on the Heraclitean guess that all things originated from fire, and on Zeno's opinion that the soul was "a fiery particle." Just as modern materialists look on thought as a material consequence of certain changes in the molecules of the grey substance of the brain, so these ancient freethinkers supposed that the beating of the heart produced thought in the form of gleams or sparks from the fire-substance of the soul. "Breath" and "thought"

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[c] Eccles. 3. 20.

[‖] Or, *moist.*

3 Which being extinguished, [c] our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the [‖] soft air,

4 And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist, that is driven away with the beams of the sun, and [‖] overcome with the heat thereof.

[‖] Or, *oppressed.*

5 [d] For our time is a very shadow that passeth away; and after our end there is no returning: for [‖] it is fast sealed, so that no man cometh again.

[d] 1 Chron. 29. 15.

[‖] Or, *he.*

to them are merely the result of mechanism. So Xenophanes said, "It is the nature of limbs that thinketh in men," *i.e.* thought is merely a result of organism. Empedocles said:

Αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιον ἐστι νόημα.

3. *shall be turned into ashes.*] A similar metaphor is differently applied in Gray's line:

"E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires."

our spirit shall vanish.] Lit., "shall be diffused or dissipated" (Vulg., *diffundetur*). Here "the spirit" does but mean "the breath." So Homer compares the departing soul to smoke ('Il.' xxiii. 10). Compare Jas. iv. 14; Soph. 'Electr.,' 1158; Hor. 'Od.' iv. 7, 15.

"*Tenuis enim quaedam* moribundos deserit *aura*
Mista vapore; vapos porro trahit aëra secum."
LUCR. iii. 233-4.

"Ergo dissolvi quoque convenit omnem animaï
Naturam, *ceu fumus* in altas aëris auras."
Ibid. 456-7

as the soft air.] The word χαῦνος, Vulg. *mollis*, means rather "void," "thin," "empty," "yielding" (Milton's "buxom air;" Germ., *biegsam*).

4. *our name shall be forgotten in time.*] The fact that oblivion awaited them seems to have troubled the ancients, both Jews and Gentiles, more than it does ourselves. Hence arose the extreme desire, both of Jews and Gentiles, to leave behind them some monument or memorial of themselves (2 Sam. xviii. 18; Ps. cxii. 6; Prov. x. 7; Eccles. ix. 5; Ecclus. xxxvii. 26, &c.).

as the trace of a cloud.] Hos. xiii. 3; Job vii. 9. Ἴχνη properly means "footsteps."

as a mist.] This natural metaphor of evanescence is found also in Homer, ἠΰτ' ὀμίχλη. The phrase "*chased away* (διωχθεῖσα) by the beams of the sun" is used also by Latin poets:

"Nube solet *pulsâ* candidus ire dies."
Ov. *Trist.* ii. 142.

overcome.] Lit., "weighed down" (βαρυνθεῖσα). The metaphor is not very accurate; for no reasonable explanation can be offered of a mist "*weighed down*" by the sunbeams. The conjectural emendation μαρανθεῖσα is not happy. Gregory of Nazianzus, in an eloquent passage, unites the various scriptural and other metaphors for the shortness and instability of life. "We are a flitting dream, a phantom that cannot be grasped, the scud of a passing breeze, a ship that leaves no trace upon the sea, dust, a vapour, morning dew, a flower that now blossoms and now is done away" (comp. Jas. iv. 14; Job vii. 7; Ps. cii. 3, &c.).

5. *a very shadow.*] A frequent metaphor in Scripture (Job viii. 9; Ps. xxxix. 7; 1 Chron. xxix. 15; Eccles. viii. 13, &c.) and in the classics. "Man is the dream of a shadow," Pind. 'Pyth.,' viii. 133. Soph. 'Aj.,' 126:

ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν
εἴδωλ' ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν, ἢ κουφὴν σκίαν.

And in modern poets:

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of."
SHAKSPEARE, *Tempest*, iv. 1.

"Man is a torch borne in the wind; a dream
But of a shadow summed."
CHAPMAN, *Bussy d'Amboise*, i. 1.

"And what art thou? a shadow less than shade,
A nothing less than nothing."
YOUNG, *Night Thoughts*, v.

after our end there is no returning.] Vulg., *non est reversio finis nostri.* The word rendered "returning" is the rare word ἀναποδισμός, which means rather "*repetition*" than returning. It occurs neither in the LXX. nor the N. T. The A. V. expresses the same thought as that which follows: "No man cometh again;" but the real meaning is that "there is no recurrence of death." "It is appointed unto all men *once to die*," Heb. ix. 27. "No man can die twice."

The Arabic seems to have read ἐμποδισμός, "hindrance." The clause will then mean that "death is inevitable."

it is fast sealed.] The metaphor implies that which is sealed up and cannot be got at; hence that which is irrevocable. The *repetition* of death, and therefore of life, is impossible.

no man cometh again.] This thought is very common. Job vii. 9, "He that goeth down to the grave, shall come up no more." Ecclus. xxxviii. 21, "There is no turning again." Aesch. 'Eum.,' 638, ἅπαξ θανόντος

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6 Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things [e] that are present: and let us [||] speedily use the creatures like as in youth.

7 Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no flower of the spring pass by us:

8 Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered:

9 Let none of us go without his

[e] Isai. 22. 13. & 56. 12. 1 Cor. 15. 32.
[||] Or, *earnestly.*

οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις. Lucret. iii. 942, "*Nec quisquam expergitus exstat.*" Catull. v. 4, "*Nobis quum semel occidit brevis lux,*" &c. Compare, too, the well-known and exquisite lines of Moschus, ending

εὕδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήδυμον ὕπνον.

6–9. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Sensuality is the natural result of unbelief in all average men.

6. *let us enjoy.*] In these verses the writer embodies the dregs of Epicurean theory. Epicurus himself taught a pure morality; but by making pleasure the *summum bonum*, he shifted the true centre of gravity of the moral system, even though he personally insisted that pleasure could only be found in the path of virtue. This paragraph represents the degraded sensualism of the followers of Antisthenes, the Hedonists, and Cyrenaic philosophers. It represents the natural result of false views:

"Unhallowed actions, planted like a crown
Upon the insolent aspiring brow
Of spurious notions."

Comp. Eccles. ii. 24, iii. 12, ix. 7, xi. 9; Is. xxii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 32. So when the ivory skeleton is carried round at Trimalchio's feast in Petronius, the guests exclaim:

"Heu! heu! nos miseros! quam totus homo nihil est!
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene."

We find the same thought in Luke xii. 19. The inscription, "Eat, drink, enjoy thyself: the rest is nothing," was carved on the pedestal of the statue of Sardanapalus, at Anchialus.

"Live while you live, the Epicure would say,
And seize the pleasures of the present day."

The thought is often expressed by Euripides ('Alc.' 788), Anacreon, the Greek Anthologists, Horace, &c.

the good things that are present.] Rather, perhaps, "the things that are really good," apart from the imaginary joys of virtue, which these freethinkers represent as mere hallucinations.

use the creatures.] Rather, "the creation" (κτίσει), everything around us. Another reading is κτήσει, "what we possess."

like as in youth.] When alone the keenest pleasure of life is possible. Eccles. xii. 1; Hor. 'Od.' ii. 3, 15.

7. *with costly wine.*] The joys of wine, with its intoxicating fumes, are invariably prominent in these Epicurean exhortations, from Omar Kayyam to Anacreon and Horace.

and ointments.] The verb πλησθῶμεν is here joined by *syllepsis* (a figure which most commentators confuse with zeugma) in different senses with οἴνου and with μύρων: "let us *fill ourselves* with costly wine, and *sate ourselves* with unguents." The custom of anointing the body with oil or with perfumes was common to the Jews (Amos vi. 6; Ps. xxiii. 5; Luke vii. 46), the Greeks (Anacr. xiii. 9), and the Romans (Hor. 'Od.' iv. 12, 18: "Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum," &c.).

flower of the spring.] Luther, *Maienblumen.* It is natural that the poets should dwell most on vernal flowers. The reading ἀέρος for ἔαρος, though ancient (Arab., "breath of flower;" Syr., "leaves of the air"?), yields no natural sense.

8. *Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered.*] This use of flower-garlands is Greek, not Jewish. We find in Judith xv. 13, "They put *a garland of olive* upon her." Compare

Ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἔτι ζῶ
μύρισον, ῥόδοις τε κρᾶτα
πύκασον,

with the reason assigned, namely:

Τροχὸς ἅρματος γὰρ οἷα
βίοτος τρέχει κυλισθείς.
ANACREON.

The same sentiment recurs frequently in the Epicurean Horace:

"Non desint epulis rosae
Nec vivax apium, neu *breve* lilium."
Od. i. 36. 15.

"Huc vinum et unguenta et *nimium breves*
Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae."
Od. ii. 3. 13.

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying,
And this same flower which smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying."—HERRICK.

"Our careless heads with roses crowned."
LOVELACE.

The Vulg. here adds, "let there be no meadow which our riot doth not traverse." Since λειμών, "meadow," is found in an old glossary as occurring in this book, the addition may represent a genuine clause of the Greek text, as described in the stichometry of Nicephorus. See p. 406.

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Or. *jollity.*

part of our ‖ voluptuousness: let us leave tokens of our joyfulness in every place: for this is our portion, and our lot is this.

10 Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged.

11 Let our strength be the law of justice: for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth.

12 Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings: he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education.

9. *of our voluptuousness.*] Neither this word, nor the marginal "*jollity*," exactly expresses the meaning of ἀγερωχίας. The word is not found in the LXX. or N.T., but in poetic and late Greek means "arrogance" (γεράοχος), and here implies "petulant dissoluteness," 2 Macc. ix. 6. The gloss gives as its equivalent ὑπερηφανίας.

this.] Namely, to make the best of mirth and sensual pleasure.

portion . . . lot.] The same words are joined in Acts viii. 21. They argue that man has nothing but the present; they are too much sunken in sensuality to realise the distant and the future. Compare the disgraceful epitaph of Sardanapalus:

τοσσ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔπιον καὶ ἐδήδοκα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος
τέρπν' ἐδάην τὰ δε πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κεῖνα λέλειπται.

10–20. Oppressive insolence, a second result of unbelief.

10. *Let us oppress the poor righteous man.*] Comp. Ezek. xviii. 12; James ii. 6. "The righteous man" is here hardly meant for irony. "Righteous" may indeed have been used as a term of opprobrium by these apostatising Jews, just as "saint" often has been among professing Christians. But it is clear from *v.* 12 that the writer is here thinking mainly of wealthy and heathenish Jews who oppress their countrymen, and not of heathen tyrants. The description of their conduct resembles that given of a similar class by St. James (ii. 6, 7), who uses this same verb καταδυναστεύω (xv. 14; xvii. 2). "Poor righteous man" (πένητα δίκαιον) therefore means the downtrodden *Israelite* (comp. *v.* 12) who refused to be a renegade.

the widow.] Widows and orphans were specially defenceless in ancient days: Is. x. 2; Mal. iii. 5; 2 Macc. iii. 10; Acts vi. 1; Jas. i. 27.

the ancient gray hairs of the aged.] The expression is pleonastic, as is so common in a style coloured by Semitic idioms. Some have imagined that there is an allusion to the barbarities practised on the ancient Eleazar (see 2 Macc. vi. 18–31), but in that crime the offenders were heathen soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes. The reader will find many analogies to the acts of oppression here described in Philo's 'Embassy to Gaius,' and his treatise against Flaccus. In the latter book he will read of Jews starved, insulted, trampled on, flogged, despoiled, and even burnt, by the Alexandrian populace, abetted or connived at by the Roman governor. Considering that Philo's own nephew, Tiberius Alexander, apostatised and became Procurator of Judea, it may be assumed that many other Jews had abandoned their nationality.

11. *Let our strength be the law of justice.*] The ambiguity of the expression led to the reading *injustitiae* in some MSS. of the Vulg.; but the meaning is, "With us let might be right." "Jus est *in armis*" (Senec. 'Herc. F.' 250).

is found to be nothing worth.] Lit., "is convicted of being a useless thing."

12. *let us lie in wait for the righteous.*] The language is coloured by Psalm x. 8–10. Secret plots are mingled with open violence.

because he is not for our turn.] The curious word δύσχρηστος (Vulg. *inutilis*), here happily rendered "not for our turn" (comp. Shakspeare's 'Taming of the Shrew,' ii. 1: "My daughter is not for your turn"), is only found in a strange divergence from the Hebrew text by the LXX. in Is. iii. 10. It means "unmanageable," "intractable."

clean contrary.] This is an old English expression for "quite contrary." It is found in Josh. iii. 17; Psalm lxxvii. 8, &c. Latimer and Ascham use this phrase.

the law.] This can only mean "the Mosaic law;" it shews that the writer is alluding to Jews. Of these Hellenising Jews we find a description in 1 Macc. i.; 2 Macc. iv. The worst type of them were men like the priests Menelas and Jason, and like Herod the Great. Philo also describes this class of persons as men who "violated the laws in accordance with which they were born and nurtured, abandoned all reverence for antiquity, and violently set aside the customs of their countrymen to which no just blame attaches." ('Vit. Mos.' i. 6.)

objecteth to our infamy.] The Greek verb simply means "reproaches us with."

the transgressings of our education.] "Sins

13 He professeth to have the knowledge of God: and [f] he calleth himself the child of the Lord.

14 He was made [g] to reprove our thoughts.

15 [h] He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion.

16 We are esteemed of him as

[f] Matt. 27. 43. John 19. 7
[g] John 7. 7. Ephes. 5. 13.
[h] Isai. 53. 3.

against our training." The genitive is objective. There is no reason therefore for the reading *ἀναιδείας*, "sins of our impudence," adopted by the Syriac for *παιδείας*, nor for the Alexandrine reading *παιδίας*, "of our youth" (=*νεότητος*, Psalm xxiv. 7), or *παιδιᾶς*, "of our jest." The loyal Jew is supposed to have upbraided these renegades with their defection from the holy lessons of their early days.

13. *He professeth.*] "Boastfully proclaims" (*edicit*, 1 Tim. ii. 10).

the knowledge of God.] The *γνῶσις* is here supposed to be *boastfully* claimed, as it was in later ages by the Gnostics.

the child of the Lord.] The word (*παῖδα*) might also mean "servant," as often in the LXX., where it is used to render *Ebed Jehovah*; but that it should here be rendered by "child" or "son" seems clear from *vv.* 16, 18.

It has been much disputed whether the many remarkable expressions of this passage have any connexion with the Gospel history or not. Among the Greek Fathers, Barnabas, Justin, Origen, Hippolytus, Eusebius; among the Latin Fathers, Tertullian (c. Marc. iii. 22), Cyprian ('Testimon.' ii. 14), Lactantius, Ambrose, Augustine, treat them as a direct prophecy. They are followed by Lorinus, Corn. à Lapide, Calmet, and many Romanist commentators; and by Protestants like Calovius. On the other hand, Grotius regarded them as a Christian interpolation ("quia locutiones quaedam magis Evangelium sapiunt quam vetustiora tempora"), and Noack considers the whole book to be of Christian origin. Undoubtedly the coincidences of thought and expression with passages in the N. T. are close and curious. Compare "*he calls himself a son of God*," and "*he boasts of God as his Father*," with John v. 18, xix. 7; Matt. xxvii. 43. &c.: "*he proclaims that he has knowledge of God*" with John xv. 15; Matt. xi. 27: "they erred *as to the mysteries of God*" with John xii. 40. Cornelius à Lapide goes so far as to see in the "*unseemly death*" (*v.* 20) an allusion to the Cross, and in the word *δυσχρηστὸς* an insulting reference to the name *Χρίστος*, which was often confounded with *χρηστὸς* (a heathen confusion which is perhaps even alluded to in 1 Pet. ii. 3). But these theories fall to the ground on the slightest examination. "The just man" is a general term for the faithful Israelite (iii. 1). It is used without difference of meaning alike in the singular and in the plural. The circumstances of the persecution and the methods of the persecutors are an ideal picture, suggested partly by the language of the O. T. (especially of Is. liii.), partly by recent or contemporary circumstances. They generally resemble the facts of every age in which persecution has occurred. The decisive point, however, is that the opponents of Christ were *not* apostatising infidels, like those here described, but were on the contrary Sadducean priests, and Pharisees of "the most straitest sect of the Jews' religion." Further, it is certain that no Christian could thus have approached the subject without at least an allegoric reference to the glory of Christ's resurrection.

14. *He was made to reprove our thoughts.*] Lit., "He proved to be to us for the reproof of our designs;" *i.e.* his mere existence, by pointing a contrast unfavourable to us, thwarts and shames our ideal. Thus Capito complained to Nero of Thrasea and others that they were "rigidi et tristes quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent." The children of darkness hate the light (John iii. 20; vii. 7).

15. *grievous.*] Lit., heavy. Similarly Antisthenes, as quoted by Philo, said that the sober and earnest man was "grievous to be borne" (*δυσβάστακτος*); and Max. Tyrius, in a striking passage, says that "the majority could not bear the very name 'philosopher';" and that "wicked men cannot tolerate the lovely air of the virtues in the midst of them." John xv. 19: "Because ye are not of the world, the world hateth you."

even to behold.] We cannot bear his very look. See Gen. xxxvii. 4, 18; 1 K. xxi. 20; Is. liii. 3.

his life is not like other men's.] In the original it is "his life is not like the rest"—a *comparatio compendiaria* (brachylogy of comparison) for "like *the life of* the rest." The "just" are *in* "the world," but not "*of* it."

his ways.] His moral walk in the world.

of another fashion.] *ἑξηλλαγμέναι.* Vulg. *immutatae*, "changed" (from the ordinary). These renegades treat virtue as an affected eccentricity.

16. *We are esteemed of him.*] Lit., "we were reckoned." The aorist may either indicate the swift instinctive judgment formed by the good man, or may be the *gnomic* aorist.

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‖ Or, *false coin.* ‖ counterfeits: he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: [i] he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father.

[i] Numb. 23. 10.

17 Let us see if his words be true: and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him.

18 For if the just man be the [k] son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies.

[k] Ps. 22. 8, 9. Matt. 27. 43.

19 Let us [l] examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience.

[l] Jer. 11. 19.

20 Let us condemn him with a shameful death: for by his own saying he shall be respected.

21 Such things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them.

as counterfeits.] The marg. gives "as false coin;" and this is the ordinary meaning of κίβδηλος. There is indeed no religious hypocrisy in the case, since these men openly proclaim their irreligion; but still they estimate themselves as sensible, practical, clever; and the good man sees through them, and knows them to be as valueless as tinsel and dross (Vulg. *tamquam nugaces*).

the end of the just.] He asserts that the just will always be happy at the last. The neut. adj. ἔσχατα represents the Hebrew אַחֲרִית, as in Is. lxvi. 24 (Symmachus); Ecclus. i. 13, vii. 35. For the sentiment, see Prov. x. 7; Dan. xii. 7, &c.

maketh his boast.] The word ἀλαζονεύεται is contemptuous: "he vauntingly and idly brags." The word at least shews the feeling of these infidels that the claim to be sons of God was "an immense pretension."

that God is his father.] See *v.* 13.

17. *Let us see if his words be true.*] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 49.

in the end of him.] Ἔκβασις is here used for "death." Comp. Heb. xiii. 7, and the use of ἔξοδος for death in Luke ix. 31; 2 Pet. i. 15.

18. *he will help him.*] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 43; Psalm xxii. 8, 9. But many of the saints of God know that God's help is not always granted in the sense in which the world uses the words. They accept with perfect faith an apparent finality and completeness of earthly failure, and they die contentedly, as the martyrs did, among the triumphant taunts of their enemies (Euseb. 'H. E.' v. 1).

19. *with despitefulness.*] Rather, "with insolence," which is the old meaning of despite. "Insolence" would test his "meekness," and "torment" his "endurance."

torture.] No doubt the history of Alexandria supplied the writer with recent or historical instances in which apostates, siding with the heathen, had brought torture on their countrymen.

patience.] ἀνεξικακίαν. The word occurs also in 2 Tim. ii. 24.

20. *Let us condemn him with a shameful death.*] So St. James (v. 6) says, "Ye condemned, ye murdered the just; he doth not resist you"—words which might almost be regarded as a prophecy of his own approaching martyrdom. Hegesippus, in his narrative of that martyrdom preserved by Eusebius, 'H. E.' ii. 23 (see Routh, 'Rel. Sacr.' i. 195), evidently has this passage of the Book of Wisdom in his mind. Plato, in describing the agonies to which "the just man" will be subjected, ends by saying, "he will be impaled" (ἀνασχινδυλευθήσεται, 'Rep.' ii. 5).

by his own saying he shall be respected.] The A. V. follows the Vulg. The meaning is, "in accordance with what he himself says (see *vv.* 16, 17) God will have regard to him;" so that, if his words are true (17), we need feel no compunction. Such translations as Luther's, *Da wird man ihn kennen an seinen Worten*, or "His own words will give us an occasion of punishing him;" or Churton's, "*there shall be an enquiry into the truth of his words*,"—give impossible meanings to the word ἐπισκοπή, which can only refer to God's oversight and protection of His child: Luke xix. 44; 1 Pet. ii. 12.

21–24. The cause and the consequences of these errors and crimes.

21. *they did imagine.*] On the use of the aorist to express general facts, see note on i. 16.

their own wickedness hath blinded them.] Rather, "blinded," or as we should say, idiomatically, "blinds" them. "God," as St. Augustine says, "scatters penal blindness upon forbidden lusts." The truth is expressed with equal clearness by Aristotle ('Eth. Nic.' vi. 6), where he speaks of wickedness (κακία) as being φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς, and by Shakspeare:

"For when we in our viciousness grow hard,
O misery on 't! the wise gods seal our eyes,
In our own filth drop our clear judgments, make us
Adore our errors, laugh at us, while we strut
To our confusion."

St. Paul most forcibly illustrates the deepening of this self-induced darkness in Rom.

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22 As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not: neither hoped for the wages of righteousness, nor ‖ discerned a reward for blameless souls.

‖ Gr. *preferred, or, esteemed the reward.*

23 For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an [m] image of his own eternity.

24 [n] Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it.

[m] Gen. 1. 26, 27. & 5. 1. Ecclus. 17 3.

[n] Gen. 3. 13.

i. 18–32, and in Eph. iv. 18 (ἐσκοτισμένοι . . . ἀγνοίαν . . . πώρωσιν).

22. *the mysteries of God.*] Vulg., *sacramenta Dei.* God's "mysteries" are the deeper truths which He only reveals to pure eyes and open hearts. For the use of the word in the N. T., see Rom. xvi. 25; Eph. i. 9. Here the reference is to God's ways of dealing with His children.

hoped for.] Hope is a virtue, as well as a blessing and a reward.

the wages of righteousness.] Rather, "of holiness." The word "holy" (ὅσιος) describes our relation to God; "blameless" (ἄμωμος) describes our relation to men. It is the LXX. rendering of the Hebrew חָסִיד (Ps. xvi. 10, xxxii. 6, &c.), from which is derived the name *Chasidim*, or Assidæans, "the Pious" (see 1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6), which was the designation chosen by the anti-Hellenistic Jews. The words ὅσιος, ὁσιότης, occur constantly in this book. Such "holiness" is regarded as a necessary manifestation of "wisdom." The reward is "the gift of faith, and inheritance in the temple of the Lord" (iii. 14).

nor discerned a reward for blameless souls.] The margin also suggests "preferred" or "esteemed" for ἔκριναν; but by supplying the infinitive εἶναι, the word may retain its ordinary signification, "nor judged that *there is* a guerdon."

23. *For.*] The word introduces the statement that there *is* such a guerdon, and that it is nothing less than a blessed immortality.

to be immortal.] Vulg., "creavit hominem *inexterminabilem.*" The word used for "immortality" means literally "incorruption" (ἀφθαρσία, 1 Cor. xv. 42; 1 Tim. ii. 10, &c.). The immortality implied is a joyful eternity, which "maketh us near unto God," vi. 19. In the LXX. the word only occurs in Ps. lxxiv. 1.

an image of his own eternity.] The A.V. here adopts the reading ἀϊδιότητος, with Athanasius, Methodius, and other Fathers. Other MSS. followed by the Vulg. and Syriac read ὁμοιότητος (Vulg., *ad imaginem similitudinis suae*), perhaps an ancient gloss for ἰδιότητος, which is found in Clement of Alexandria, and is adopted by the Complutensian text. If the author had been specially referring to the LXX. (Gen. i. 26), he would have used ὁμοιώσεως. The assonance involved in τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος is in favour of that reading, and man can be more easily regarded as "*an image* of God's *likeness*" (Col. iii. 10) than "of His *eternity*."

24. *through envy of the devil.*] Διάβολος, like the Hebrew "Satan," does not need the article, being regarded as a proper name (1 Pet. v. 8). Doubtless the Devil is here identified (for the first time in Jewish literature) with the Serpent of Paradise, as in Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2, and in Talmudic literature. The *envy* of the Devil can only allude to the Eastern and Rabbinic legends that the fall of Satan was due to his scorn and envy manifested at the creation of mankind. Josephus ('Antt.' I. i. § 4) says that "the Serpent living with Adam and his wife *was envious* (φθονερῶς εἶχεν) at the blessings which he thought that they would enjoy if they obeyed the commandments of God." See, too, Eisennenger, 'Entd. Jud.' i. 827. In Ecclus. xi. 16 we read, "Error and darkness had their origin together with sinners:" but the passage is probably an interpolation. That envy is specially a "*peccatum diabolicum*," is implied in Job i. 1–11, ii. 4, 5; Is. xiv. 12–15. This is one of the passages in which the writer diverges widely from the theology and philosophy of Philo, who, after his usual allegorising methods, makes the Serpent a mere *symbol* of seductive temptation ('De Mund. Opif.' 56).

came death into the world.] Rom. v. 12. In John viii. 44 the Devil is called "a murderer (ἀνθρωποκτόνος) from the beginning;" and in Heb. ii. 14 he is spoken of as "him that hath the power of death." In the Gospel of Nicodemus, c. 23, he is addressed as "the beginning of death, and the root of sin." In the confused demonology of the Jews, with its curious foreign admixtures, he is sometimes identified with, but more often distinguished from, the Angel of Death.

they that do hold of his side.] See i. 16; 1 John iii. 12. Cain was "*of* the wicked one."

do find it.] They fall under the power of death (Rom. vi. 23); in other words, they pass into an existence of darkness and misery. There is no classical instance in which the verb πειράζω means "I experience," but it seems to approximate to this sense in xii. 26 (where the Vulg. renders it *experti sunt*), Ecclus. xxxix. 4, and Eccles. viii. 5 (Symmachus).

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CHAPTER III.

1 *The godly are happy in their death,* 5 *and in their troubles:* 10 *the wicked are not, nor their children:* 13 *but they that are pure are happy, though they have no children:* 16 *for the adulterer and his seed shall perish.*

BUT [a] the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. [a] Deut 33. 3.

2 [b] In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die: and their departure is taken for misery, [b] ch. 5. 1.

In this verse the Vulg. refers *αὐτὸν* not to "death," but to the Devil, and renders the clause "*imitantur autem illum qui sunt ex parte illius.*"

III.–V. The Righteous and the Wicked.

CHAPTER III.

1–9. The hopes and blessings of the righteous. **10–iv. 6.** The offspring of the righteous and of the godless.

1. *But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God.*] The subject of the last chapter is continued. The wages of sin is spiritual death; the wicked die, and pass into a misery which is but a life-in-death. The righteous die the death of the body, but that death is life. Their souls, when they pass away, are "*in the hand*," i.e. under the protecting care of God (Ps. lxxxviii. 5; Is. li. 16, "I have covered thee with the shadow of my hand;" John x. 28, "Neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand;" Lk. xxiii. 46, "into Thy hands;" xvi. 23, "Lazarus in his bosom").

there shall no torment touch them.] In the future life—which the Jews after the days of the Exile, and especially at the epoch when this book was written, recognised more distinctly than their fathers—the wicked shall be in "torment," which shall not touch the righteous. The nature and continuance of their future torment are not defined, and were not clearly realised; but, as in the Book of Enoch and the parable of Dives, their fate is metaphorically described in language borrowed from the imagery of the ancient prophets (Lk. xvi. 23; Rev. xiv. 10; Is. lxvi. 24). The word *βάσανος* only occurs once or twice in the LXX., and in the N. T. only in Matt. iv. 24 (of sickness) and Lk. xvi. 23, 28; but *βασανίζω* and *βασανισμὸς* are applied in the Apocalypse to punishment beyond the grave. The word means: (1) a touchstone; (2) examination by torture; (3) torment in general.

2. *In the sight of the unwise.*] Lit., "in the eyes." A Hebraism (בְּעֵינֵי) for "in the judgment of." Comp. ix. 9; Deut. xii. 8; Judg. xvii. 6; Judith iii. 4; Ecclus. viii. 16. "The unwise," like the friends of Job, who judge by appearances and cannot rise beyond a cruel traditional orthodoxy, form false judgments about the sorrows of the righteous.

of the unwise.] The word *ἀφρόνων* means the *morally* unwise. In all scriptural writings, folly and wickedness are identified: i. 3; Is. lix. 6; Prov. xvi. 27; Judg. xx. 6, 10, &c. (LXX.)

they seemed to die.] Rather, "to be dead." In this and the following verses we have the contrast between the semblance of death and the reality of life which has been dwelt upon by many great writers. Probably Euripides was one of the earliest Greeks to express this thought in his famous lines:

> *τὶς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν*
> *τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν;*

The incessant jests which Aristophanes points at this deep question, prove the astonishment which it excited. Afterwards the thought became almost a commonplace. In Maximus Tyrius, we find ('Dissert.' 25, p. 258, quoted by Grimm), "That which the many call death, that very thing was the beginning of immortality and the birth of the future life." Philo, in a passage closely resembling this ('Det. pot.' Opp. i. 200), says: "The wise man when he seems to be dead as to this corruptible life is living the incorruptible." In the eloquent Epistle to Diognetus, "the seeming death" is contrasted with "the reality of death" in aeonian fire. The Book of Enoch, cii. 4–cv. 2, furnishes several analogous thoughts. In the N. T. death is often represented as the gate of life. See especially Phil. i. 21–23; Rom. vii. 24; Col. iii. 3, 4; 2 Cor. v. 8; Rev. xiv. 13, &c. We meet with the same thought not only in Christian poets like Milton:

> "When Faith and Love, which parted from thee never,
> Had ripened thy just soul to dwell with God,
> Meekly thou didst resign *this earthly load*
> *Of death, called life, which us from life doth sever;*"

but even in poets like Shelley:

> "Ah no, he is not dead, he does not sleep—
> He hath awakened from the dream of life."

their departure.] This word *ἔξοδος* is used for "death" in Lk. ix. 3; 2 Pet. i. 15. Comp. vii. 6; ii. 17 (*ἔκβασις*); Ecclus. xxxviii. 23; Jos. 'Antt.' iv. 8, § 2, *ἐξ ἐξόδου τοῦ ζῆν*. This use of the word is not found in classical Greek, but "exitus" and *excessus* are used for death in Cic. 'Legg.' i. 1; Justin. xiv. 4, § 10; Lactant. 'De Mort. Persec.' 50.

is taken for misery.] Rather, "was counted a misfortune."

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3 And their going from us to be utter destruction: but they are in peace.

4 For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their [c] hope full of immortality.

5 And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly [‖] rewarded: because God proved them, and found them worthy for himself.

[c] Rom. 8. 24. 2 Cor. 5. 1. 1 Pet. 1. 13.
[‖] Or, *benefited.*

3. *their going from us.*] πορεία. Another euphemism for death. There seems to be no exact parallel for this expression, the nearest being Lk. xxii. 22, "the Son of Man goeth" (πορεύεται); comp. Acts i. 25. It is derived from the phrases "to go to our fathers," Gen. xv. 15, or "to go the way of all the earth," 1 Kings ii. 2, &c.

utter destruction.] σύντριμμα, "a crushing up." Vulg., *exterminium*, "annihilation." Rom. iii. 16; 1 Macc. ii. 7, &c.

but they are in peace.] The "but" is emphatic: "but on the contrary." "Peace" (*Shalom*—the ordinary form of Jewish greeting) was the ideal conception of happiness to the Hebrew, as joy (χαίρειν) was to the Greek. The "peace" of the departed righteous souls which is here contemplated is *not* the repose of unconsciousness, as in Shelley—

"Envy and calumny and hate and pain
Can touch him not, nor torture him again"—

and many similar passages; nor is it the immortality of posthumous memory, as in the famous lines:

"Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence!"

but it is a state of deep and sentient blessedness,—"a rest" (ἀνάπαυσις, iv. 7; Heb. iii. 11; Rev. xiv. 13). It is "Paradise" (Lk. xxiii. 43). This truth goes beyond anything which was clear to most of the O. T. writers, who look on the grave as a dreamless sleep: Job iii. 13–19; Is. xxxviii. 11, 18; Eccles. ix. 10; Ps. vi. 5, xv. 9, lxxxviii. 11, &c. The idea of a joyous life beyond the grave was only revealed gradually, and the full knowledge of it was given by Him who brought life and immortality to light.

4–9. These verses obviate the objection which might be urged from the earthly afflictions of the righteous. They are meant only to test, and purge, and train for future bliss and glory.

4. *though they be punished.*] More accurately, "if they have been punished." Some suppose that there is an allusion to the martyrs in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes: 1 Macc. i. 57–64. It is more probable that the writer had some recent events in his mind.

in the sight of men.] See *v.* 2. The Jews found it difficult to understand the problem of the earthly afflictions of the godly, which had perplexed both David (Ps. lxxiii.) and Job. David found the solution in the calamity and retribution which often overtake the wicked even in this life. The difficulties of Job are hushed by an appeal to the awful omnipotence of God, which requires unquestioning submission. In the age when this book was written, the Jews had advanced much further, and they were able to rest in the belief that the rewards and punishments of a future life would redress the wrongs and inequalities of the present. The transient "day" of feeble men (ἄνθρωποι) is incapable of judging aright as to the phenomena of life (1 Cor. iv. 3). We see but one small arc of an infinite circle. See 1 Cor. xv. 19.

yet is their hope full of immortality.] The currency of the phrase is due to its rich poetic depth. The righteous have a "full assurance (πληροφορία) of hope even to the end" (Heb. vi. 11, x. 22). Their hopes are not set on earthly things, but are filled with thoughts of the world to come. The word used for "immortality" is here ἀθανασία, not ἀφθαρσία. It is naturally wanting in the O. T., though Aquila used it in Ps. xlix. 15: but it occurs several times in this book (iv. 1, viii. 18, xv. 13; Ecclus. xix. 17). In viii. 13 it may mean (like *Unsterblichkeit*) an immortal *memory*, as when Milton said, "I dream of immortality:" but usually it means eternal life. In the N. T. it occurs in 1 Cor. xv. 53; 1 Tim. vi. 16. It was this hope which sustained the martyr-brothers who were so cruelly tortured and slain by Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. vii. 9), to whose traditional utterances the writer may incidentally allude.

5. *a little chastised.*] The word for chastisement (παιδευθέντες) implies a divine *education*. This view of the sufferings of the godly is specially worked out in Heb. xii. 5–12; Jas. i. 12; Rev. iii. 19; but it was familiar also to the O. T. writers: Lev. xxvi. 23, 24; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. xciv. 12, cxix. 75; Prov. iii. 12, &c.

they shall be greatly rewarded.] The thought is the same as in Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17: "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us, more and more exceedingly, an eternal weight of glory."

proved them.] "God did *tempt* Abraham," Ex. xv. 25. In the view of the sacred writers, all afflictions are a test (δοκιμή, 2 Cor. viii. 2), a trial (πειρασμός, Jas. i. 12), a training (παιδεία, Heb. xii. 5), or an admonition (νου-

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warded: for God [d] proved them, and found them ‖ worthy for himself.

6 [e] As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering.

7 And in the time of their visitation [f] they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.

8 They [g] shall judge the nations,

[d] Exod. 16. 4. Deut. 8. 2.
‖ Or, *meet*.
[e] Zech. 13. 9. Mal. 3. 3. Ecclus. 2. 5.
[f] Matt. 13. 43.
[g] Matt. 19. 28. 1 Cor. 6. 2.

θεσία, Eph. vi. 4). I can see no ground in this passage for Grimm's remark about the supposed unjust particularism of the writer in regarding the punishments of the *Jews* as disciplinary, and those of the *Gentiles* as retributive. In the punishments mentioned in xi., xii., the writer is speaking of *wicked* Gentiles, and his present remarks are a consolation to *righteous* Jews. It may, however, be pointed out that Scripture only represents punishment as being purely retributive when its disciplinary effect has wholly failed.

worthy for himself.] Rather, "worthy of Himself," *i.e.* worthy of His vision and of His sabbath; worthy to become a λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (1 Pet. ii. 9). This conception was greatly deepened by the teaching of Christ (Matt. x. 37, 38; Rev. iii. 20; John xiv. 17; 1 John iv. 12). When, in vision, St. Thomas Aquinas was asked what reward he desired, his answer was, "*Non aliam* (mercedem) *nisi te Domine.*"

6. *As gold in the furnace.*] The word for "smelting-furnace" is rare, but the thought of fiery probation to purge away all mortal dross is common (1 Pet. i. 7, iv. 12; Zech. xiii. 9, &c.). Comp. Ov. 'Trist.,' i. 4. 25—

"Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum
Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides"—

and Pope's epitaph on Mrs. E. Corbett in St. Margaret's, Westminster:

"So unaffected, so composed a mind,
So firm yet soft, so strong yet so refined,
Heaven as its purest gold with tortures tried:
The saint sustained it, but the woman died."

he tried them.] Tested their genuineness (ἐδοκίμασεν); proved that they were not counterfeits (κίβδηλα), like those alluded to in ii. 16.

received them.] Regarded them favourably (Job viii. 20, LXX.).

as a burnt offering.] See 1 Macc. i. 45. The martyrs under Antiochus were forbidden to offer sacrifices, but their *life* was itself a sacrifice. The curious phrase ὁλοκάρπωμα θυσίας means "a whole burnt offering" (holocaust). The sense of "fruit" (καρπὸς) has become quite obsolescent. This frequently happens to the etymological element of a word, as in "looking-*glasses* of silver;" "a silver *box*;" "a *hecatomb* of *ten* oxen," &c. The word does not occur in the N. T. (where we find ὁλοκαύτωμα, Matt. xii. 33; Heb. x. 6); but it is found in the LXX., Lev. xvi. 24. Comp. Ecclus. xlv. 14. For the thought see Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 5.

7. *in the time of their visitation.*] When God "visits" or "looks upon" them, to "reward them according to their works." We have the word ἐπισκοπὴ again in *v.* 13. In the LXX. it occurs in a bad sense of the *penal* visitation of God, as in Lev. xix. 20; Jer. vi. 15: in a good sense, in Job x. 12. In the N. T. we find it in Luke xix. 44; 1 Pet. ii. 12, v. 6: as well as in its general sense of "overseership," "bishoprick," Acts i. 20; 1 Tim. iii. 1. The writer has here left in shadow all specific details. Hence Bretschneider and others suppose him to be speaking of some golden age for Israel on earth. Gfrörer ('Philo,' ii. 256) refers the passage to the day of judgment; others, again, explain it as a description of triumph and happiness beyond the grave. The decision between these views is not easy; perhaps because no such decision is possible. The writer's object is to prophesy, in the glowing language of conviction, the final triumph and happiness of the good. The form and manner of the triumph are naturally expressed in general imagery.

they shall shine.] To explain this of "pure ethereal light-bodies," assumed by the just at their resurrection, as Gfrörer does, is perhaps too definite an explanation of a general metaphor. There can be little doubt that the expression is a reference to Dan. xii. 3, "They that be wise shall shine (LXX. ἐκλάμψουσι) as the brightness of the firmament." Comp. Is. lx. 1–3 and Matt. xiii. 43, "Then shall the righteous shine forth (ἐκλάμψουσιν) as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;" Phil. ii. 15.

and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.] This, too, seems to be a general metaphor to express the victorious and sin-consuming power of the just hereafter. It is based on Obad. 18: "And the house of Jacob shall be fire, and the house of Joseph *a flame*, and *the house of Edom for stubble*, and they shall *kindle in them and devour them*" (comp. Ps. v. 24; Joel ii. 5, "like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble"). The word "spark" (σπινθὴρ) occurs in a similar figure in Aquila and Symmachus, Is. i. 31. The wicked are compared to stubble in Mal. iv. 1.

8. *They shall judge the nations.*] Comp. Ecclus. iv. 15. This again is a metaphor

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and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.

9 They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth: ‖ and such as be faithful in love shall abide with him: [h] for grace and mercy is to his saints, and he hath care for his elect.

‖ Or, *and such as be faithful shall remain with him in love.*

[h] ch. 4. 15

10 But the [i] ungodly shall be punished according to their own imaginations, which have neglected the righteous, and forsaken the Lord.

[i] Matt. 25. 41.

11 For whoso despiseth wisdom and nurture, he is miserable, and their hope is vain, their labours unfruitful, and their works unprofitable:

which frequently recurs in Scripture, and is founded on Dan. vii. 22. It evidently implies more than the mere ultimate vindication of the children of Wisdom, and the moral condemnation of those who have persecuted them: Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Rev. xx. 4.

their Lord shall reign.] Rather, "the Lord shall reign over them." The expression may be a reminiscence of Jer. iii. 14, where the words "I am married to you" (rather, "I am your lord," *i.e.* your husband, as in xxxi. 34) are rendered by the LXX. ἐγὼ κατακυριεύσω αὐτῶν. The promise resembles therefore those in Ex. xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

for ever.] Lit., "to the ages," a rendering of the vague Hebrew לְעוֹלָם.

9. *shall understand the truth.*] Here faith in God is regarded as the secret of understanding the ways of His providence. St. John (vii. 17) records the promise of Christ that obedience (which springs from faith) shall be rewarded with knowledge.

such as be faithful in love shall abide with him.] The margin suggests "such as be faithful shall remain with Him in love." There can be but little doubt that this is the preferable rendering. "The faithful" (οἱ πιστοὶ, comp. Ecclus. i. 14) is an equivalent expression to οἱ πεποιθότες in the previous verse. The promise is found yet more fully and richly in John xiv. 16, xv. 10; Rev. iii. 20.

grace and mercy.] See iv. 15. The words are also combined with "peace" at the beginning of St. Paul's pastoral epistles.

to his saints.] Rather, "among his holy ones," if we adopt the reading ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ. There are many variations of reading which do not in any important way affect the sense, and which may be partly owing to the fact that an exactly similar passage occurs at iv. 15. This title, "the holy" (ὅσιος), is given to the Israelites in x. 17; xviii. 1, 5, 9. It is not found in the N. T.

he hath care for his elect.] For the word ἐπισκοπὴ, here rendered "care," see the note on v. 7. This clause is omitted by the Vulg., but it is supported by the evidence of many of the best MSS. and versions. The phrase "mine elect" (comp. Tobit viii. 15) is found in Is. xlii. 1, &c., and Christians are called "elect" in Col. iii. 13; Tit. i. 1, &c.

10—iv. 6. Contrasted fates of the offspring of the righteous and the godless.

10. *according to their own imaginations.*] Rather, "in accordance with their reasonings"—the "crooked reasonings" referred to in i. 2, 3, ii. 1, which deserve the punishment which they naturally involve (Prov. i. 29–31).

which have neglected the righteous.] Τοῦ δικαίου may either mean "the just man" (*justum*, Vulg.) or "justice" in the abstract, as Augustine seems to have understood it ("qui neglexerunt *justitiam*"). The latter rendering would give a more exact parallel to the σοφίαν ἐξουθενῶν of the next verse. It also yields an easier sense. The neuter τὸ δίκαιον for "justice" is not common in Hellenistic Greek, but it occurs in Luke xii. 57, Col. iv. 1 (τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα); and in Job xxxiv. 10, παράξαι τὸ δίκαιον means "to disturb justice" (comp. 2 Macc. x. 12). On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that ὁ δίκαιος has occurred three times in the last chapter (ii. 10, 12, 18). The phrase "have neglected the righteous" may be an allusion to the supercilious contempt of renegade Jews for their faithful brethren, and their refusal to minister to their needs.

and forsaken the Lord.] This "apostasy" (ἀποστάντες) has already been hinted at in ii. 12, in the words "transgression against the law."

11. *nurture.*] παιδείαν. See ii. 12. The same phrase is found in Prov. i. 7.

miserable.] ταλαίπωρος, xiii. 10. This is one of the poetic words which became current in Hellenistic Greek. It is rare, however, both in the LXX. and in the N. T. (where it only occurs twice: Rom. vii. 24; Rev. iii. 17).

their hope.] The hope of all such.

unfruitful . . . unprofitable.] Grimm sees an instance of *litotes* here as in i. 11; but the two epithets are meant to describe the *ineffectualness* of all the aims and efforts of the wicked, which is often dwelt on in Scripture (Is. lii. 3; Job viii. 22; 1 Cor. ii. 6; Rev. xviii. 17, &c.), and which is implied in the

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‖ Or, *light*, or, *unchaste*.

12 Their wives are ‖ foolish, and their children wicked:

13 Their offspring is cursed. Wherefore blessed is the barren that is undefiled, which hath not known the sinful bed: she [k] shall have fruit in the visitation of souls.

[k] Isai. 56. 5.

14 And *blessed is* the [l] eunuch, which with his hands hath wrought no iniquity, nor imagined wicked

[l] Isai. 56. 4, 5.

word ἁμαρτία—properly "a missing of the mark."

12. *Their wives are foolish.*] The word ἄφρονες (Vulg. *insensatæ*) sometimes has the meaning "light" or "unchaste," which is suggested in the margin: comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 13; Prov. v. 5 (LXX. ἀφροσύνης); Deut. xxii. 21.

their children wicked.] In this and some of the following verses we have one of the unsatisfactory generalisations by which the Jews tried to meet the speculative difficulties presented by the present condition of the world. Such a proverb as that in Ezek. xvi. 44, "As is the mother, so is the daughter," or the German proverb, "The apple falls not far from its stem," do indeed correspond to a *general* truth of experience, but the writer might have seen, even in Scripture history, that it is one which admits of far too many exceptions to have much value as an argument. The Son of Sirach says (Ecclus. xli. 5), "The children of the wicked are abominable children;" but yet the children of the wicked are, as Ezekiel implies (xviii. 1–18), sometimes holy, and the children of the holy are sometimes depraved. Compare, however, Juvenal ('Sat.' xiv. 1):

"Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra,
Quae monstrant ipsi pueris, traduntque parentes."

13. *Their offspring is cursed.*] The expression must only be understood as implying the *general* law of sequence and heredity. It is notorious that many great and flourishing families have sprung from illicit unions. Our own kings for many generations were descended from William I., who was known as "the Bastard." The allusion may perhaps be to the children of *mixed* marriages, who were regarded as illegitimate;—yet Salmon married Rahab, and Boaz married Ruth.

Wherefore.] The reasoning of these verses is confused. It is possible that, in some conspicuous instances which had come under the writer's cognizance, the heathenising Jews against whom he is writing may have been blessed with abundant offspring, like those to whom David alludes (Ps. xvii. 14), while some of the faithful had (like Hannah) few or no children. The Jews plunged themselves into much needless perplexity by their unwarrantable way of regarding earthly prosperity and adversity as proofs of the favour or wrath of God—an error which the Book of Job was intended to refute. The writer truly points out that the barren and the impotent may earn blessings from God of far more worth than marriage, or sons or daughters. But these two verses are awkwardly interposed into his general and too absolutely stated argument that the children of the wicked are under the curse of God.

the barren that is undefiled.] The words are defined (ἥτις) by the next clause to mean "*the married woman* who has no children." The attempt of Corn. à Lapide, and other Roman Catholic commentators, to extract from this verse a glorification of celibacy, is as arbitrary as many other attempts to establish unauthorised dogmas by perverted texts. *Unmarried* women are never called "barren" in Scripture, and voluntary celibacy seems to have been wholly unknown to the Jews till the rise of the Therapeutae and Essenes, who were always a small body. The praises of celibacy could not, without singular incongruity, have been put into the mouth of a king who had 300 wives and 700 concubines. With the phrase "blessed is the barren," comp. Is. liv. 1; Luke xxiii. 29; Gal. iv. 27.

fruit.] The meaning is that she shall have spiritual fruit, better than "the fruit of the womb." It is the antithesis to barrenness.

in the visitation of souls.] See *v.* 7.

14. *blessed is the eunuch.*] Under the Old Covenant, the exclusion of eunuchs from "the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2) caused their lot to be exceptionally hard, and therefore Isaiah had addressed to them a special consolation (Is. lvi. 3–5) by promising to them a place in God's house and "a name better than of sons and daughters." It is clear that there is an allusion to this passage. In Matt. xix. 12, our Lord refers to three classes of eunuchs. The meaning of the words which describe the third class is uncertain. It is unnecessary to enter into that passage here, for the writer is evidently pointing, not to celibate persons, but to those who are from natural causes childless. There is not the smallest ground for adopting the theory of Grätz and others, that these verses have been interpolated in the interest of Christian asceticism and voluntary celibacy.

the special gift of faith.] The article is inaccurate. The meaning is that the godly eunuch shall receive "a precious (ἐκλεκτόν, comp. Ezek. xxvii. 24) spiritual blessing—namely, the blessing of faith (Eph. ii. 8);" the

things against God: for unto him shall be given ‖ the special gift of faith, and an inheritance ‖ in the temple of the Lord more acceptable to his mind.

‖ Gr. *the chosen.*
‖ Or, *among the people.*

15 For glorious is the fruit of good labours: and the root of wisdom shall never fall away.

16 As for the children of adulterers, they shall not ‖ come to their perfection, and the seed of an unrighteous bed shall be rooted out.

‖ Or, *be partakers of holy things.*

17 For though they live long, yet shall they be nothing regarded: and their last age shall be without honour.

18 Or, if they die quickly, they have no hope, neither comfort in the day of ‖ trial.

‖ Or. *hearing.*

joy of assured confidence in God. Χάρις τῆς πίστεως can hardly mean "a reward for his faithfulness."

and an inheritance in the temple of the Lord.] The reading λαῷ for ναῷ (followed in the margin, "among the people") is clearly wrong, for there is unmistakably an allusion to Is. lvi. 5, and only indirectly to Deut. xxiii. 1.

more acceptable.] The word θυμήρεστερος occurs neither in the LXX. nor in the N. T. It is an epic word found in Homer. There is another reading, θυμηδέστερος, which means the same thing, and is found in Aeschylus. The recognition of God shall be to the faithful eunuch more acceptable than wedlock and offspring.

15. *For glorious.*] The verse, and each clause of it, is arranged in the oratorical order known as *chiasmos.* In the first clause the *adjectives* in the original are placed at the beginning and the end, and each clause balances the other.

"For of good toils the fruit is glorious,
And unfailing is the root of good intelligence."

The arrangement illustrates the extreme artificiality of the style. The Hebrew parallelism is expressed in rhythmic oratory.

For.] He gives the reason why even the barren woman and the eunuch, if they be godly, cannot perish without memorial. Their deeds live, and their example lives, and the blessedness which springs from their efforts continues to be their portion. They have a root which is eternally fruitful.

shall never fall away.] Ἀδιάπτωτος is a rare and late word. Hippocrates uses it in the sense of "infallible." It does not occur in the LXX. or in the N. T. It is here meant to recall the language of Ps. i. 3; cxii. 6, 7.

16. *they shall not come to their perfection.*] The meaning is that they shall neither be glorious nor immortal. The margin suggests that they shall not "be partakers of holy things." This is a rendering of ἀτέλεστα in its technical meaning of "uninitiated into the mysteries," as though the word implied the exclusion of bastards from the congregation of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2). The meaning would then be that the exclusion of *eunuchs* on earth should be compensated by their admission into all the blessings of the future life, but that this should not be the case with *bastards.* But the parallelism shews that the simpler meaning (Vulg., *inconsummati*) is here intended. The word occurs again in iv. 5, κλῶνες ἀτέλεστοι, "branches that come to nothing."

shall be rooted out.] The metaphor belongs only to the English. The Greek is ἀφανισθήσεται (Vulg., *exterminabitur*), "shall disappear" or "be put out of sight;" *i.e.* they shall perish soul and body (comp. *v.* 17 and i. 12). The teaching is neither so true, nor so wise, nor so just as that of Ezek. xviii. 14–20. The view of heredity in wickedness is cruelly exaggerated. Like South, the writer regards these unfortunates as having been not "born into the world," but "damned into the world."

17. *For though.*] ἐάν τε. In *v.* 18 the same phrase is rendered "or if." Neither rendering is quite accurate, nor is that of the Vulg., which in both cases has *et si.* Ἐάν τε, repeated, is used to represent the Hebrew אִם . . . אִם, and should be rendered simply "if . . . if" (or "whether" and "or," as in Deut. xviii. 3).

they live long.] The Greek adjective is in the masculine (μακρόβιοι), referring to the sons of adulterers. The substantive used in *v.* 16 was τέκνα, but the construction follows the sense (κατὰ σύνεσιν).

their last age.] Lit., "their old age at the last." For the general idea of the verse, see note on iv. 14.

18. *quickly.*] ὀξέως; lit., "sharply." Vulg. *celerius,* "before their time." See LXX., Is. viii. 3, where ὀξέως is a synonym of ταχέως.

they have no hope.] Unlike the righteous, who "hath hope in his end." The writer may have been thinking of that law of physical consequences by which, as a matter of

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19 For horrible is the end of the unrighteous generation.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The chaste man shall be crowned.* 3 *Bastard slips shall not thrive.* 6 *They shall witness against their parents.* 7 *The just die young, and are happy.* 19 *The miserable end of the wicked.*

BETTER it is to have no children, and to have virtue: for the memorial thereof is immortal: because it is ‖ known with God, and with men. ‖ Or, *approved.*

2 When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it: [a] it weareth a crown, and triumpheth for ever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards. [a] ch. 5. 16. James 1. 12. 1 Pet. 5. 4. Rev. 2. 10.

3 But the multiplying brood of the

experience, the sins of the fathers are visited, even to the third and fourth generation, upon their children, alike in moral tendencies and in physical results. But he goes far beyond this, so that his language becomes both unmerciful and unwarrantable, as well as exaggerated.

of trial.] διαγνώσεως. The word only occurs in the N. T. in Acts xxv. 21 ("the *decision* of the Emperor"). It is not found in the LXX.

19. *horrible.*] Rather "grievous" (χαλεπά).

CHAPTER IV.

1-6. The childlessness of the virtuous involves a surer immortality than guilty fatherhood. 7-9. Better a short and righteous life than godless old age. 10-14. The truth illustrated by the example of Enoch. 15-20. The world, to its own terrible ruin, fails to learn the lesson.

1. *Better.*] It is better, it involves a loftier blessedness to be childless and virtuous than, as the Son of Sirach expresses it, "to have impious children" (Ecclus. xvi. 4).

to have virtue.] The Vulg., perhaps from a dogmatic bias towards celibate asceticism, paraphrases the clause by "*O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate.*" Ἀρετὴ here does not mean "chastity," but is a general name for manly virtue (2 Macc. vi. 31). In the LXX. the word is chiefly used for "glory" (Hab. iii. 2; Zech. vi. 15). In the N. T. it is rare (Phil. iv. 8; 2 Pet. i. 3, 5), because the ideal of the Christian is holiness, which is a deeper and richer grace than virtue.

is immortal.] It remains unforgotten, because it is progressively recognised (γινώσκεται) both with God and among men. The author may have read the famous apologue of the Choice of Hercules by Prodicus (Xen. 'Mem.' ii. 1. 33), where we find the expression "I am honoured most of all among gods and among men."

2. *take example at it.*] Literally, "imitate it." Another and weaker reading is τιμῶσι, "honour it." The "*imitation*" of holy examples is often inculcated in the N.T. (2 Thess. iii. 7; Heb. vi. 12, xiii. 7; 1 Cor. iv. 16, &c.).

they desire it.] ποθοῦσι, they regret and yearn for it. In this verse again we have the *chiastic* arrangement (see iii. 15) of which the writer is so fond. Instead of saying, "men imitate it when present, and regret it when absent," he arranges the words more rhetorically—

παροῦσάν τε μιμοῦνται αὐτὴν
καὶ ποθοῦσιν ἀπελθοῦσαν—

where the emphatic participles begin and end the sentence. Compare—

"Virtutem sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi."
HOR.

"Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta."
JUV.

"Et sibi, jam seri, vitam ingenuere relictam."
VIRG.

it weareth a crown and triumpheth.] Virtue is represented as wearing the wreath of victory, and passing to the end of time in triumphal procession. The conception is Roman, not Jewish. Neither of the words (στεφανηφοροῦσα, πομπεύει) occurs in the LXX. or N. T.; but πομπεύω is used in 2 Macc. vi. 7, of a triumphal procession in honour of Bacchus.

for ever.] Lit., "in the aeon;" *i.e.* in the indefinite aeon which stretches beyond the grave. The word "aeon" is one which must generally be interpreted by the light shed on it by the context. For other uses of the word, see the notes on xiii. 9, xviii. 4.

having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards.] More accurately, "having won the contest for the undefiled rewards" (taking ἄθλων as the genitive of ἆθλα, "prizes of victory"), or "in the undefiled struggles" (taking it as the genitive of ἆθλοι). This seems to be the meaning of the Vulg. "*incoinquinatorum certaminum praemium vincens*," where *praemium vincens* (if the reading be correct) is the rendering of νικήσασα. The "undefiled rewards" would mean "the amaranthine crown" (1 Pet. v. 4), "the unwithering and undefiled inheritance" (1 Pet. i. 4)—rewards untainted by any earthly pollution.

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ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation.

4 For though they flourish in branches for a time; [b] yet standing not fast, they shall be shaken with the wind, and through the force of winds they shall be rooted out.

5 The [c] imperfect branches shall be broken off, their fruit unprofitable, not ripe to eat, yea, meet for nothing.

6 For children begotten of unlawful ‖ beds are witnesses of wickedness against their parents in their trial.

7 But though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest.

8 For honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years.

[b] Matt. 7. 19.

[c] ch. 3. 16.

‖ Gr. *sleeps.*

The "undefiled struggles" are contests in which we wrestle not with flesh and blood (Eph. vi. 11, 12), and in which there are no garments rolled in blood (Is. ix. 5). This seems to be the meaning intended; for such a view of "the battle of life" is found in many ancient writers. See Plato, 'Rep.' p. 621; Epictetus, 'Enchir.' 29. 2, &c.; Philo, 'De Migr. Abr.,' 6, "Thou hast proved thyself to me a perfect athlete, and hast been deemed worthy of prizes and wreaths, while Virtue arranges the contest and holds forth to thee the rewards of victory." The same illustration is frequent in 4 Macc. and in the N. T. See 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 3, *κακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; 1 Cor. ix. 25; 2 Tim. iv. 7.

3. *shall not thrive.*] Lit., "shall not be useful;" comp. iii. 16.

nor take deep rooting.] For the metaphor comp. Matt. xiii. 5; Eph. iii. 18.

from bastard slips.] The Greek word (*μοσχεύματα*) is rare. It is derived from *μόσχος*, "a shoot." The fact that *μόσχος* also means a calf (*vitulus*) seems to have led the Vulg. to render it *vitulamina*, a mistake which St. Augustine ('De doctr. Christ.' ii. 12) criticises, and which perhaps led to the alternative reading *plantationes* in some MSS. of the Vulg. The word occurs in Theophrastus and in Philo ('De agric.' iv.; 'De plant.' i.; 'De sobriet.' 8; 'De mut. nom.' 30), but not in the Bible

lay.] The rare verb *ἑδράζω* occurs in the LXX. (Prov. viii. 25, &c.). The combination of the metaphor "rooted" and "founded" is found also in Col. ii. 7, *ἐῤῥιζωμένοι καὶ ἐποικοδομούμενοι.*

4. *yet standing not fast.*] The neut. plur. *βεβηκότα* agrees with *μοσχεύματα*. It might well seem to be an awkward expression as applied to trees; but in Hellenistic Greek *βέβηκα* means "I stand," as in xviii. 16. It nearly approaches this sense in classical Greek, as in *ἀσφαλέως βεβηκώς*, "standing steady." Archil. 52; *οἱ ἐν τέλει βεβῶτες*, "those in office," Hdt. ix. 106, &c.

they shall be rooted out.] A frequent scriptural metaphor: Deut. xxix. 28; Matt. xiii. 29, xv. 23; Jude 12, &c.

5. *The imperfect branches.*] The same image is developed in John xv. 2–6; Jude 12; Rom. xi. 17.

6. *beds.*] Lit. "sleeps," as in the marg. The same euphemism occurs in vii. 2, and is as old as Hom. ('Il.,' xviii. 433).

in their trial.] When the parents stand before the judgment-seat of God, their illegitimate children are witnesses against them. That the children of unhallowed unions are living witnesses to the sins of their parents is obvious; but this fact has no logical bearing on the crude generalisations of the two previous verses, which also occur in Ecclus. xxiii. 24, 25; xli. 5–7.

7–9. Early death no proof of God's displeasure.

7. *be prevented with death.*] *I.e.* should die before his time. The construction of *φθάνω* with the infin. instead of the participle (as in vi. 13) is rare, but not without parallel.

yet shall he be in rest.] *Ἀνάπαυσις* here has much the same meaning as *εἰρήνη* in iii. 3, and is contrasted with the "torment" of the ungodly. See Is. lvii. 1, 2. The rendering of the Vulgate (*in refrigerio*) seems to point to a reading *ἀναψύξει*, but there is no variation in the Greek manuscripts. It is unlikely that these general expressions correspond to any rigid or detailed system of eschatology in the mind of the writer, and it is idle to quote them as authorities for purgatory, the intermediate state, &c. At the best they only illustrate certain tendencies of Jewish opinion, and acquire no authority from their expression here.

8. *For honourable age, &c.*] The truth expressed in this verse has been already illustrated (see note on iii. 17). It is the commonplace "whom the gods love die young," to which Grimm, in his admirable note, adduces many parallels. The Therapeutae, according to Philo ('De Vit. contempt.' 8), only regarded those as "old" who were old in wisdom, however young in years; and he says

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[d] Gen. 5. 24. Hebr. 11. 5. See Isai. 57. 1.

9 But wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.

10 [d] He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that living among sinners he was translated.

11 Yea, speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should

('De Abraham.' 40) that the true elder is not he who is old in years, but in a laudable life. Menander says that "the character of some is aged by nature." Comp. Cic., 'De Fin.' iii., "Stoicis non videtur optabilior nec magis expetenda vita si sit longa quam si sit brevis;" Seneca, "Vita non quamdiu sed quam bene acta refert." Similar statements are quoted from Plutarch, Chrysostom, &c.

9. *the gray hair.*] Prov. xvi. 31: "The hoary head is a crown of glory, *if it be found in the way of righteousness.*" A close parallel to this verse occurs in Cic. 'De Senect.' xviii. 62.

an unspotted life.] Ἀκηλίδωτος is a Philonian word ('De Nobilit.' 6, &c.) not found in the N. T., nor in the LXX. except in a dubious reading (Prov. xxv. 18), but having much the same meaning as ἀκέραιος, ἀμίαντος, ἄσπιλος, 1 Pet. i. 19.

is old age.] Lit. "the age of old-age" (Vulg. *aetas senectutis*). The awkwardness of the pleonasm led Bretschneider to give the word ἡλικία the meaning of "stature" (as in Matt. vi. 27; Lk. ii. 52), but that gives a less obvious sense to the phrase. ὁ τρόπος ἐνίων ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει γέρων (Menand.).

10–14. Illustration of the foregoing truth from the life of Enoch.

10. *He pleased God, and was beloved of him.*] Literally, "having proved himself to be well pleasing to God (εὐάρεστος Θεῷ), he was beloved by Him." There is a clear allusion to Gen. v. 24, εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ. It was needless to mention Enoch by name, because—as is proved by this among other tacit allusions as well as by the general line of argument—the writer is not directly addressing the heathen, but his own wavering or apostatising countrymen. The object of the Book of Wisdom resembles that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, except that the class to whom that epistle is addressed had not advanced so far on the road to apostasy and crime. Another reason why Enoch is not expressly named is that his case is treated as being *typical*, not *isolated*. The case of Enoch supplied the Jewish dogmatists with a scriptural proof that "length of days" was not an exceptionless blessing, and therefore that early death was no proof of guilt or of God's displeasure. The Son of Sirach says (Ecclus. xlix. 14), "Upon the earth was no man created like Enoch;" and in Midrash Tillin, f. 10. 2, he is one of the thirteen who were *born* circumcised. In the Book of Enoch (xii. 2) it is said that "all his action was with the holy ones and with the watchers during his life."

he was translated.] The word μετατίθεσθαι means "to be moved from one place to another," and then generally "to be transferred" or "altered" (Is. xxix. 17; Ecclus. vi. 10; 2 Macc. vii. 24; Acts vii. 16; Gal. i. 6). From the expression of the LXX. in Gen. v. 24, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός (Vulg. *tulit*), it was normally used by later writers to describe the translation of Enoch, as in Ecclus. xliv. 16, Ἐνὼχ εὐηρέστησεν Κυρίῳ καὶ μετετέθη (al. ἀνελήφθη). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 5, πίστει Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη (Vulg., *translatus est*) τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον) goes farther than any previous writer in implying that the "transference" of Enoch was something more than an early death. He is followed, as in so many instances, by Clemens Romanus (1 Cor. 9, μετετέθη καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος).

The writer of the Book of Genesis only says that Enoch "walked with God; and *he* (*was*) *no more, for God had taken him away.*" This expression, as we see in the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, as well as in Talmudic traditions, was by the Jews interpreted to mean that Enoch, like Elijah, was exempted from death, the common lot of mankind. This view was somewhat timidly and tentatively introduced. Josephus ('Antt.' i. 3, § 4) uses the reserved expression ἀνέχωρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. Philo speaks of his ἀποδημία ('De proem. ac poen.,' 3), and, after his fashion, volatilises everything into moral allegory, Enoch being regarded as a symbol of "repentance" ('De Abrah.' 3) and of νοῦς ('De Poster. Cain.' 11). The Koran says that Edrig ("the learned," *i.e.* Enoch) was "exalted to a high place." Theological speculation has greatly occupied itself with questions as to the manner of his "translation," and the exact place to which he was removed. For such speculations there are no grounds; but we may mention the common view of ancient commentators that Enoch and Elijah are "the two witnesses" of Rev. xi. 3. [For further information, see the learned article of Prof. Westcott in Smith's 'Dict.' *s. v.* Enoch.] The notion of Noack and others that we have the veiled allusion of a Christian writer to the Ascension of Christ may be dismissed without further notice. It is on a par with the numerous other fanciful inferences and vagaries of the same writer.

11. *Yea, speedily was he taken away.*] The original only has the word ἡρπάγη (an un-

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alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul.

12 For the bewitching of naughtiness doth obscure things that are honest; and the wandering of concupiscence doth ‖ undermine the simple mind.

13 He, being made ‖ perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time:

14 For his soul pleased the Lord:

‖ Gr. *pervert.*

‖ Or, *sanctified, or, consummated,* Hebr. 12. 23.

classical aorist for ἡρπάσθη; see Veitch, 'Gk. Verbs,' p. 90); Vulg. *raptus est.* It is used to indicate something miraculous or due to direct divine agency, in Enoch's departure (comp. Acts viii. 38; 1 Thess. iv. 17; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Rev. xii. 5). At the same time it is implied that the early death of the righteous is not so much death as translation.

should alter.] Namely, "for the worse," as the *context* implies, not the word itself (xii. 10).

his understanding.] σύνεσιν, his spiritual insight.

deceit.] Usually in the N. T. of *human* treachery: 1 Thess. ii. 3; Acts xiii. 10, &c.

beguile his soul.] Comp. Eph. v. 6; 1 Tim. ii. 14; Heb. iii. 13. The general thought is the same as in that which is often attributed to Is. lvii. 1: "The righteous is taken away from the evil to come." The meaning of that verse may, however, be different: "the righteous is swept away by the advancing tide of calamity," or "from the evils which encompass him."

12. *the bewitching of naughtiness.*] The writer is evidently fond of sonorous, picturesque, and unusual expressions. Βασκανία (Vulg. *fascinatio*) is used of the sorcery of the evil eye, 4 Macc. i. 26; Ecclus. xiv. 6, 8. In Scripture this notion is found in Deut. xxviii. 54, Prov. xxiii. 6; and it is alluded to in Gal. iii. 1. Φαυλότης, lit. "cheapness" (*vilitas*), here rendered by the Vulg. *nugacitas*, does not occur in the LXX. or N.T., though the adj. φαῦλος is used by Jas. iii. 16, &c.

doth obscure things that are honest.] The meaning is that the false glamour of worldliness throws a shadow over moral beauty. The word ἀμαυρόω was used by Greek philosophers to express this darkening of the moral sense.

the wandering.] Ῥεμβασμὸς is another unusual word, unknown to the LXX. or N. T. It means "giddiness," "vertigo" (Vulg. *inconstantia*). ῥεμβὸν means "a sling." The cognate verbs are found in Prov. vii. 12; Is. xxiii. 16 (LXX.); and ῥεμβὰς is applied to a drunken woman in some MSS. in Ecclus. xxvi. 8. Marc. Aurelius (ii. 7) says παύσαι ῥεμβόμενος; and Seneca says, "Does not a cyclone (*turbo*) whirl (*rotat*) your minds round and round?" ('De Vit. beat.,' 28.) The word may be illustrated by the passage of Dante ('Infern.' III. v. 31), which describes the undecided souls who are whirled round the confines of hell and follow the giddy fluttering of the sooty flag:—

> "La bufera infernal che mai non resta
> Mena gli spiriti con la sua rapina
> *Voltando* e percontendo li molesta."

doth undermine.] μεταλλεύει. The A. V. here adroitly covers by a happy analogy what appears to be a simple mistake, into which the writer has been led by his fondness for unusual words. He clearly means to say that "the giddiness of sensual passion *perverts* the harmless mind," as is suggested in the margin (Vulg. *transvertit*). That this is the meaning is shewn by μεταλλευομένη ("altered") in xvi. 25; but this should be expressed by μεταλλοιόω, not by μεταλλεύω, which only means "I mine," as in Deut. viii. 9, ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων αὐτῆς μεταλλεύσεις χαλκόν. Such errors are not uncommon in later and especially in Hellenistic Greek. Thus in Mk. xii. 4, ἐκεφαλαίωσαν is used for "killed" (as though by a blow on the head), but it properly means "summed up." The truth that the effects of evil surroundings (1 Cor. xv. 33) are disastrous, is one which needs no further illustration. Perhaps the writer took Is. lvii. 1 in the sense "the righteous is taken away *from the wickedness about him.*"

13. *being made perfect in a short time.*] Vulg., *consummatus.* Marg., "being sanctified" or "consummated." Philo speaks of the soul "perfected in the contests of virtue, and which has reached to the limit of the good." Enoch lived 365 years, which was "a short time" compared with the lives of other Antediluvian patriarchs.

fulfilled a long time.] In a brief life he consummated the work of a long life. Similarly St. Ambrose in his funeral sermon on Theodosius says, *Perfecta est aetas ubi perfecta est virtus.* Mr. Deane quotes Hooker's application of this verse to Edward VI. ('Eccl. Pol.' iv. 14, § 7); so, too,

> "Dum numerat palmas credidit esse senem."
> MART.

The clause (as Mr. Blunt says) derives fresh interest as having been selected by the Queen to inscribe on the monument near Balmoral, "To the beloved memory of Albert, the great and good."

14. *hasted he to take him away.*] Vulg., *properavit educere illum.* This can hardly be the

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therefore hasted he *to take him away* from among the wicked.

15 This the people saw, and understood it not, neither laid they up
[e] ch. 3 9. this in their minds, [e] That his grace and mercy is with his saints, and that he hath respect unto his chosen.

16 Thus the righteous that is dead
[f] Matt. 12. 41. 42. shall [f] condemn the ungodly which are living; and youth that is soon perfected the many years and old age of the unrighteous.

17 For they shall see the end of the wise, and shall not understand what God in his counsel hath decreed of him, and to what end the Lord hath set him in safety.

18 They shall see him, and despise him; but God shall laugh them to scorn: and they shall hereafter be

sense of ἔσπευσεν, since the accus. is not expressed. The word more probably means, "*he* hastened," or "*it* (his soul) hastened from the midst of wickedness." Grimm quotes parallels to the thought that a speedy death is a sign of God's approval, from Hom. 'Od.' xv. 244, f, g; Menander, *ὃν γὰρ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νεός*; Plaut. 'Bacch.' iv. 7. 18, *Quem dii diligunt adolescens moritur*. The list of illustrations might be largely increased, *e.g.*:

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent."—VIRG. *Aen.* vi. 870.

"In short measures life may perfect be."
BEN JONSON.

"The good die early,
And they whose hearts are dry as summer dust
Burn to the socket."—SHAKSPEARE.

"'Whom the gods love die young,' was said of yore."—BYRON.

"Man's life is measured by the work, not days:
Not aged sloth, but active youth, hath praise."
Epitaph on Francis Holles in Westminster Abbey.

15-20. The fate of the godless.

15. *This the people saw, and understood it not.*] Rather, "the peoples." The instance of Enoch has only been treated as *generic*. Others of the godly have similarly passed away, prematurely as men suppose, and their heathen or godless neighbours fail to see the explanation of their early death. "The peoples" in the LXX. is used for גּוֹיִם. This sentence in the original is an *anakoluthon*, *i.e.* it is left unfinished: "But the peoples seeing and not perceiving," &c. The finite verb εἰσι cannot be supplied, because the negative is μὴ not οὐ (*since* they perceived not, &c.).

this.] Lit., "such a fact as this;" namely, the truth which follows, "that His grace is with His saints." See note on iii. 9.

he hath respect.] See note on ii. 20.

16. *that is dead.*] The half-poetic euphemism καμὼν (lit., "weary," and then "having finished the work of life;" comp. xv. 9) is probably the right reading for the θανὼν of some MSS. The antithesis between the "dead" and the "living" shews that the "condemnation" here alluded to is not future punishment, but the disgrace reflected on wicked lives by the contrast which they present to the lives of those who have lived in God's faith and fear (comp. Matt. xii. 41; Heb. xi. 7).

perfected.] See note on *v.* 13.

the many years and old age.] Literally, "the many-yeared age." The epithet is not a superfluous or poetic addition, but is intended to contrast the old age which is reckoned by years with the old age which consists in wisdom (*v.* 9). "Wisdom is justified of her children" in every sense of the phrase.

17. *For they shall see.*] The future tense, like the aorist, is used to express normal and recurrent facts. What has been will be. It also serves to introduce the prophecies which follow.

of the wise.] The "wise" and the "righteous" are interchangeable terms (see *v.* 16).

to what end the Lord hath set him in safety.] Vulg., *quare munierit illum*. God "set the wise in security" by taking him from the seductive sorcery of the wickedness around him (*vv.* 11, 12).

18. *shall laugh them to scorn.*] *They* scorn the righteous; *God*, by "shewing all things in the slow history of their ripening," mocks at them: Ps. ii. 4, xxxvi. 13. The word ἐκγελᾶν does not occur in the N. T., but "laugh to scorn" is the rendering of καταγελάω, Mk. v. 40, &c.

hereafter.] In the world beyond the grave. Compare the magnificent passage of Isaiah about the King of Tyre (Is. xiv. 4–20).

a vile carcase.] This is the literal and probably the best rendering of εἰς πτῶμα ἄτιμον, which the Vulgate weakens into "*erunt post haec decidentes sine honore*." Others take πτῶμα to mean "a fallen fruit:" but there is an allusion to Is. xiv. 19; Jer. xxii. 19.

a reproach among the dead.] Is. xiv. 9–12; Ezek. xxxii. 24, 25.

for evermore.] δι' αἰῶνος. One of the phrases

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a vile carcase, and a reproach among the dead for evermore.

19 For he shall rend them, and cast them down headlong, that they shall be speechless; and he shall shake them from the foundation; and they shall be utterly laid waste, and be in sorrow; and their memorial shall perish.

‖ Or, *to the casting up of the account.*

20 And ‖ when they cast up the accounts of their sins, they shall come with fear: and their own iniquities shall convince them to their face.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The wicked shall wonder at the godly,* 4 *and confess their error,* 5 *and the vanity of their lives.* 15 *God will reward the just,* 17 *and war against the wicked.*

THEN shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before

which the Jews used to express their vague conceptions of continuous time: Deut. v. 29; Is. lx. 21, &c. The phrases here used are ambiguous, as in i. 12, ii. 25, iii. 1; but they imply a *retributive* living-death after the death of the body.

19. *he shall rend them.*] The verse, expressed in the fiercest Jewish spirit, is a general and rhetorical threat of retribution. Ῥήξει, properly "He shall break," seems to be used by mistake in the sense of ῥάξει, "He shall hurl them down" (Jer. xxiii. 39; Is. ix. 11; Suid., ῥάξαι ἀντὶ τοῦ καταβαλεῖν), as also in Is. xiii. 16. The writer may have been thinking of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who "laid him down upon his bed and fell sick for grief," 1 Macc. vi. 8–16. But if the writer belongs to the era of Caligula, the verse may equally well refer to the terrible fate of Flaccus, the persecutor of the Jews at Antioch, which is narrated with too unseemly pleasure by Philo ('c. Flaccum,' *ad fin.*): "And when his corpse was dragged into the trench which had been dug, *the greater part of the limbs separated from the body.*"

that they shall be speechless.] Matt. xxii. 12.

be in sorrow.] The metaphors of the uprooted tree, and the shaken building, and the wasted land are here dropped. The "anguish" of their future is contrasted with the "peace" and "rest" of the righteous (iii. 1; iv. 7).

their memorial shall perish.] As they had themselves anticipated, ii. 4.

20. *when they cast up the accounts of their sins.*] Lit., *at the reckoning of their sins.* Something more seems to be meant than the appearance of the sinner before the bar of his own conscience. Every man who sins

> "Ever bears about
> A silent bar of judgment in himself,
> Himself the judge and jury, and himself
> The prisoner at the bar, ever condemned;
> And that drags down his life."

The expressions of the writer are general, and apply both to the retributions of this life and to those beyond the grave.

with fear.] Lit., "as cowards." The word is placed with emphasis at the end of the clause. See Prov. xiii. 5 (LXX.).

their own iniquities.] They are confronted by the personified reality of their past misdeeds.

shall convince them to their face.] For the verb ἐλέγξει, see notes on i. 3, 5.

to their face.] Psalm l. 21. "Some men's sins are open, going before to judgment, and some they follow after." 1 Tim. v. 24. Comp. Luke xix. 22; Matt. xii. 37.

CHAPTER V.

1–5. Astonishment of the wicked at the joy and glory of the righteous. 6. Their remorse. 7–12. Their confession of the emptiness of their gains; 14, which the writer confirms. 15–16. Immortality of the righteous under the protecting care of God. 17–23. His panoply of righteousness and His wrath against the wicked.

1. *Then.*] What is the crisis contemplated by the writer in describing this scene of judgment? Böttcher ('De Inferis,' § 497) follows St. Augustine and many of the older commentators in referring it to the last great day. We do not, however, find any such conception elsewhere in the book. Others again suppose it to be a promise of the final triumph of the ideal Israel, and the vindication of righteousness in some earthly future of theocratic vengeance and triumph. It may be doubted whether more is intended than the dramatic illustration of the eternal principle which has found expression in so many proverbs. "*Magna est veritas et praevalebit.*"

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But Error wounded writhes in vain,
> And dies among her worshippers."

"Justice and Truth alone endure and live. Injustice and Falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes to them in the end."—FROUDE.

The writer's conception of the circumstances which shall secure the triumph of Wisdom and the justification of her by all her children must of course have been coloured both by the Messianic promises of the prophets and by the eschatological beliefs of his own age; his object, however, is not to

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the face of such as have afflicted him, and made no account of his labours.

2 When they see it, they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the strangeness of his salvation, so far beyond all that they looked for.

3 And they repenting and groaning for anguish of spirit shall say within themselves, This was he, whom we had sometimes in derision, and a ‖ proverb of reproach:

‖ Or, *parable.*

4 [a] We fools accounted his life madness, and his end to be without honour:

[a] ch. 3. 2.

5 How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot is among the saints!

systematise eschatology, nor to enter into details of the unknown future, but to produce an impressive conviction that Righteousness alone is immortal and blessed.

in great boldness.] Παῤῥησία means "boldness of speech," which is contrasted with the terrified speechlessness (ἀφώνους) and depression of the guilty (iv. 19; v. 3). See Eph. iii. 12; 1 Tim. iii. 13; Heb. iii. 6, iv. 16. It is the feeling which the wicked cannot have (Prov. xiii. 5, οὐχ ἕξει παῤῥησίαν, LXX.).

before the face of.] The frequency of such expressions (κατὰ πρόσωπον, ἐνάντιον, ἐνώπιον, ἐξεναντίας, iv. 19) is due to the pictorial Hebrew phrase לִפְנֵי.

and made no account.] Rather, "and who set at nought." The aorist θλιψάντων refers to special acts of cruelty and inflicted martyrdom (ii. 10, 12, 19); the present ἀθετούντων (1 Thess. iv. 8; Heb. x. 28) points to an habitual attitude of contempt (ii. 16–20). Vulg. *qui abstulerunt labores eorum.* Cyprian, "qui diripuerunt labores eorum." But the word ἀθετεῖν cannot bear the meaning of "plundering."

his labours.] The "labours" referred to are those which the righteous spend in the struggle for eternal life (iv. 2) and at which the ungodly sneer.

2. *When they see it.*] The aorist (ἰδόντες) implies a flash of sudden revelation. The unexpressed accusative (A. V. "it") is the "confidence" (παῤῥησία) of the righteous. The wicked have exhibited a boundless self-confidence on earth (ii. 1-20), but now that is silenced in a moment, and they can find no language but that of bitter self-reproach.

with terrible fear.] Comp. iv. 20 (δειλοί).

of his salvation.] Of the deliverance of the righteous from earthly anguish, and his elevation to fearlessness and joy in the presence of God. Comp. Luke xvi. 23, 25.

so far beyond all that they looked for.] A cumbrous addition of the A. V. to bring out the force of the word τῷ παραδόξῳ, "the unexpectedness."

3. *repenting.*] To draw from this word the inference that repentance after death is futile is to read into the verse the afterthoughts of theology. It is not even certain that the writer has *definitely* or *exclusively* in view the life beyond the grave. He is only illustrating the general fact that "truth seen too late" is itself a hell.

anguish of spirit.] Στενοχωρία means severe pressure and contraction: Rom. ii. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 4; 4 Macc. xi. 11.

shall say within themselves.] Rather, "shall say among themselves," "shall say to one another." The following verses (3–13) are not the soliloquy of the ungodly, but their confession (comp. ii. 1). It is as public as was the vaunting of their earthly insolence (ii. 1–20), to which this passage forms the tragic counterpart. The structure of the book is throughout balanced and artistic.

in derision.] Lit., "for a laughter;" *i.e.*, as a *subject* of laughter.

a proverb of reproach.] The word παραβολή sometimes means "a proverb," LXX. Psalm xliii. 16; Jer. xxiv. 9; Eccles. i. 17; Tobit iii. 4. We find instances of such abbreviated parables in Matt. xxiv. 32; Luke iv. 23, vi. 39, &c.: and in the O. T., 1 Sam. x. 12; 1 Kings xx. 11, &c.

4. *We fools.*] See note on iii. 12. The word ἄφρονες is here used in the same sense as in Luke xi. 40, xii. 20.

madness.] In the N. T., the only place where the word μανία occurs is Acts xxvi. 24, where Festus charges St. Paul with madness. A similar reproach was addressed to our Lord himself (John x. 20).

his end to be without honour.] These now remorseful wretches had themselves inflicted on the righteous "a shameful death" (ii. 20). As Christ died upon the cross of shame, "the accursed tree," so many of His martyrs have perished—like Savonarola, Huss, and Cranmer—amid extreme ignominy and execration, accepting in perfect faith an apparently final failure.

5. *among the children of God.*] Rather, "among sons of God." The term does not refer to angels, but to the best and truest men. Comp. ii. 16, 18. The ungodly see the righteous standing in the very relation towards God at which they had so contemptuously sneered.

6 Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun of righteousness rose not upon us.

‖ Or, *filled ourselves, or, surfeited.*

7 We ‖ wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction: yea, we have gone through deserts, where there lay no way: but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it.

8 What hath pride profited us? or what good hath riches with *our* vaunting brought us?

9 All those things are [b] passed away like a shadow, and as a post that hasted by;

[b] 1 Chron. 29. 15. ch. 2. 5.

10 And [c] as a ship that passeth

[c] Prov. 30 19.

his lot is among the saints!] Comp. Dan. xii. 13; Acts xxvi. 18, τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς . . . κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις.

6. *Therefore.*] Ἄρα. The word is classical as an expression of extreme surprise, but is unclassically placed first in the sentence. The light of conviction is now flashed for the first time upon sensual and deluded souls.

from the way of truth.] Comp. xii. 24; 2 Pet. ii. 2, 21. "The way" was, among early Christians, a synonym for Christianity: Acts ix. 2; xviii. 25; xix. 9, 23, &c.

the light of righteousness.] We have the same natural metaphor in 2 Sam. xxii. 29; John xii. 35; 2 Cor. iv. 6, and constantly in Scripture.

the sun of righteousness.] Mal. iv. 2, LXX.

7. *We wearied ourselves.*] Vulg. *lassati sumus.* Rather, "we were sated," or, in the middle sense, "we surfeited ourselves."

in the way of . . . destruction.] Matt. vii. 13, "broad is the way that leadeth to destruction." Comp. Psalm xvii. 4. There is a not uncommon confusion of metaphors in the verb and substantive (ἐνεπλήσθημεν τρίβοις) of this clause: Prov. i. 31; Psalm cvi. 40.

we have gone through deserts, where there lay no way.] Comp. Jer. xii. 10. The symmetry of the original would have been better kept by a briefer version:

"Yea, we traversed pathless wildernesses,
But the way of the Lord we recognised not."

8. *pride.*] Rather, "our haughtiness." Ὑπερηφανία is a strong word, which in the N.T. is only found in Mark vii. 22, though the adjective occurs five times (see 2 Tim. iii. 2; 1 Pet. v. 5). In the Apocrypha it is twice applied to the people of Sodom (Ecclus. xvi. 9; 3 Macc. ii. 5). It means a violent and contumelious bearing, whereas ἀλαζονεία means a braggart vaunt.

with our vaunting.] Ἀλαζονεία, "braggart vaunting," is only found twice in the N.T.: James iv. 16; 1 John ii. 16. In Job xxviii. 8 (LXX.) υἱοὶ ἀλαζόνων is used for "lions' whelps."

The verses 9-12 are composed of similes to describe the emptiness and evanescence of earthly pride and wealth. They have been much admired for their eloquence, and the separate pictures have great beauty. They are, however, singularly undramatic and out of place, when put into the mouth of the terror-stricken and agonised herd of sinners who for the first time perceive that their lives have been a criminal failure. The rhetoric is chiefly phraseological and on the surface. It wants the unity and concentration of the highest imaginative genius, and rings a little hollow. Grimm justly remarks that real depth of feeling would hardly shew itself in this piling up of elaborate metaphors. The delineation serves, he says, as a proof that, even among the nobler of the more cultivated Jews of this period, religion was much more a matter of intellectual study than of deep moral experience. Dante would have expressed more, and exercised a greater power over the imagination, by a single intense line. We find a similar coacervation of metaphors in the speech of Clytemnestra in the 'Agamemnon' of Aeschylus (865–870); and the poet, with exquisite psychological insight, uses it as an indication of her insincerity. In that speech Clytemnestra pauses in the middle of her comparisons and begins again, exactly as is the case in *v.* 15.

9. *All those things are passed away.*] The more emphatic order of the Greek is, "Passed are all those things." The same verb is used in ii. 4. What they had then lightly said as an excuse for self-indulgence is now bitterly felt as an aggravation of remorse. Compare the fine lines of Mr. Browning:—

"*Time fleets, youth fades, life is an empty dream.*
It is the echo of time, and he whose heart
Beat first beneath a human breast, whose speech
Was copied from a human tongue, can never
Recall when he was living and knew not this.
Nevertheless long seasons pass o'er him
Till *some one hour's experience* shews what nothing,
It seemed, could clearer shew; and ever after
An altered brow, and eye, and gait, and speech
Attest that now he knows the adage true,
'Time fleets, youth fades, life is an empty dream.'"—*Paracelsus.*

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over the waves of the water, which when it is gone by, the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the pathway of the keel in the waves;

[d] Prov. 30. 19. ‖ Or, flieth.

11 [d] Or as when a bird ‖ hath flown through the air, there is no token of her way to be found, but the light air being beaten with the stroke of her wings, and parted with the violent noise and motion of them, is passed through, and therein afterwards no sign where she went is to be found;

12 Or like as when an arrow is shot at a mark, it parteth the air, which immediately cometh together again, so that a man cannot know where it went through:

13 Even so we in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw

like a shadow.] See ii. 5; 1 Chron. xxix. 15.

as a post that hasted by.] The A. V. follows the Vulg. in taking ἀγγελία as equivalent to ἄγγελος (*tanquam nuntius percurrens*); but the sense is more forcible if we give to ἀγγελία the sense of *rumour*, as in 2 Sam. iv. 4. See Job viii. 9; ix. 25.

10. *as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water.*] Rather, "cleaving the swelling water." The metaphor is original and beautiful, but may have been partly suggested by Prov. xxx. 19.

of the keel.] The poetic genitive τρόπιος is used for the Attic τροπέως, and there is a very artificial assonance in ἀτραπὸν τρόπιος, which Grimm renders "Den *Weg* seiner *Bewegung*." The word does not occur in either Testament.

11. *as when a bird hath flown through the air.*] The "*flieth*" of the margin is better. The whole gist of the simile is in these words. The rest is simply pictorial. Comp. Tennyson's—

"And light
As flies the shadow of a bird she fled."
The Princess.

being beaten.] Comp.

"Some dolorous message bound beneath
The wild *pulsation* of her wings."
TENNYSON, *In Memoriam.*

And Shelley speaks of wings

"*Winnowing* the crimson dawn."

of her wings.] ταρσῶν. Lit., "alar bones"—*i.e.* expanded wings. The word is also used of the flat blade of an oar.

parted.] Lit., "rent." Comp. Neh. i. 10.

"Illa levem fugiens raptim *secat aethera* pennis."
VIRG. *Georg.* i. 410.

with the violent noise and motion of them.] Lit., "with the force of the hurtling of her beating wings."

no sign.] Σημεῖον and τεκμήριον are here used as practically synonymous. For their technical meaning, see Arist. 'Rhet.' i. 2, § 17.

is to be found.] The aorists in this verse are the usual *gnomic* aorists, which are poetically varied with presents (εὑρίσκεται . . . εὑρέθη). Solomon (Prov. xxx. 19) speaks of "the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea."

12. *immediately cometh together again.*] ἀνελύθη. Lit., "is immediately resolved into itself." As this meaning of ἀναλύω is found in later Greek, there is no need to alter the reading, though the expression is somewhat fantastic.

13. *Even so we.*] Here we have a second *apodosis*. The series of similes which has been introduced to illustrate the evanescence of earthly joys, is now applied to the disappearance of the wicked themselves.

in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw to our end.] The A.V. throughout this book has a tendency to over-wordiness, and here has missed the meaning. It would be as true of the godly as of the ungodly that from birth onwards they were drawing towards their end. Render "So also we were born, and disappeared." The meaning is that in their case birth and death seemed almost synchronous, since their wicked life was no life, but only a living death. The better reading is not the imperf. ἐξελείπομεν, but the aorist ἐξελίπομεν. Vulg. *desivimus esse.* Comp. Lk. xvi. 9, ὅταν ἐκλίπητε, "when ye die."

no sign of virtue.] They had their "tokens of mirthfulness" (ii. 9) and their "memorial of foolishness" to shew,—if *they* were anything.

"Haec habui quae edi quaeque exsaturata voluptas
Hausit; at illa manent pulcra et praeclara relicta."
CICERO (from the Greek).

See note on ii. 9.

were consumed.] *I.e.* were utterly spent. The word does not occur in the O. or N. T., but is found in Bel and the Dragon, 21.

Here ends the self-reproach of the ungodly. The Vulgate has no authority for the addition *Talia dixerunt in inferno hi qui peccave-*

to our end, and had no sign of virtue to shew; but were consumed in our own wickedness.

14 [e] For the hope of the ungodly is like ‖ dust that is blown away with the wind; like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; like as the ‖ smoke which is [f] dispersed here and there with a tempest, and passeth away as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day.

15 But the righteous live for evermore; [g] their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High.

16 Therefore shall they receive a glorious ‖ kingdom, and [h] a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand: for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his arm shall he protect them.

17 [i] He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour, and make the creature his weapon for the revenge of *his* enemies.

18 He shall put on righteousness

[e] Job 8. 14.
‖ Gr. *thistle-down.*
‖ Or, *chaff.*
[f] Ps. 1. 4. & 103. 16. Prov. 10. 25. & 11. 7. James 1. 10, 11.
[g] Gen. 15. 1. Rev. 22. 12.
‖ Or, *palace:* unless the word be taken improperly, as 2 Mac. 2. 17.
[h] ch. 4. 2. 2 Tim. 4. 8. Rev. 4. 4. & 9. 7.
[i] Isai. 59. 16, 17.

runt, which no doubt came from a marginal gloss. The words *in inferno* are an unauthorised addition.

14. *For.*] These remorseful acknowledgments are just, for, &c.

the hope.] Abstract for concrete, meaning "that on which they set their hope."

dust.] This might be the rendering of χοῦς, as in Mk. vi. 11, "the *dust* of your feet;" Gen. ii. 7, &c. The undoubted reading is χνοῦς, "chaff" (Hos. xiii. 3, &c.), "thistle-down," like what the Psalmist calls "a wheel" or "rolling thing," *i.e.* a winged seed driven by the wind. Vulg. *lanugo.* Comp. Job xxi. 18.

froth.] Πάχνη, the best-supported reading, means "rhime" or hoar frost, Job xxxviii. 24, which does not, however, suit the comparison. Hence some MSS. read ἄχνη (comp. Hom. 'Il.,' v. 499, ὡς δ' ἄνεμος ἄχνας φορέει), and some ἀράχνη, "a spider's web" (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 9). It is not impossible that the writer gave to πάχνη some such sense, or that he meant "snow." The word is used for "smoke" in Ps. cxix. 83. If English poets can mistake the meaning of words in their own language (as Byron misunderstood the words "ruth" and "kibe"), a Hellenistic Jew may be excused for such errors. The tendency to use (and sometimes misuse) uncommon words is often found in writers who are not using their native language (*e.g.* in Hindoo English).

smoke.] The marginal reading "chaff" of the A.V. seems to be accidentally misplaced. At any rate, καπνὸς can have no such meaning.

of a guest that tarrieth but a day.] κατα-λύτου μονοημέρου. Both words are rare. The former occurs in Polybius and Plutarch; the latter only in the 'Batrachomyomachia.'

15. *But the righteous live for evermore.*] This and the following verse are devoted to the rewards of the righteous, but the writer is far more copious and eloquent in dwelling on retribution than on reward, and he reverts almost immediately to the topics of wrath and punishment. The word "live" is here used in its high spiritual sense. Comp. 1 John ii. 18.

with the Lord.] The phrase ἐν Κυρίῳ occurs constantly in the N.T. to express the relation of the soul to God.

16. *Therefore.*] As a consequence of God's care for them.

a glorious kingdom.] The word βασίλειον might also mean "a crown" (2 Sam. i. 10) or "a palace" (Prov. xviii. 19); but probably the meaning here intended is "kingdom," as in 2 Macc. ii. 17. "The kingdom of splendour" is heaven (Ps. xcii. 1, LXX.). See x. 10; xviii. 15.

a beautiful crown.] The "diadem" was a band of purple silk sewn with pearls, the symbol of Oriental royalty. Comp. Is. xxviii. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Pet. v. 4.

shall he cover them.] Comp. xix. 8.

with his arm shall he protect.] Lit., "hold the shield over them," and so "fight for them:" 2 K. xix. 34; Prov. ii. 7, ὑπερασπιστής; Ps. xvii. 3.

> "From marge to blue marge
> The whole heaven grew his targe,
> With the Sun's self for visible boss,
> While an arm ran across,
> Which the earth heaved beneath like a breast,
> Where the wretch was close pressed."
>
> BROWNING, *Instans Tyrannus.*

17. *his jealousy.*] Comp. i. 10. The word implies a love which shews itself in fiery anger against all who would wrong the person loved.

for complete armour.] πανοπλίαν, Eph. vi. 11; Ecclus. xlvi. 8. The idea of the passage is found in Is. lix. 16–19; Ezek. xxxviii. 21–23.

make the creature his weapon.] He shall make the whole creation subserve the purposes of His retributive anger. Something of the same conception is found in Judg. v. 20, where "the stars in their courses" fought against Sisera, and the river Kishon swept away his army. Comp. Ecclus. xxxix. 29,

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as a breastplate, and true judgment instead of an helmet.

19 He shall take ‖holiness for an invincible shield.

20 His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword, and the world shall fight with him against the unwise.

21 Then shall the right aiming thunderbolts go abroad; and from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow, shall they fly to the mark.

22 And hailstones full of wrath shall be cast *as* out of a stone bow, and the water of the sea shall rage against them, and the floods shall cruelly drown them.

23 Yea, a mighty wind shall stand up against them, and like a storm shall blow them away: thus iniquity

‖ Or, *equity.*

30: "Fire, and hail, and famine, and death, all these were created for vengeance," &c. The thought is found also in Philo ('Vit. Mos.' i. 17), "The elements of the universe, earth and water and fire, are set in motion, when God thinks fit that the land of the impious should be destroyed;" and in Josephus ('Antt.' ii. 13, § 4), "To those who will stir against themselves the divine anger, things terrible are produced from all things; neither is the earth friendly to them, nor the air, nor are the births of children natural, but all things are inimical and hostile."

18. *righteousness.*] Meaning here God' avenging justice. This passage was probably in the mind of St. Paul when he described the Christian's armour, Eph. vi. 11–17, 1 Thess. v. 8.

true judgment.] Judgment unfeigned, *i.e.* without respect of persons. See the use of the word in Rom. xii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 5, &c. Hesych. ἀπροσωπόληπτος. Comp. xviii. 6.

19. *holiness.*] Vulg. *aequitatem.* Marg. "equity." The meaning, however, is "that holiness of God against which all reproaches and opposition are hurled in vain."

invincible.] Ἀκαταμάχητον is another of the sonorous words which had attractiveness for the writer, but which does not occur in the O. or N. T. It is found in Pseudo-Lucian (Philopatris) and Marc. Aurelius.

20. *His severe wrath.*] The A. V. does not notice the δὲ of the original, which contrasts the defensive with the offensive arms. The word for "severe" is ἀπότομος, lit. "abrupt," "precipitous" (Lat. *abscisus*), and then "inexorable" (vi. 5; xi. 10; xviii. 15). The substantive occurs once in the N. T., Rom. xi. 22: and the adverb in 2 Cor. xiii. 10; Tit. i. 13.

for a sword.] Comp. Rev. ii. 16.

the world.] That is, all created elements, as in *v.* 17.

shall fight with him.] A double compound verb, συνεκπολεμήσει, "shall go *forth with* him to fight."

the unwise.] παράφρονας. The word differs from ἄφρονας (*amentes*) in implying *perverted* intelligence (*dementes*).

21. *right-aiming thunderbolts.*] Lit., "right-aiming darts (comp. Heb. xii. 30) of lightnings." The language recalls that of Hab. iii., but is far less intense and simple. Comp. Ps. vii. 13.

well-drawn.] *I.e.* stretched to its full curve (Luther, *hart gespannt*). The A.V. takes τῶν νεφῶν in apposition to εὐκύκλου τόξου, but the figure is more startling and more in accordance with the writer's style if we render it "from the well-drawn bow of the clouds" (Vulg., *a bene curvato arcu nubium*).

shall they fly.] Lit., "they shall leap"—a metaphoric expression as old as Homer ('Il.' iv. 125).

22. *And hailstones . . . bow.*] The best way to take the words is, "And from the stone-bow of His wrath dense hailstones shall be hurled." If θυμοῦ be taken in agreement with πετροβόλου, as is done by the Vulg. (*a petrosa ira*), "from His stone-hurling wrath," God's wrath is described as a weapon; whereas in the other clauses some *attribute* of God is *compared* to a weapon. Wrath is His balista or catapult (1 Sam. xiv. 14, LXX.). The word πληρεῖς means "thick-flying," "not intermittent." Comp. Ex. ix. 23; Jos. x. 11; Is. xxviii. 2, 17; Rev. viii. 7, &c.

the water of the sea.] A frequent metaphor to imply terror and ruin (Ps. xviii. 16, &c.; Lk. xxi. 25), but with a special allusion to the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea.

the floods shall cruelly drown them.] Here we have another marked instance of the fantastic or artificial paronomasia which pleased the ear of the writer—ποταμοὶ . . . ἀποτόμως. The rare verb συγκλύσουσι, "shall overwhelm them with deluge," occurs in the LXX. (Cant. viii. 7), and κατακλύζω in x. 4, 15; 2 Pet. iii. 6.

23. *a mighty wind.*] Rather, "the spirit of His power," which in the next clause is compared to a hurricane. Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 8.

shall blow them away.] "Shall winnow

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shall lay waste the whole earth, and ill dealing shall overthrow the thrones of the mighty.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *Kings must give ear.* 3 *They have their power from God,* 5 *who will not spare them.* 12 *Wisdom is soon found.* 21 *Princes must seek for it:* 24 *for a wise prince is the stay of his people.*

[a] HEAR therefore, O ye kings, and understand; learn, ye that be judges of the ends of the earth. [a] Ps. 2. 10.

2 Give ear, ye that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of nations.

them out," as chaff is blown from the wheat. Comp. xi. 20; Is. xli. 16; Ps. i. 4, &c.

iniquity shall lay waste the whole earth.] The ruin and ravage produced by the wrath of God is attributed directly to "lawlessness," by which that wrath is evoked. The expression "the whole earth" indicates that the thoughts of the writer, so far as they are meant to be specific, are, from *v.* 17 and onwards, occupied with Messianic or theocratic scenes of retribution of which this earth is the stage, and that he is not alluding to the great day of judgment, or to the punishment of the wicked after death.

ill-dealing.] Vulg., *malignitas.* The word κακοπραγία, in the sense of "evil-doing," does not occur in the Bible, but is found in Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 5, § 4. Its classical meaning is "ill-success" (Thuc. ii. 60). A more correct word for misdeeds would be κακοποιΐα.

the thrones of the mighty.] Rather, "thrones of potentates." Comp. Lk. i. 52. The word δυναστῶν skilfully links this chapter with the address in the following, in a manner also observable in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It must remain uncertain what exact meaning the writer attached to this tremendous passage. In the older forms of Hebrew literature—*e.g.* in the Prophets—such passages refer almost exclusively to temporary and almost contemporary calamities. The conception of a Day of Judgment for the dead does not appear till a later stage of Jewish literature.

VI.–VIII. COMMENDATION OF THE BLESSINGS OF WISDOM AND MEANS WHEREBY WISDOM MAY BE ACQUIRED.

CHAPTER VI.

AN APPEAL TO RULERS.

1–11. Kings are reminded of their responsibility, which is proportionate to their greatness, and are warned of God's impartial justice. 12–16. Wisdom is easily found of them that truly seek her. 17–21. Wisdom is the secret of true power. 22–25. He promises a free instruction respecting Wisdom to all who will receive it.

1–11. The responsibility of kings.

The Vulg. heads the chapter with the words *Melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens quam fortis.* There is no authority for the addition. It is founded on Eccles. ix. 16, and Prov. xvi. 32, xxiv. 5, but it furnishes a very insufficient description of the contents of this chapter, and breaks the continuity of the style.

1. *Hear therefore, O ye kings.*] Hear and understand, because misdeeds overthrow the thrones of potentates (v. 23). The verbs are combined in Is. vi. 9 (LXX.); Matt. xiii. 13. They imply the same as "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest."

judges of the ends of the earth.] "Judges" is the characteristic Semitic conception for rulers. The phrase means the same as "ye that be judges of the earth," in i. 1. "The ends of the earth" means all lands, however distant. The long sufferings of Jews under heathen autocrats made them feel special interest in ideal warnings to kings. The writer can hardly have expected that his book would really fall into the hands of heathen rulers. The appeal to kings as his special auditors belongs only to the rhetorical form of the book, and to his assumption of the person of Solomon. His sweeping and exceptionless denunciations of heathendom, and of the fate which impends over all the unrighteous (v. 17–23; vi. 5), do not imply any hope that Pagan rulers will listen to his exhortations. The chapter recalls parts of Ps. ii., lviii., lxxxii.

2. *Give ear.*] This late verb (ἐνωτίζομαι) is only found in the N. T., in Acts ii. 14, but is common in the LXX.

the people.] Rather, "a multitude." The *greatest* kings are specially appealed to (comp. *vv.* 5, 6; xiv. 20).

glory.] γεγαυρωμένοι. A rare word, expressing the extreme of haughtiness. It is very inadequately expressed by the *qui placetis* of the Vulgate. In the LXX. the verb occurs in Num. xxiii. 24, ὡς λέων γαυρωθήσεται. Comp. 3 Macc. iii. 11. Philo only uses it when referring to this verse of the LXX. ('Vit. Mos.' i. 51), but he uses γαῦρος and γαυριάω. It is one of the poetic words which found their way into Alexandrian Greek. Comp. ξανθοῖς βοστρύχοις γαυρούμενος, Eur. 'Or.' 1532.

in the multitude of nations.] Rather, "in

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[b] Rom. 13. 1, 2.

3 For [b] power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your works, and search out your counsels.

4 Because, being ministers of his kingdom, ye have not judged aright, nor kept the law, nor walked after the counsel of God;

5 Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you: for a sharp judgment shall be to them that be in high places.

6 For [c] mercy will soon pardon the meanest: but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.

7 For he which is Lord over all shall fear no [d] man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's

[c] Luke 12. 47, 48. [d] Deut. 10. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 7. Job 34. 19. Eccles. 35. 12–16. Acts 10. 34. Rom. 2. 11. Gal. 2. 6. Eph. 6. 9. Col. 3. 25. 1 Pet. 1. 17.

multitudes of nations." In the person of Solomon, the writer addresses kings like those of Persia, and rulers like those of Rome, who held many nationalities under their sway. No specific chronological indication can be attached to the words.

3. *power.*] Rather, "your dominion." Κράτησις, a late bad word, is found neither in the LXX. nor the N. T., but occurs in Josephus, 'c. Apion,' i. 26. The thought that "the powers that be are ordained of God"—that kings reign *gratiâ Dei*—is expressed in very different parts of Scripture: 1 Chron. xxxix. 11, 12; Dan. ii. 21; John xix. 11; Rom. xiii. 1, 2; 1 Pet. ii. 13. Josephus says that it was a special doctrine of the Essenes ('B. J.' ii. 8, § 7).

shall try.] See note on i. 9.

4. *being ministers of his kingdom.*] The heathen dynasts had failed to recognise that they were only vicegerents of God: John xix. 11; Ps. ciii. 19.

ye have not judged aright.] He charges heathen rulers in general with that "perversion of judgment" which springs from corrupt motives and "respect for persons." Comp. Deut. xvi. 19, xxiv. 17; Prov. xvii. 23; Is. i. 23, &c.; Mic. iii. 9.

nor kept the law.] Though they could not know the Law of Moses, they had the witness of a law written in their own hearts: Rom. i. 19–22; ii. 14.

5. *Horribly.*] φρικτῶς. The familiar thought (1 Thess. v. 3; Lk. xvii. 27–29, &c.) is expressed, as is usual with this writer, in uncommon phraseology.

shall he come upon you.] ἐπιστήσεται. The word implies sudden and hostile onset: Lk. xxi. 34.

sharp.] ἀπότομος. See note on v. 20, 22.

shall be to them that be in high places.] Lit., "takes place among the pre-eminent." Γίνεται expresses a law of universal application. Οἱ ὑπερέχοντες: comp. Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13. The thought is partly like that in Horace:

> "Celsae graviore casu
> Decidunt turres."

The responsibility of the greatest is greatest; and therefore their judgment is more severe, and the consequent ruin more overwhelming.

6. *For mercy will soon pardon the meanest.*] Lit., "For the lowest is pardonable by mercy." Συγγνωστὸς with the genitive usually means "pardonable *for*." The genitive ἐλέους here means "*by* mercy," and this construction is so unparalleled that Nitzsch suspects ἐλέους to be a gloss. It must rather be explained by the bold and unusual phraseology and style of the writer. A simpler writer might have said, "is *worthy* of mercy, and may be pardoned." The general thought is that great privileges and opportunities imply great corresponding duties (*noblesse oblige*), and that the temptations of the poor may assume acuter forms, and therefore may receive greater allowance. Comp. Prov. vi. 30, and especially Lk. xii. 47, 48. Ἐλάχιστος does not mean (as the Syriac renders it) "the smallest *king*," but the humblest subject.

but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.] The alliteration and the half-poetic combination of the adj. and adv. (δυνατοὶ δὲ δυνατῶς, comp. 4 Macc. xii. 15) are characteristic. "*Tormented*" (Vulg., *tormento patientur*) is too strong a rendering for ἐτασθήσονται, "shall be chastised" (comp. ii. 19; Gen. xii. 17).

7. *he which is Lord over all.*] The same title is given to God in viii. 3; Lk. ii. 29; Acts iv. 24. In the LXX. it often corresponds to Elohim and Jehovah.

shall fear.] ὑποστελεῖται. The verb properly means "to shorten sail," then "to shrink from," and so "to fear." It is found in both Testaments (Job xli. 16), but in the N. T. it means "to shrink from" or withhold (Acts xx. 20, 27; Gal. ii. 12; Heb. x. 38). The Vulg. mistranslates the clause, "non *subtrahet* personam cujusquam Deus."

no man's person.] This phrase is borrowed from Deut. i. 17, and expresses the truth that God is answerable to none.

stand in awe of.] The verb ἐντρέπω means "I turn away," and then "I cause a person to turn away for shame," "I make to blush," 1 Cor. iv. 14. The passive means "I blush at" or "am afraid of" (Tit. ii. 8).

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greatness: for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike.

8 But a sore trial shall come upon the mighty.

9 Unto you therefore, O kings, do I speak, that ye may learn wisdom, and not fall away.

10 For they that keep holiness holily shall be ‖ judged holy: and they that have learned such things shall find ‖ what to answer.

‖ Or, *justified*

‖ Or, *a defence.*

11 Wherefore set your affection upon my words; desire them, and ye shall be instructed.

12 Wisdom is glorious, and never fadeth away: yea, [e] she is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her.

[e] Deut. 30 11, &c. John 7. 17.

13 She preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them.

14 Whoso seeketh her early shall have no great travail: for he shall find her sitting at his doors.

15 To think therefore upon her is

The middle voice means, as here, "I reverence" and "am afraid of," Matt. xii. 6; Lk. xviii. 2.

the small and great.] A common phrase in all languages for "high" and "low:" Deut. i. 17; Rev. xiii. 6.

careth for.] "The rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the Maker of them all," Prov. xxii. 2. "That accepteth not the persons of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor: for they are the work of his hands," Job xxxviii. 19. Πρόνοια is God's protecting providence (xiv. 3). "His tender mercies are over all his works," Ps. cxlv. 9.

alike.] "The very least as feeling His care, and the greatest as not exempted from His power."—HOOKER.

8. *a sore trial.*] Rather, "a stringent scrutiny."

shall come upon.] Lit., "is imminent over." The same verb is used as in *v.* 5. See Lk. xii. 48, "Where much is given much is required."

9. *O kings.*] The word used is "tyrants," but in the LXX. this is nothing but a synonym for kings: Hab. i. 10; Prov. viii. 16; "satraps," Esth. ix. 3. Bildad is called a τύραννος in Job ii. 11.

fall away.] xii. 2; Heb. vi. 6. One of the words for a sin is παράπτωμα, "a swerving aside."

10. *shall be judged holy.*] The "justified" of the margin and the *justificabuntur* of the Vulg. must not be mixed up with later theological connotations. The meaning is the same as in 1 John iii. 27, "He that doeth righteousness is righteous," and (*id.* ii. 29) is "born of God." For the form of expression, comp. *v.* 6, and the phrase *Sanctus sancta sancte tractat.*

what to answer.] Lit., "an apology." Their plea of innocence shall be held sufficient in the stringent scrutiny. Comp. Ecclus. xviii. 19; Heb. iv. 16.

11. *ye shall be instructed.*] The verb often implies the notion of moral *discipline:* Ps. lxxxix. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 32; 2 Cor. vi. 9; 1 Tim. i. 20.

12–16. Wisdom is found of them that seek her.

12. *glorious.*] Lit., "bright (*i.e.* pure and radiant: Ecclus. xxxvi. 10) and unfading (1 Pet. i. 4) is wisdom."

easily.] εὐχερῶς is not found in either Testament, but occurs in Judith iv. 5; 2 Macc. ii. 31. It is a classical word.

found.] Prov. viii. 17; Jer. xxix. 13. Throughout the passage Wisdom is poetically personified.

13. *preventeth.*] *I.e.* anticipates.

in making herself first known unto them.] These seven words represent the single word προγνωσθῆναι of the original. This infinitive may not be meant to depend on φθάνει (by the same unclassical construction as in iv. 7), but may be the explanatory infinitive—"so as to be known beforehand."

14. *seeketh her early.*] ὀρθρίσας, "rising in the morning." The verb occurs in Lk. xxi. 38. The classic form is ὀρθρεύω. The "morning" alluded to here is "the morn of life," *i.e.* youth.

shall have no great travail.] Vulg. *non laborabit;* "shall not grow weary," Matt. xi. 28; John iv. 6.

sitting at his doors.] Lit., "an assessor of his gates," *i.e.* close at hand: Jas. v. 9; Prov. viii. 34; Jer. xxxix. 3.

15. *perfection of wisdom.*] Rather, "of intelligence" (φρονήσεως). As Grimm points out, the writer uses the word φρόνησις very loosely, and without attaching to it any accurate definition. In iii. 15, iv. 9, vii. 7, it seems to be a *synonym* for wisdom; in viii. 7 it is a *result* of wisdom (A. V. "prudence") as one of the four cardinal virtues. Here again it is *a step on the way* to wisdom. No doubt these varied expressions can be made con-

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perfection of wisdom: and whoso watcheth for her shall quickly be without care.

16 For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, sheweth herself favourably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought.

17 For the very true beginning of her is the desire of ‖discipline; and the care of discipline is love;

18 And love is the keeping of her laws; and the giving heed unto her laws is the assurance of incorruption;

19 And incorruption maketh us near unto God:

20 Therefore the desire of wisdon bringeth to a kingdom.

21 If your delight be then in thrones and sceptres, O ye kings of the people, honour wisdom, that ye may reign for evermore.

‖ Or, *nurture.*

sistent if *φρόνησις* be understood as "intelligence," "good sense;" but clearly the parallelisms and variations and amplified repetitions of the Hebrew-Greek style are unfavourable to minute accuracy of expression.

without care.] Free from sordid, worldly anxieties, vii. 23; Matt. vi. 25, xiii. 22, &c.

16. *meeteth them.*] The thought is the same as in Is. lxv. 24. It is obvious that in these verses Wisdom is not *theologically* regarded as in Philo's treatment of the Logos, but is merely personified in a poetic manner, as in the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus.

17–21. The steps from the love of Wisdom to immortality.

17. *the very true beginning of her.*] Wisdom will find those that are worthy of her; for Wisdom begins in desire for discipline; which leads to love of Wisdom; which leads to obedience to her laws; which leads to assurance of immortality; which brings near to God. Hence the desire for Wisdom is the lowest step to a throne. The reasoning is little more than verbal assertion, but the general thought is that

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control—
> These three alone lead man to sovereign power."

The rhetoric of the passage is remarkable. It takes the form of a *sorites*, or series of syllogisms, in which the conclusion of one forms the premiss of the next. But the love for variation and emphasis leads the writer to weaken the *sorites* by altering the phraseology of each new premiss. Thus *ἐπιθυμία παιδείας* becomes *φροντὶς παιδείας*, *τήρησις νόμων* is changed to *προσοχὴ νόμων*, *βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας* becomes *ἀφθαρσία*; and, in the conclusion, he alters *ἐπιθυμία παιδείας* into *ἐπιθ. σοφίας*. Further he substitutes "a kingdom" for "nearness to God." This Greek form of reasoning does not occur in Scripture, but there is found a species of *anadiplosis*, which has some external resemblance to it: Hos. ii. 21–23; Joel i. 3; Rom. v. 3–5, &c. It is uncertain whether we should take "truest" with "beginning" or with "desire." The sense is much the same in either case, and the word merely implies additional emphasis. If taken with *ἀρχή*, it means "the most secure beginning;" if with *ἐπιθυμία*, it means "the most genuine desire."

of discipline.] See note on *v.* 11.

18. *love.*] Not in the Christian sense, but "love of wisdom." Men love Wisdom more in proportion as they submit to her discipline.

love is the keeping of her laws.] The words at once recall Matt. xix. 17; John xiv. 15, 21, 24. The love of God is always closely conjoined with obedience to His will: Ex. xx. 6; 1 John v. 3, &c.

the assurance of incorruption.] *I.e.* "of immortality," ii. 23; Rom. ii. 7. The loss of immortality can only come from moral suicide (i. 12), and the righteous feel in themselves the principle of life: 1 John v. 12. The same thought—that virtue involves immortality—occurs frequently in Philo.

19. *maketh us near unto God.*]

> "Love Virtue; she alone is free:
> She will teach you *how to climb*
> *Higher than the sphery chime;*
> Or if Virtue feeble were,
> Heaven itself should stoop to her."
> MILTON, *Comus.*

The germ of this thought is possibly borrowed from Plato ('Phaedo,' p. 63, c), but Ritter ('Gesch. d. Philos.' ii. 382, quoted by Grimm) points out that this writer may claim originality in having been the first to give it clear expression among his countrymen.

20. *to a kingdom.*] If Wisdom brings us near to God, it leads us to the foot of the loftiest of all thrones, and makes us partakers of a spiritual kingdom beyond the grave: Rom. v. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 12.

21. *that ye may reign for evermore.*] The eternal contrast between the semblance of earthly power and the realities of the divine kingdom is here briefly and forcibly indicated.

22–25. A promise of free instruction as to the nature of Wisdom.

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22 As for wisdom, what she is, and how she came up, I will tell you, and will not hide mysteries from you: but will seek her out from the beginning of her nativity, and bring the knowledge of her into light, and will not pass over the truth.

23 Neither will I go with consuming envy; for such a man shall have no fellowship with wisdom.

24 But the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world: and a wise king is the upholding of the people.

25 Receive therefore instruction through my words, and it shall do you good.

22. *what she is.*] The writer sets forth the results and blessings of wisdom, but nowhere defines it.

how she came up.] Lit. "how she became" (Vulg. *quomodo facta est*): *i.e.* the *origin* of Wisdom. Nothing, however, is said of the origin of Wisdom, except the statement that she is the breath of God, vii. 25. Ewald and others suppose the words to mean "how she occurred to *me*," *i.e.* how I gained wisdom; but the ἐμοὶ could not have been left unexpressed. Perhaps the writer felt that as to the birth or creation of Wisdom nothing further can be said than that she is an emanation of the Divine, and that she was one of the primeval attributes of God, and first received concrete manifestation in the creation of the Universe: Prov. viii. 22–31; Ecclus. i. 4–10, xxiv. 8, 9.

mysteries.] Deep truths, once hidden, but now revealed. The writer promises that he will tell all the truth he knows, and that there shall be nothing esoteric which he conceals. He will have no "mysteries," which are only meant for the initiated. Some of the Alexandrian theosophists had borrowed from the heathen philosophers the notion that there are truths which ought to be concealed from the vulgar multitude. Philo, in a passage closely analogous to this, indignantly complains that, if the truths which were revealed to the initiated were really beautiful and useful, those who possessed such knowledge had no right to shut themselves up in deep darkness and only to benefit two or three persons. All men, even in mid market-place, ought to be fearlessly invited to share in all knowledge which can make life better and happier. (Philo, 'De Sacrif.' 12.)

will seek her out.] Lit., "track her step by step" (ix. 16); ἐξιχνιάσω (Job x. 6). The classical form of the verb is ἐξιχνεύω. It does not occur in the N.T., but we have ἀνεξιχνίαστος twice (Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 8).

from the beginning of her nativity.] If this had been the meaning, we should have required the pronoun αὐτῆς. The meaning is, "from the beginning of creation" (Prov. viii. 22, 23).

bring the knowledge of her into light.] The phrase is like the German *in das klare setzen*. The thought resembles the ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ τὰ τῆς ὠφελείας προθέντας of Philo (see the previous note).

pass over.] Leave it on one side, as a thing to be neglected: x. 8 (i. 8; ii. 7).

23. *will I go.*] συνοδεύσω, "will I accompany you" (Gen. xxxiii. 12; Aquila, συνοδία; Lk. ii. 44). The word is chosen from its assonance with παροδεύσω.

with consuming envy.] "Consuming" here means "wasting" or "melting away." The verb *intabescere* is used by Ovid ('Met.' ii. 780) as descriptive of envy. The writer promises an *ungrudging* communication of his experience to those who accompany him on the path of inquiry. So Philo says (*l. c.*) φθόνος γὰρ ἀρετῆς διώκισται. There is no room for so mean a vice as envy in the sphere of virtue. In another passage, Philo quotes Plato ('Phaedr.' p. 247) as saying that "Envy stands outside the divine choir;" and he adds that "Wisdom, a thing most divine and participative, never shuts her halls of thought, but ever welcomes those who thirst for draughts of instruction" ('Quod omnis prob. lib.,' Opp. ii. 44). The philosophers would have denied that "envy" had anything to do with their suppression of truths which they believed to be beyond the reach of the multitude; but φθόνος involves the notion of "grudging" and "withholding."

such a man.] Vulg. *talis homo.* Rather "it," *i.e.* Envy.

24. *But.*] He proceeds to shew that the unmeet withholding of the truth is an injury to humanity.

upholding.] εὐστάθεια: Esth. ii. 5; 2 Macc. iv. 6.

VII., VIII. The Glory of Wisdom. How Wisdom may be attained.

CHAPTER VII.

1–7. Solomon, being but a mortal man, like all others, prayed for wisdom, which **(8–10)** he esteemed above all earthly blessings. **11–14.** All other earthly blessings came with wisdom. **15–21.** The fulness of knowledge which comes from God. **22–30.** The glory and the nature of Wisdom.

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CHAPTER VII.

1 *All men have their beginning and end alike.*
8 *He preferred wisdom before all things else.*
15 *God gave him all the knowledge which he had.* 22 *The praise of wisdom.*

I MYSELF also am a mortal man, like to all, and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth,

2 And in my mother's womb was fashioned to be flesh in the time of ten months, [a] being compacted in blood, of the seed of man, and the pleasure that came with [b] sleep.

[a] Job 10.
[b] ch. 4. 6.

3 And when I was born, I drew in the common air, and fell upon the earth, which is of like nature, and

1. *I myself also am a mortal man.*] Such an acknowledgment might seem superfluous, but it is explained partly by the extraordinary development of supernatural legends which had clustered round the name of Solomon in the Jewish Hagadah, and partly by the writer's object,—which is to illustrate (i.) that before honour is humility, and (ii.) that the attainment of wisdom by Solomon was not due to any miraculous endowments, but is possible to the simplest of the children of men who will seek it by prayer.

like to all.] I was no being of a superior order to the rest of mankind.

the offspring of him that was first made of the earth.] Three words in the original—a "descendant of the earthborn protoplast," *i.e.* of Adam (Gen. ii. 7; 1 Cor. xv. 47, ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός; Ecclus. xvii. 1). The word "protoplast" occurs again at x. 1. It became a common word in Greek ecclesiastical literature, and, though not perhaps invented by this writer, was first brought into currency by him.

2. *in my mother's womb.*] No unusual circumstances accompanied his birth.

was fashioned to be flesh.] ἐγλύφην; lit., "I was sculptured," *i.e.* moulded. xiii. 13. Comp. Eccles. xi. 5; Is. xliv. 2. The "flesh" is regarded as being shaped in the womb, and then endowed with a pre-existent soul (viii. 9). So Macrobius calls the womb "formandi hominis monetam." In the language of later theological controversy the writer is rather a Creationist than a Traducianist. His views agree with those of Philo, who held that the pre-existent souls are "fleshless and bodiless," and "have no participation with earthly matter" ('De Gigant.' 7; 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 12). For fuller details see Siegfried, 'Philo,' pp. 242, 243. The writer does not touch on the question as to the exact moment in which the soul is supposed to be united to the body. The Alexandrian psychology was probably derived from the Stoics, who deduced their views allegorically from Homer, 'Il.,' ix. 609, &c. (Siegfried, p. 15.) In the common Jewish Hagadoth each soul, before entering the body, is supposed to be shewn the future places of reward and punishment that it may be without excuse hereafter; and the yet unborn souls of all Jews are represented as having been present to hear the Law delivered on Mount Sinai.

in the time of ten months.] A common expression in ancient literature (Arist. 'Hist. Animal.' x. 4; Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 5; Terent. 'Adelph.,' iii. 5, 28; Ovid, 'Fast.,' i. 33; "Matri longa decem tulerant fastidia menses," Virg.), originating probably from the earliest division of the year into lunar months of 28 days. For the conception of the soul as separate from the body, see viii. 19.

being compacted in blood.] It is hardly worth while to enter into the empiric details of the writer's embryology. He seems to have held the physical views of Aristotle ('De generat. animal.,' ii. 4; comp. Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 15), which Philo rejected ('De opif. Mund.' 45), but which the writer may have identified with Job x. 10. (Comp. 4 Macc. xiii. 19.) Pseudo-Solomon, in touching on physical details which in that age were mostly a matter of guesswork, shews less wisdom than the sacred writers, who on this subject pretend to no knowledge: Ps. cxxxix. 13–16; Eccles. xi. 5. (Comp. 2 Macc. vii. 22.)

that came with sleep.] The same euphemism as in iv. 6.

3. *And when I was born.*] "Yea and I too, when born." Not only my birth, but my infancy was simply normal.

the common air.] A phrase first used (apparently) by Menander (Brunck, 'Gnom. Poet. Fr.' vi. 6).

fell.] A phrase for birth found both in Scripture (see the commentators on Is. xxvi. 19) and in Greek writers ('Il.' xix. 110), and in the Latin *cadere*. It is still used in English of animals ("to *fall* a lamb," &c.). Here the word is used to imply the common helplessness of infancy.

"*Tellure cadentem*
Excepi."—PAPINIUS.

which is of like nature.] Vulg., *similiter factam.* In the N. T. the word (ὁμοιοπαθής) occurs twice (Acts xiv. 15; Jas. v. 17), and is rendered "of like passions." Grimm understands it here in the sense of "*aequa* tellus" (Hor. 'Od.,' ii. 18, 32), "impartial," "treating all alike." Solomon is made to

the first voice which I uttered was crying, as all others do.

4 I was nursed in swaddling clothes, and that with cares.

5 For there is no king that had any other beginning of birth.

[c] Job 1. 21. 1 Tim. 6. 7.

6 [c] For all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out.

[d] 1 Kings 3. 7, &c.

7 Wherefore [d] I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called *upon God*, and the spirit of wisdom came to me.

[e] Job 28. 15, &c. Prov. 3. 14, 15. & 8. 10, 11.

8 I [e] preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her.

[‖] Gr. *stone of inestimable price.*

9 Neither compared I unto her any [‖] precious stone, because all gold in respect of her is as a little sand, and silver shall be counted as clay before her.

10 I loved her above health and beauty, and chose to have her instead of light: for the light that cometh from her never goeth out.

imply that at his birth he received only the universal blessings of earth and air, like all other infants. Compare the lines—

> "For Mother Earth, she gathers all
> Into her bosom, great and small."

the first voice which I uttered was crying, as all others do.] Lit., "weeping equally my first utterance, like all." φωνὴν is here a cognate accusative after κλαίων. "Like all" is a brachylogy for "like *the voice of* all" (comp. ii. 15). Ἴσα, "equally," not ἦκα, "I uttered" (Vulg. *emisi*), is the true reading. The reading ἦκα arose from not understanding the idiom κλαίων φωνὴν, and from a dislike of the tautology ὁμοίαν . . . ἴσα. Men in all ages have noticed with a sense of melancholy that the first human utterance is a cry. See Lucret. v. 227.

> "On mother's knees, a naked new-born child,
> Sad thou didst weep while all around thee smiled."—Sir W. Jones (from the Persian).

4. *and that with cares.*] Lit., "and amid cares"—namely, the cares of those who guarded my infancy.

5. *of birth.*] Γένεσις is here used for "life" in general.

6. *going out.*] See note on iii. 2. This commonplace of moralists is expanded in Ecclus. xl. 1–7.

7–10. Solomon's prayer for Wisdom, and his love for her.

7. *Wherefore.*] Knowing my helplessness in common with all the rest of mankind (ix. 5, 6).

I prayed.] viii. 21.

understanding.] φρόνησις. See note on vi. 15.

I called upon God.] The verb ἐπικαλοῦμαι has this sense also in the LXX. (Gen. xiii. 4; Symmachus, Ps. lxv. 17), and in the N. T. (Acts vi. 59).

the spirit of wisdom.] The best commentary on the verse is Jas. i. 5. It is clear that St. James was familiar with this book (see Dean Plumptre's 'St. James,' p. 33). The special parallels suggested by writers like Hengstenberg and Stier ('Die Apokryphen') may be sometimes vague, as Keerl has shewn in his 'Apokryphenfrage;' but they are too numerous to be quite accidental. The full idea of "the spirit of wisdom" was only revealed by Christ (Lk. xi. 13). The writer is of course alluding to 1 K. iii. 5–15; iv. 29–34.

8. *I preferred her before . . . thrones.*] This passage resembles others in the Sapiential literature of the Jews (Prov. iii. 8–10; viii. 10, 11, &c.); and in the Book of Job (xxviii. 15–19).

9. *any precious stone.*] Marg., "stone of inestimable price." Ἀτιμητὸν is "unvalued," in the sense of "beyond the power to value." Comp. 3 Macc. iii. 23, τὴν ἀτιμητὸν πολιτείαν, "the priceless citizenship." Comp. Shakspeare—

> "I thought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks,
> Inestimable stones, *unvalued* jewels."
> *Richard III.* i. 2.

all gold.] ὁ πᾶς χρυσὸς, "the sum total of gold in the world." Comp. Menander, σοφία δὲ πλούτου κτῆμα τιμιώτερον.

10. *instead of light.*] Inward light would have compensated me even for outward blindness. For wisdom is the true light (Ps. cxix. 105), without which all is darkness (Matt. vi. 23).

> "So much the rather thou, celestial light,
> Shine inwards, and the mind through all her powers
> Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
> Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
> Of things invisible to mortal sight."
> Milton, *Par. Lost*, iii.

never goeth out.] Lit., "is sleepless." Vulg., *inextinguibile.*

11–14. Wisdom brought all other blessings in her train.

11. *All good things.*] In the original, "But

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11 ✓ All good things together came to me with her, and innumerable riches in her hands.

12 And I rejoiced in *them* all, because wisdom goeth before them: and I knew not that she was the mother of them.

13 I learned ‖ diligently, and do communicate *her* ‖ liberally: I do not hide her riches.

14 For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth: which they that use ‖ become the friends of God, being commended for the gifts that come from learning.

15 ‖ God hath granted me to speak as I would, and to conceive as is meet for the things that ‖ are given me: because it is he that leadeth unto wisdom, and directeth the wise.

✓ 1 Kings 3. 13. Prov. 3. 16. Matt. 6. 33.

‖ Gr. *without guile.*

‖ *Gr. without envy.*

‖ Or, *enter friendship with God.*

‖ Or, *God grant.*

‖ Or, *are to be spoken of*

all good things." I valued her above all earthly blessings, but she gave me these as well.

innumerable riches.] See 2 Chron. i. 12, ix. 1–28; Ecclus. xlvii. 18.

12. *because wisdom goeth before them.*] The meaning is that earthly blessings become real blessings, when Wisdom is their leader, *i.e.* presides over their use; but when he prayed for wisdom, he was entirely unaware (ἠγνόουν) that she is the mother of temporal as well as of eternal blessedness. In other words, he desires to intimate that his prayer was pure and untainted by lower motives. Throughout the book the writer is thinking of the ideal and legendary Solomon, rather than of the far-from-faultless king—

> "Whose heart, though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul."

Possibly, too, he desires to correct the pessimistic views of the Book of Ecclesiastes.

I knew not.] This imperfect (ἠγνόουν) must neither be treated as though it were a pluperfect (Gutbertet), nor taken (as by Grimm) to mean that the author *continued to be unaware* of the connexion between wisdom and prosperity. It refers to the days when he was praying for wisdom, before his great prosperity began.

13. *diligently.*] Rather, "without guile"—a reference to the purity of his motives in desiring wisdom, as explained in the last verse.

do communicate.] The Greek present often involves the notion of a wish. "I am for communicating her," "I desire to diffuse her."

liberally.] "Ungrudgingly," "without envy;" a reference to vi. 23.

I do not hide.] "I do not *wish to* hide," as in the last clause.

14. *which they that use.*] Χρῆσθαι, with an accusative instead of with the instrumental case, is a very unclassical construction, and some MSS. here read κτησάμενοι. But it is certain that no scribe would have altered this to the rarer construction which is found also in 1 Cor. vii. 31 (leg. τὸν κόσμον).

become the friends of God.] The aorist is gnomic, and corresponds to the English present aorist "become." The phrase στέλλεσθαι φιλίαν means "to provide friendship for oneself." Comp. Is. xli. 8, "Abraham my friend" (El Khalíl); Jas. ii. 25; John xv. 14.

being commended.] Namely, "to God" (συσταθέντες). The verb is used in 1 Macc. xii. 43 in the sense of "introduce to a friend," as also in Rom. xvi. 1. It is rendered "commend" in 2 Cor. x. 18.

for the gifts that come from learning.] Rather, "from training" (ἐκ παιδείας). The "training" may either be "moral discipline" (i. 5), or more generally "education." The spiritual gifts derived from such training or instruction are compared to the gifts which recommend a suitor or visitor to an Eastern king. In iii. 6, by another figure, the self-devotion of the righteous is compared to a whole burnt offering acceptable to God.

15–22. Extent of the wisdom which God has bestowed on Solomon.

15. *God hath granted me.*] This is the reading of the Vulg. and Arabic versions, and of the Complutensian and Aldine texts. Grimm thinks that δῴη, "may He grant," has been purposely altered into δέδωκε by scribes who thought that the gift of wisdom, which the writer professes to have attained, must necessarily involve the fitting expression and worthy conception of the gifts he has received. But this does not follow. Though he had received wisdom from God, he might yet desire guidance as to "how" or "what" he should speak (Matt. x. 19).

for the things that are given me.] Vulg., *quae mihi dantur.* The true reading seems to be διδομένων, which implies that the gift of wisdom is *continuous.* The reading λεγομένων (Alex. and other MSS., Syriac, Arabic, Armenian versions, &c.) refers back to his promises in *v.* 13; but does not suit the sense so well, and cannot be rendered "are to be spoken of," as in the margin.

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16 For in his hand are both we and our words; all wisdom also, and knowledge of workmanship.

17 For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely, to know how the world was made, and the operation of the elements:

18 The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning *of the sun*, and the change of seasons:

19 The circuits of years, and the positions of stars:

20 The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts: the

that leadeth unto wisdom.] Rather, "guide of wisdom." Vulg., *sapientiae dux*. The context shews that the Vulgate is right, for *σοφίας ὁδηγός* is the parallel to *τῶν σοφῶν διορθωτής*. God is both the leader of wisdom and the teacher of the wise.

directeth.] *διορθωτής*. Vulg., *emendator*. The word properly means "a critic" or "corrector." Both wisdom and the wise still need the superintending providence of God.

16. *For.*] This gives the reason for the prayer of the last verse, and therefore supports the reading *δῴη*, v. 15. The wise still need God's guidance; for all speech, and all knowledge, and all practical skill come from Him.

wisdom.] Rather, "skill" (*φρόνησις*). The rendering of the A.V. is confusing. See on vi. 15.

of workmanship.] The gifts of wisdom include even the genius of the artist and the skill of the artisan. In Ex. xxxi. 3 the ability of Bezaleel is attributed to inspiration.

17. *For.*] This "for" only introduces a second and special illustration of the truth proclaimed in v. 15. God corrects and teaches the wise, generally, for (v. 16) all knowledge comes from Him; and specially (vv. 17–21) He has granted to Solomon his manifold learning. The emphasis thus falls on "*me*."

hath given.] Rather, "gave" (*ἔδωκε*).

how the world was made.] The organisation (*σύστασιν*) of the universe. The word, in this sense, comes from Plato ('Tim.' p. 32), possibly through Philo ('Leg. Allegg.' i. 1). This may be the meaning of *συνεστῶσα* in 2 Pet. iii. 5, and the same phrase is found in Col. i. 17.

operation of the elements.] Their effective force. Vulg., *virtutes*. The first who reduced matter to four elements, which he called *ῥιζώματα*, was Empedocles; the first who tentatively used the word *στοιχεῖα* (*οἱονπερεὶ στ.*) was Plato ('Theaet.' 201 E; 'Tim.' 48 B), and from him it gained currency.

18. *The beginning, ending, and midst of the times.*] This somewhat obscure expression seems to mean the ability to regulate the calendar by astronomy. Owing to the importance of correct systems for the division of the year by the rising and setting of various constellations, this subject had attracted deep attention, and those who helped to elucidate it were rightly regarded as benefactors (Aesch. 'Prom.' 457, 458). Much more is meant than the mere divisions of the seasons or of the months.

the alterations of the turning of the sun.] *τροπῶν ἀλλαγάς*. Lit., "the changes of the solstices." This, and not "*of manners*" (*τρόπων*), is evidently the meaning, as is shewn by the context. The word *τροπὴ* in this or an analogous sense occurs in LXX., Deut. xxxiii. 14; Job xxxviii. 33 (A.V. "the ordinances of heaven;" LXX., *τροπάς*); and in Jas. i. 17 there can be little doubt that this is the correct explanation, though it is only one of many. The only *special* knowledge attributed to Solomon in Scripture—apart from insight into character and skill in government—is that of botany and natural history (1 Kings iv. 29–34); but all details respecting him had been indefinitely extended in Jewish and Eastern legends, which credited him with universal knowledge. The Book of Ecclesiastes attributes to him deep research, but gives no particulars (Eccles. i. 13, 14).

the change of seasons.] Besides a knowledge of the summer and winter solstice, he knew about months and seasons, and their interchanges (*μεταβολάς*). The expression is somewhat vague.

19. *The circuits of years.*] Another expression of somewhat indefinite meaning. In xiii. 2 we have *κύκλος ἀστέρων*. In Euripides ('Or.' 1645) *ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλος* means "the circling seasons." Here apparently Solomon is made to claim knowledge of solar and lunar cycles, intercalations, &c.

positions.] *θέσεις*. This includes the knowledge of which Cicero speaks ('De Nat. Deor.' ii. 61): "Nos astrorum ortus, *obitus*, *cursus*que cognovimus."

"The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office, and custom, in all line of order."
SHAKSPEARE, *Troil. and Cress.* i. 3.

20. *The natures of living creatures.*] "He

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violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants, and the virtues of roots:

21 And all such things as are either secret or manifest, them I know.

22 For wisdom, ℰ which is the worker of all things, taught me: for ℰ ch. 8. 5.

spake parables," says Josephus, "about all sorts of living creatures, whether on the earth or in the sea, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures."

the violence of winds.] Comp. iv. 4. So too the Vulg., *vim ventorum;* but the parallel clause ("and the reasonings of men") shews that the real meaning is "the forces of spirits," whether good or evil. Josephus ('Antt.' viii. 2, § 1) says that Solomon had "understanding and wisdom in such a degree as no other mortal man ever had:" and also that "God enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men." All Eastern legends are full of stories concerning Solomon's power over spirits. One long story of his dealings with the demon Ashmedai is related in 'Gittin,' f. 68. 1, 2.

"To him were known, so Hagar's offspring tell,
The powerful vigil and the starry spell,
The midnight call Hell's shadowy legions dread,
And sounds that wake the slumbers of the dead.
Hence all his might: for who could these oppose?"—HEBER, *Palestine.*

See Eisenmenger, 'Entd. Judenth.' ii. 440, sq.; Hamburger, 'Talmud. Wörterb.' *s. v.* Salomo.

the reasonings of men.] "The Spirit searcheth all things," 1 Cor. ii. 10. "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly," Prov. xx. 27.

diversities of plants.] Botanic classifications. The claim is founded on 1 Kings iv. 33.

"Who every bird, and beast, and insect knew,
And spake of every plant that quaffs the dew."
HEBER.

virtues of roots.] There was one root, for instance (familiar to Solomon), with which Josephus saw a Jewish exorcist, named Eleazar, in the presence of Vespasian and Titus, draw out an evil spirit through the nostrils of a demoniac. ('Antt.' viii. 2, § 5.)

21. *secret or manifest.*] That is, "I had both a knowledge of phenomena, and of their hidden causes;" and as the clause is parallel to the preceding verses, "I knew the actions of men, and, by psychologic insight, saw their innermost motives." (Ecclus. xix. 29.) Cp. 1 Cor. ii. 10, "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God." The legendary wisdom of Solomon is here expanded into that range of knowledge which was possessed by the most cultivated Jews of Alexandria during the two centuries before Christ. He is represented as understanding cosmography, physics, astronomy, chronology, meteorology, zoology, angelology and demonology, psychology, botany, herbalism, as well as (viii. 8) rhetoric and history. See Grimm, 'Einl.' p. 151.

22 a. *the worker of all things.*] Reuss renders this "l'artiste universelle." Wisdom is spoken of as "an artificer" in viii. 6, and wisdom is ascribed to the artist (τεχνίτη) in xiv. 2. God is called the Artificer of the universe in xiii. 1; and in Prov. viii. 30, the words "as one brought up with him" should rather be rendered "*as a master-worker.*" Comp. Ecclus. xxiv. Philo speaks of Wisdom as the "mother" and "nurse" of all things. Eustathius, in an interesting note on Homer, 'Il.' xv. 411, says that "the ancients called all artificers wise." In Ex. xxxv. 31, God is said to have filled Bezaleel "with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all kinds of workmanship." Similarly in Ex. xxviii. 4, Aaron's garments are to be made by "*all that are wisehearted, whom I* (the Lord) *have filled with the spirit of wisdom.*"

22 b. The division of clauses would be better at this point. The rest of the chapter is occupied with the qualities (22, 23); the nature (24–26); the effects (27, 28); and the glory of wisdom (29, 30).

22 b. *For in her is a . . . spirit.*] This (ἐν αὐτῇ) is the best reading. It is supported by the Vatican MS. and the four versions. Some have suspected that the reading was introduced by some Christian reader who wished to *distinguish between* the Son (= Wisdom) and the Holy Spirit, in the interests of Trinitarian controversy. Calovius and others, accepting it as the true reading, draw this theological inference from it. The inference is very remote, and has not the smallest argumentative value; and the reading (since it is accepted in the Itala) is certainly older than Arian disputes. It is the more difficult reading, but means that in the practical results of wisdom a spirit reveals itself, which is described by the following epithets. The other readings are αὐτὴ, αὑτὴ ("she," or "she herself is"), and αὕτη (a demonstrative, as in vi. 16), which *identify* Wisdom with the Spirit of God (comp. i. 4; vii. 7; ix. 17; xii. 1). See Nitzsch, 'Syst. of Christian Doctrine.'

in her is an understanding spirit, holy, ‖ one only, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good, quick, which cannot be letted, ready to do good,

‖ Gr. *only begotten.*

23 Kind to man, stedfast, sure, free from care, having all power,

§ 75. After this word "spirit," there follows a series of no less than twenty-one epithets. The number 21 is no doubt deliberately chosen as a product of the two sacred numbers 3×7. (See Gfrörer, Philo, ii. 98.) It is probably from this passage (as Lipsius was the first to suggest) that the Book of Wisdom got its title of Πανάρετος Σοφία, or All-Virtuous Wisdom, or sometimes ἡ Πανάρετος alone;—a title which was extended to the other Sapiential Books, Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. The word "*for*" introduces the explanation of the phrase "artificer *of all things*."

understanding.] νοερόν. The word is a technical term of the Stoic philosophy, and may be rendered "intelligential." The Stoics are said by Plutarch ('De plac. philos.' 6) to have defined God in these very words as "an intelligential Spirit" and "intelligential fire." Attempts have been made by Hasse and Baumgarten-Crusius to classify these epithets in a significant order. Hasse classes them under three heads. He says that the first seven express the permanent nature of Wisdom; the next seven her active work; and the last seven her exalted power. Baumgarten-Crusius says that the first four epithets are *general*, and all the others illustrative of them. A careful examination shews decisively that neither classification is tenable; and a certain resemblance of some of the epithets to each other, not without something like tautology, seems to prove that the writer was mainly influenced by rhetorical and numerical considerations. The passage may be profitably compared with Hooker, 'Eccl. Pol.' ii. 1, § 4: "The boundaries of Wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. . . . Whatsoever either men on earth or the angels of heaven do know, it is a drop of that unemptiable fountain of Wisdom."

one only.] μονογενές. The marg. suggests the literal rendering, "only begotten" (John i. 14). The meaning is decided by the contrast with the following word. This spirit is at once "*unique*," yet manifold. Similarly Clemens Romanus speaks of the Phœnix as "unique" (μονογενές).

manifold.] The Spirit of Wisdom, though unique in essence, confers manifold gifts, and works in manifold operations (1 Cor. xii. 4–11).

subtil.] λεπτόν. Lit., "fine," but implying here the sense of "immaterial." Philo employs the word in a similar sense ('De cherub.' 32): λεπτομερὴς γὰρ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς (τῆς ψυχῆς) ὡς μηδεμίαν ἐμπάρεχειν λαβὴν σώματι. Anaxagoras spoke of the mind as "the *subtlest* and purest of all things," by which he meant that it was the most incorporeal. Euripides, in some of whose plays the word occurs so frequently as to excite the ridicule of Aristophanes, used it in the sense of "refined."

lively.] εὐκίνητον. In xiii. 11 it is used in the sense of "easily handled;" here it means "swift-moving" (comp. *v.* 24). An ancient gloss makes it almost equivalent to "ubiquitous" (ὅπου θέλει γινόμενον). Similarly Philo calls the Logos ὀξυκινητότατος ('De cherub.' 9).

clear.] Rather, "penetrative" (τρανὸν, from τετραίνω, "I bore"). The Vulg. renders it *disertus*, and in the Syriac also it is understood to mean "eloquent" (comp. x. 21; Is. xxxv. 6, τρανὴ ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιλάλων). In classic Greek τρανὴς means "perspicuous." Both penetrative power (ὀξὺ) and perspicuity (σαφὲς) are attributed to the Spirit of Wisdom in the subsequent epithets.

undefiled.] ἀμόλυντόν, immaculate, and incapable of defilement (i. 4).

plain.] σαφές, "transparent," whether in essence or in undeceiving manifestations.

not subject to hurt.] ἀπήμαντον. Nothing can inflict injury on the Spirit of Wisdom. It is *impassible*, in the same sense as Anaxagoras called the mind ἀπαθῆς. The word is used in this *passive* sense in 2 Macc. xii. 5; 3 Macc. vi. 5. It might also mean "injuring none," but that would be a feeble epithet in the midst of so glowing an encomium.

loving the thing that is good.] Comp. Ps. xcvii. 10.

quick.] ὀξύ, "piercing." So Philo speaks of the Logos as "the *cutter* Word" (τομεύς, 'Quis rer. div. haer.'). Comp. Heb. iv. 12.

which cannot be letted.] ἀκώλυτόν, "irresistible."

ready to do good.] Wisdom is the sole true "Euergetes", (comp. Lk. xxii. 25). This epithet represents the active side of the "philanthropy" attributed to Wisdom in the next epithet.

23. *Kind to man.*] φιλάνθρωπον. The adj. does not occur in either Testament. See note on i. 6. On the other hand, this epithet admirably characterises the tender humanism of Wisdom as illustrated by the Book of Proverbs, with its genial regard for every

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overseeing all things, and going through all understanding, pure, and most subtil, spirits.

24 For wisdom is more moving than any motion: she passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.

25 For she is the ‖ breath of the ‖ Or, *vapour.*

phase and aspect of human life (Prov. xii. 10; xvii. 22; xv. 30; xi. 16; xx. 29, &c.). The Hebrew Wise-man could have said more truly than the Roman comedian,

Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.

"Every way of man, and every expression of his mind and nature, has a charm for him."

stedfast.] βέβαιον, "unchangeable," in spite of its diversity of operation.

sure.] ἀσφαλές, "trustworthy," "forthright," "that may be relied on."

free from care.] ἀμέριμνον. The word implies independence of all anxieties; self-dependence; self-sufficiency.

having all power.] παντοδύναμον, "all-sovereign" (xi. 17; xviii. 15). It is the word rendered "Almighty" in the first clause of the Creed. It does not occur in the O. or N. T., which use παντοκράτωρ. See Pearson 'on the Creed,' art. "Almighty."

overseeing all things.] παντεπίσκοπον. This word is also extremely rare. Comp. i. 6, and πανεπόπτης, 2 Macc. ix. 5.

and going through . . . spirits.] There is nothing so subtle as to resist its permeating power, not even the "spirits" of men or angels. The epithets "understanding" and "subtle" have already been applied to the Spirit of Wisdom; "pure" means free from earthly admixtures (*v.* 24). Hooker refers to this passage ('Eccl. Pol.' v. lvi. 5).

24. *For.*] This verse gives the *reason* for the penetrative and permeating power of Wisdom; namely, because she is infinitely mobile and uncompounded.

more moving than any motion.] A somewhat fantastic expression to imply that her swiftness admits of no earthly comparison (comp. εὐκίνητον, *v.* 22). The neuter adj. in agreement with a feminine substantive is quite classical, as in ἥδιστον ἡ εὐδαιμονία (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' i. 5). *Varium et mutabile semper Foemina.* With the thought we may compare Cowper's lines—

"How fleet is the glance of the mind!
Compared with the speed of its flight,
The tempest itself lags behind,
And the swift-winged arrows of light."

she passeth and goeth through.] These verbs διήκει and χωρεῖ were specially used by the Stoics to describe the universal *diffusion* of the Godhead, of which Grimm quotes many instances. Wordsworth uses a similar phrase—

"A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And *rolls through all things.*"

And Pope—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That *changed through all and yet in all the same,*
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame;
* * * *
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

So, too, the Son of Sirach says of God that "He is the All" (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός, xliii. 27). This must not be confused with mere Pantheism. It is only the recognition of God's all-pervading providence. See Corn. à Lapide on these passages.

goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.] The Spirit of Wisdom is "unessential" in Milton's sense. Compare also the lines:—

"So soft
And uncompounded is their essence *pure.*"
Par. Lost, i. 425.

Tertullian quotes Kleanthes as speaking of "spiritum . . . *permeatorem universitatis*" ('Apolog.' 21).

With the use of these twenty-one epithets we may compare the fact that Philo ('De confus. linguæ,' Opp. i. 427) calls the Divine Word "a many-named angel" (ἄγγελος πολυώνυμος); and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says that God has revealed Himself πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, "fragmentarily and *multifariously.*" The literary form of this passage may have been influenced by a celebrated fragment of the Stoic Kleanthes, preserved in Clemens Alexandrinus ('Protrept.' vi. 72) and Eusebius ('Praep. Ev.' xiii. 3), in which he defines "the good," or the *summum bonum*, by twenty-six epithets, many of which (*e.g.*, ὅσιον, χρησιμόν, καλόν, αὐθέκαστον, ἀεὶ συμφέρον, ἄλυπον, ἄφοβον, λυσιτελές, ἀνώδυνον, ἄτυφον, σφοδρόν, ἀεὶ διαμένον) are closely analogous to those here used. This accumulation of adjectives (πύργωσις ἐπιθετῶν, as it is technically called) is not unknown in classic poets. In one passage of Aeschylus fifteen epithets are attached in succession to one substantive. The object of the writer in this passage is, however, not by any means exclusively rhetorical. He desires to give some conception of what Wisdom is, by describing her qualities and the results which she produces.

power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her.

One careful definition would have been at least equally serviceable. All that is clear is, that by "wisdom" the writer meant much the same as was meant by Solomon in Proverbs (viii. ix.) and by the Son of Sirach in Ecclus. i. We can, therefore, only regard wisdom in its highest sense as a personification of the spiritual power of God which pervades the universe, and expresses itself in all things artistically beautiful, mentally pure, and spiritually noble. Still the writer nearly approaches the attribution to Wisdom of a distinct personality, a separate essence. Wisdom has to him that ideal reality which he, as a partial Platonist, would have regarded as more real than any physical existence. If the Logos of Philo, though never distinctly hypostatised, constantly reminds us of the Eternal Son, so the Wisdom of this book is often spoken of in terms which might be directly applied to the Holy Spirit.

It may be doubted whether the author meant by these epithets all the profound thoughts which commentators have extracted from them. Some of them are intellectual, some moral; some are inherent qualities of personified Wisdom, others are the results of wisdom in the soul of man. Reuss may not be far wrong in seeing in this list of qualities "une énumération faite au hasard au gré d'une rhétorique exubérante."

25-30. The nature and glory of Wisdom.

25. *For she is the breath of the power of God.*] The "for" is intended to explain why Wisdom is entitled to all these manifold and glorious predicates. This and the following verse are interesting because they were evidently in the mind of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the noble proem to his epistle (Heb. i. 3). The word ἀτμὶς means properly "vapour," as in the marg. (see LXX., Lev. xvi. 13, 30; ἀτμὶς καπνοῦ, Hos. xiii. 3). Compare Job xxxiii. 21; Ecclus. xliii. 4, ἀτμὶς ὑψηλῶν. "I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth like a cloud" (*Baruch*).

a pure influence flowing from] ἀπόῤῥοια εἰλικρινής, "an unmingled emanation." Compare Ecclus. i. 9, "He *poured her out* upon all His works." Enoch (xlix. 1, "Wisdom is poured out like water." But the word ἀπόῤῥοια is used of dispersing by Aquila (Ezek. i. 14). Philo ("De monarch." 8) applies the word to the sunbeams, and it was employed by Empedocles and Democritus to express the effluvia by which material objects become perceptible (comp. Plato, "Meno," 76). It is applied to light by Marc. Aurel. (iii. 4) and by Athenagoras, who says ("Apol." 22) that the Holy Spirit is an "effluence of God, flowing from Him . . . like *a ray of the sun*." Probably, therefore, the writer is thinking, not of water (as in Ecclus. i. 9), but of *light*, as in the following word, ἀπαύγασμα.

> "Bright *effluence* of bright essence uncreate.
> Or hear'st thou rather *pure ethereal stream*,
> Whose fountain who shall tell?"
> MILTON, *Par. Lost*, iii. 8.

"We have here and there a little clear light, some *sparks of bright knowledge*" (Locke).

pure.] There is nothing therefore in Wisdom which is not divine, for, according to Philo, the epithet εἰλικρινὴς cannot be attached to any *sensible* things ("De opif." 8). This "purity" of the divine essence of Wisdom explains why she is "holy," "unique," "subtle," "swift," "perspicuous," "immaculate," "resistless."

of the Almighty.] τοῦ Παντοκράτορος. For the distinction between Παντοκράτωρ and Παντεπόπτης, see Pearson, *l. c.* Παντοκράτωρ implies the possession of force, παντοδύναμος the exercise of sovereignty.

no defiled thing.] She is ἀμόλυντον, v. 22.

can . . . fall into her.] The compound verb παρεμπίπτει describes a sudden, secret infusion of evil, *irrepit*, rather than the *incurrit* of the Vulg. The word does not occur in the LXX. or N. T., but is used by Plato and by the Attic orators to imply intrusive and surreptitious agents.

26. *brightness.*] ἀπαύγασμα. This rare word is adopted by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 3), and also occurs in Philo ("De Mund. opif." § 51, where man is called "an impress, a fragment, or *apaugasma* of the blessed nature;" and in "De concupiscent." 11, "De plantat. Noe," 12, where he defines ἀπαύγασμα as ἀρίστων ἀπαύγασμα, ὡσανεὶ ἀκτῖνα ἀφεγγῆ). Properly speaking, it does not imply *reflexion*, but *emanation*. "Wisdom" (in Philo "man," and in Heb. i. 3 "the Son of God") is described as "light *of* (i.e. *from*) light" (φῶς ἐκ φωτός). That Philo, however, meant by ἀπαύγασμα not "*emanating* light," but "*reflected* light," seems clear from his description of the world as ἀρχέτυπον ἀπαύγασμα, and the word thus resembles ἀντήχημα, "an echo," ἀποσκίασμα, "an adumbration." If this be the meaning here, Wisdom is described as *reflecting* the glory of God, as in the next clause; just as Philo calls the Logos "the *shadow*, and as it were copy (ἀπεικόνισμα) of God" ("Leg. Allegg." iii. 31). We cannot, however, be sure that the author of the Book of Wisdom did not use the word

[k] Hebr. 1. 3.
[l] 2 Cor. 4. 4. Col. 1. 15.

26 For she is the [k] brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and [l] the image of his goodness.

27 And being but one, she can do all things: and remaining in herself, she [1] maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.

28 For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom.

29 For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it.

[1] Or, *createth.*

in the higher sense attributed to it by the lexicographers (Hesych. ἡλίου φέγγος: Suid. Phavor. ἔκλαμψις: Lex. Cyrill. ἄκτις ἡλίου). Wisdom might be described *relatively* as a reflection, *absolutely* as an emanation. In the O. T. God is constantly spoken of under images of fire and light, and in 1 John i. 5 we read "God is Light." St. John would have been as anxious as Philo to explain that he did not mean *physical* light, but "spiritual light," an "unembodied splendour" (ἀσώματος αἰγὴ. φῶς ψυχικὸν). See Siegfried, 'Philo,' 208. 216.

of the everlasting light.] Wisdom is therefore preferable to an earthly light (v. 10). Ἀΐδιος means "everlasting" in the strict sense of the word, without the more metaphysical connotations of αἰώνιος. It only occurs once in the N. T. (Rom. i. 20: Jude 6. In the latter passage it is used rhetorically).

unspotted.] See note on iv. 9.

the power.] ἐνεργείας. By δύναμις is meant power in the abstract: ἐνέργεια is power in operation.

the image.] 1 Cor. xi. 7: 2 Cor. iv. 4: Col. i. 15, iii. 10. For its full meaning of "manifestation," see Bp. Lightfoot's 'Colossians,' pp. 215, 281.

of his goodness.] See note on i. 1. According to Phavorinus, ἀγαθότης has exactly the same meaning as ἀγαθωσύνη, which is attributed to God in 2 Thess. i. 11. On the latter word see Trench, 'New Test. Synonyms,' p. 218. The resemblances to Christian theology in this passage are purely superficial.

27. *being but one, she can do all things.*] This is an amplification of the epithets "unique" and "manifold" in v. 22. Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 11.

remaining in herself, she maketh all things new.] Ps. cii. 26, 27, "As a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same." Ps. civ. 30, "Thou renewest (ἀνακαινίζεις) the face of the earth." Wisdom is a permeating spirit, "changed through all, and yet in all the same."

in all ages.] Lit., "throughout the generations."

entering.] διαβαίνουσα, "passing from one to another." Vulg., *in animas sanctas se transfert.*

friends of God.] It is often difficult to be certain whether the writer is thinking most immediately of expressions which have at least their analogue or germ in Scripture, or of passages in the philosophic writers. Abraham is called "the friend of God" in Is. xli. 8: "Abraham my friend" (אֹהֲבִי, Vulg., *amici mei*: LXX., ἠγαπημένε: Jas. ii. 23, φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη). The name by which Abraham is universally known in the East—*El Khalil*—means "the Friend." The term is not, however, exactly applied to him in the LXX., and the writer may have had in his mind such passages as ὁ μὲν σώφρων θεῷ φίλος· ἄνοπλος γάρ (Plato, 'Legg.' iv.): and Philo, πᾶς σοφὸς θεοῦ φίλος (Philo, 'Fr.').

prophets.] "Prophets" are all great moral and spiritual teachers and reformers, whether with or without the power to foretell events. Grimm would confine the term here to the Jewish prophets, because of the writer's burning hatred toward heathendom: and he would similarly confine the bearing of Philo's remark, "The sacred word witnesseth prophecy to every noble-hearted man." But as the Alexandrian Jews recognised the prophetic character of the Sibyls, so they certainly exempted the great Greek philosophers from the abhorrence with which they regarded the coarse and vicious heathens. In this respect the greater Fathers shared their views. They believed in the reality of an ethnic inspiration. Neither Philo nor this writer *confined* the gift of inspiration to the sacred writers. Philo says that he was sometimes inspired, θεολογούμενα ('De cherub.' 9: 'De migr. Abr.' 7): and Josephus not only attributes inspiration to Hyrcanus ('Antt.' xiii. 10. § 7: and to some Essenes ('B. J.' ii. 8. § 12), but even claims some such power for himself ('B. J.' viii. 3. § 9). See Gfrörer, 'Philo,' i. 54.

28. *that dwelleth with wisdom.*] Comp. i. 1—5. The verb συνοικεῖν often means "to be married to" (Gen. xx. 3: Prov. xxx. 23): but as it is used with such expressions as "grief," "fear," &c., there is no proof that it has that meaning here.

29. *more beautiful than the sun.*] God is

30 For after this cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against wisdom.

CHAPTER VIII.

2 *He is in love with wisdom:* 4 *for he that hath it hath every good thing.* 21 *It cannot be had but from God.*

WISDOM reacheth from one end to another mightily: and ‖ sweetly doth she order all things. ‖ Or, *profitably.*

2 I loved her, and sought *her* out from my youth, I desired ‖ to make *her* my spouse, and I was a lover of her beauty. ‖ Or, *to marry her to myself.*

Light and the Creator of all forms of earthly light, yet Wisdom is nearer to His essence than light itself. Aristotle calls virtue "lovelier than the evening star."

order.] θέσιν. Comp. *v.* 19.

30. *after this cometh night.*] Darkness prevails over light in the constant succession of night to day, but vice can never thus displace and prevail against wisdom. With the construction σοφίας . . . ἀντισχύει comp. Matt. xvi. 18. If any one had objected that Solomon himself furnished a proof of the power of vice to prevail over wisdom, the writer would probably have answered that Wisdom never enters into contact with vice, but withdraws from the soul, step by step, as evil enters into it. See i. 3, 5.

CHAPTER VIII.

Universality and rule of Wisdom (1). Solomon's love for her (2) because of her affinity to God (3, 4). She is better than riches (5) and intelligence (6). She teaches the virtues (7) and gives experience and insight (8), and is specially necessary for rulers (9–16). Considering all the blessings which she bestows, and knowing that she comes from God alone, Solomon prayed for Wisdom (17–21).

1. *Wisdom reacheth from one end to another.*] This verse belongs properly to the last chapter. The word διατείνει has a middle sense, "expands herself." Philo uses this and similar verbs to express the diffusiveness of wisdom. He says that "The universe is held together by unseen powers, which the Creator extended (διέτεινε) from the ends (ἐσχάτων) of the earth to the bounds (περάτων) of heaven" ('De migr. Abr.' § 32).

mightily.] This adverb (εὐρώστως) is not in the Greek Bible, but occurs three times in the 2nd Book of Maccabees. The verb (εὐρωστέω) is used by Philo.

sweetly.] χρηστῶς. Marg., "profitably." Lit., "excellently," "kindly." God's "*tender mercies* are over all His works."

doth she order.] διοικεῖ (xii. 18; xv. 1); whence comes our word "*diocese.*" The verb was used by the Stoics (Chrysippus, Epictetus, Marc. Aurelius), who decided in the affirmative the question "Is the world managed (διοικεῖται) by forethought?" (Diog. Laert. vii. 133.) It was borrowed from the Stoics by Josephus and Philo. Wisdom is here only another name for the immanent Divine power which sustains and governs the whole order of things. Anaxagoras (Plato, 'Cratyl.' p. 413) spoke of "Mind" as "ordering (κοσμεῖν) all things, going through all things."

2. *I loved her.*] We have here a stronger expression of the thought touched upon in vii. 7 (comp. Ecclus. li. 13–21). The word used for "loved" (ἐφίλησα, *amavi*) expresses the love of warm personal affection, and not merely of high esteem (ἠγάπησα, *dilexi*). Hence we never find in the Bible the phrase φιλεῖν τὸν Θεόν, but always ἀγαπᾶν. On the other hand, φιλεῖν is used of the love of God to Christ (John v. 20) and to redeemed man (*id.* xvi. 27). In 1 Cor. xvi. 22 we have φιλεῖν used of our love to Christ, as in John xvi. 27, &c. (See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' § xii.)

from my youth.] See 1 K. iii. 1, xviii. 12; Prov. ii. 17; Eccles. xii. 1; Ecclus. vi. 18.

I desired.] ἐζήτησα. Having *sought her out* (ἐκζητήσας, Vulg. *exquisivi*), he *sought* to wed her to himself.

to make her my spouse.] The metaphor is a natural and universal one. (Comp. Ecclus. xv. 2.) It runs throughout the writings of the Mystics—St. Bonaventura, St. Bernard, St. Hugo, and St. Richard de Victore. Luther says, "The Epistle to the Galatians is *my* Epistle. I have espoused her to myself. *It is my wife.*" This is one of the passages which have been quoted to prove that the writer of the Book of Wisdom belonged to the Therapeutae, of whom Philo says that "they despised bodily pleasures out of love for Wisdom, and eagerness to dwell with her" ('De vit. contempt.' Opp. ii. 482). The inference is obviously of the most precarious kind.

I was.] Rather, "I became;" "I shewed myself."

a lover.] ἐραστής. The word means a lover in the most human sense, and it proves the tendency of mystical language to adopt sensuous images—a tendency which leads writers like St. Jerome, as well as many of the later Mystics, into most unseemly and irreverent expressions. The same word occurs in xv. 6. In the LXX. it is only used by the translator of Jeremiah. Neither the verb ἐράω nor any of its cognates or deriva-

3 In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility: yea, the Lord of all things himself loved her.

4 For she is ‖ privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a ‖ lover of his works.

5 If riches be a possession to be desired in this life; [a] what is richer than wisdom, [b] that worketh all things?

6 And if [c] prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than she?

7 And if a man love righteousness, her labours are virtues: for she teacheth temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude: which are such

‖ Or, *teacher.*

‖ Or, *chooser.*

[a] ch. 7. 8, 9.

[b] ch. 7. 22

[c] Exod. 31. 3, 6.

tives occur in the N. T. The sacred writers who gave depth and universality to such words as ἀγαπή, found the word ἔρως too deeply dyed in heathen associations to be at all redeemable for holy usage.

of her beauty.] Plato ('Phaedr.' 250 d) says that Wisdom (φρόνησις) is invisible to mortal eyes, because otherwise her image would have inspired overwhelming passions. Prodicus, in his famous apologue of the Choice of Hercules, speaks of the comely and winning beauty of Virtue (Xen. 'Mem.' II. i. 22). Aristotle, in his hymn to Virtue, says—

σᾶς περὶ, παρθένε, μορφῆς
καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὰς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος.

3. *conversant with God.*] She is the bride of God. The word συμβίωσις—the common life of wife and husband—occurs again in *vv.* 9, 16. The thought had been already expressed by Solomon (Prov. viii. 22). Philo speaks of God as the Father, and Knowledge as the *mother* of created things ('De ebriet.,' 8).

she magnifieth her nobility.] This is the right rendering, not "she glorifies the nobility of men." (Vulg., *generositatem illius glorificat.*) The "nobility" of Wisdom is her divine origin. Comp. Epictet. ii. 8, § 11.

yea.] Vulg., *sed et.* The word rightly expresses the accumulative force of the καὶ in the original. God loved her, *though* He is the Lord of all.

4. *For.*] This is the reason why God loved her. She was ever with Him (Prov. viii. 30).

privy to the mysteries.] Μυστὶς is the feminine of μύστης, which means (1) "one initiated," or (2) μυσταγωγὸς, "a mystagogue," "one who initiates into mysteries." The marg. therefore suggests the alternative rendering "teacher" (Vulg., *doctrix*).

of the knowledge of God.] The genitive is here not objective, "knowledge about God," but subjective, "God's own knowledge" (comp. John xv. 15).

a lover.] Αἱρετὶς means literally, as in the margin, "a chooser." Vulg., *electrix.* The extreme rarity of the word led to the numerous variations of the MSS. It is strange that in two consecutive verses the A. V. should select the same word "lover" to render two words so unlike each other as ἐραστὴς and αἱρετίς.

5. *that worketh all things.*] Ἐργάζεσθαι means "to work," and also "to get gain" or "to trade" (οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι, "tradesmen"). The writer here plays on the interchange of meaning. Heavenly wisdom, as a Divine force, brings about all God's ends; earthly wisdom produces all man's gains (Prov. viii. 18).

6. *prudence.*] φρόνησις. See on iii. 15; vi. 15. The ideal wife is prudent (Prov. xxxi. 10–31).

work.] There is still a play on the word —"works" and "is gainful" (comp. John vi. 27).

who of all that are.] Rather, "who is more an artificer of the things that are than she?"

workman.] τεχνίτης. Vulg., *artifex.* "Artisan" or "artificer" would have been a better rendering.

7. *her labours.*] Here, as often, the abstract is used for the concrete—the results of her toil. (Comp. x. 10; Ecclus. xiv. 15, xxviii. 15.)

she teacheth.] Rather, "she *thoroughly* teacheth."

temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude.] These are the four "cardinal virtues" of the Platonists, which occur also in 4 Macc. i. 18, v. 22, 23, xv. 7, with the substitution in the latter passages of piety (εὐσέβεια) for prudence (φρόνησις) or fortitude (ἀνδρεία). According to Xenophon, εὐσέβεια was also used by Socrates as one of the cardinal virtues. Philo refers to them, and compares them to the four rivers of Eden ('Leg. Allegg.' i. 19–23). Comp. Ambrose, 'De Parad.' 3. See Siegfried, 'Philo,' 21, 22, 272. The writer interchanges σοφία (*v.* 5) and φρόνησις (*v.* 6), "prudence." Plato himself did so in his later writings (Zeller, 'Philos.' ii. 319), from which the Stoics adopted the term φρόνησις. How far the names of these virtues are here used in the senses attached to them by the Greek philosophers is uncertain, since we have no definition of them in

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things, as men can have nothing more profitable in their life.

8 If a man desire much experience, she knoweth things of old, and conjectureth *aright* what is to come: she knoweth the subtilties of speeches, and can expound dark sentences: she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the events of seasons and times.

9 Therefore I purposed to take

this book. Cicero defines them popularly in 'De Off.' i. 5; 'De Fin.' v. 23. The δικαιοσύνη contemplated by Pseudo-Solomon (see i. 1) was, as it was with Plato, something more than a separate virtue. Still the writer's view of these virtues could not have been *identical* with Plato's, because that depended on his fundamental trichotomy of human nature into τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές, τὸ λογιστικόν, which this writer does not recognise (see Ueberweg, 'Hist. of Philos.' i. 128). The allusions to the four cardinal virtues are frequent in the Middle Ages. They are painted by Giotto in the Chapel of the Arena at Padua, and allegorised by Dante—

"Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa,
In porpira vestiti dietro al modo
D'una di lor, ch'avea tre ocche in testa."
Purgatorio, xxix. 130.

The virtue which has the three eyes is "Prudence," who sees the Past, the Present, and the Future. They are called "cardinal" virtues because they are, as it were, the hinges (*cardines*) on which the other virtues turn. Thurot ('De l'Entendement,' i. 162) says that they are rather the necessary and essential *conditions* of virtue than each individually a virtue. Dr. Whewell considers that the division fails altogether, "since the parts are not distinct, and the whole is not complete. The portions of morality so laid out, both overlap one another or are indistinguishable; and also leave parts of the subject which do not appear in the distribution at all" (Whewell, 'System Mor.' iv.).

8. *experience.*] Comp. Ecclus. xxv. 6. Already, in vii. 17–21, a knowledge of all arts and sciences has been attributed to Wisdom; here she is spoken of as mistress of all the experience and insight and foresight of which the mind is capable. The A.V. omits the καὶ. "And if any one longs for *even* wide experience," which is better than earthly wealth. As applied to the *future*, the word means that Wisdom is *versed in* the coming issues of events.

conjectureth.] Her knowledge of the past ("*cogitavi dies antiquos*," Ps. cxliii. 5) helps her to foresight of the future. Homer says of Kalchas ('Il.' i. 70) that "he knew both the present, the future, and the past."

"Multa tenens antiqua, vetusta, sepulta."
ENNIUS.

the subtilties of speeches.] στροφὰς λόγων. This phrase comes from the LXX., Prov. i. 3. Comp. Ecclus. xxxix. 2. The Jews, like all Orientals, delighted in elaborate and recondite forms of expression. Hence στροφὴ is here used (apparently) in a good sense, though both in Greek and in Latin it is used in a bad sense. Ar. 'Plut.' 1154, οὐ δεῖ στροφῶν, "No tricks here!" Plat. 'Rep.' 405 c: πάσας στροφὰς στρέφεσθαι. In Plautus *strophae* means "slippery wiles," and *strophosus* = δόλιος.

can expound dark sentences.] Lit., "and solvings of riddles." The Jews were familiar with "riddles" in the ordinary sense of the word (Lat. *scirpus*), as appears both in Scripture (Judg. xiv. 12, 14) and in the Talmudic legends. The word αἴνιγμα is also used for any "dark saying:" Num. xii. 8; 1 K. x. 1; 2 Chron. ix. 1; Prov. i. 6. In the N. T. the word only occurs in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι. Solomon was renowned for his skill in "riddles" of all kinds (1 Kings x. 1; 2 Chr. ix. 1, LXX.; Ecclus. xlvii. 15, 17). See Bellerman, 'Aenigmata Hebraica,' 1798. "Manifestis pascimur," says Augustine, "*obscuris exercemur*" ('De doctr. Christ.' ii. 6). He calls a riddle "obscura allegoria" ('De Trinitate,' xv. 19), and points to Prov. xxx. 15 as a specimen.

signs and wonders.] The words are again conjoined in x. 16, in the Gospels (Matt. xxiv. 24; Mk. xiii. 22; John iv. 48), in the Acts, and in the Epistles. Σημεῖον, the favourite word of St. John, indicates a miracle regarded as a proof of the power by which it was worked; τέρας means a miracle which excites the astonishment of those who witness it. The word "foreseeth" shews that the writer is here speaking of prophecies, and of portents and prodigies exhibited for a divine purpose in the sphere of natural phenomena. It appears from xi. 19–21; xix. 6, 18–21, that the writer regarded "miracles" as results produced by God in accordance with laws which are themselves natural, although they transcend the ordinary workings of nature. They are (to use St. John's term) the ordinary ἔργα of God.

the events of seasons and times.] By "times" the writer means the longer periods or epochs of history; by "seasons" he means the decisive crises and turning points in human affairs. The words are joined in Dan. ii. 21; Acts i. 27; 1 Thess. v. 1. Wisdom knows "the issues" or "outcome" of all human events; both of these in which "God shews all things

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her to me to live with me, knowing that she ‖ would be a counsellor of good things, and a comfort in cares and grief.

‖ Gr. *will.*

10 For her sake I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young.

11 [d] I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgment, and shall be admired in the sight of great men.

[d] 1 Kings 3. 28.

12 [e] When I hold my tongue, they shall bide my leisure, and when I speak, they shall give good ear unto me: if I talk much, they shall lay their hands upon their mouth.

[e] Job 29. 8, 9, 10.

13 Moreover [f] by the means of her I shall obtain immortality, and leave behind me an everlasting memorial to them that come after me.

[f] ver. 17.

14 I shall ‖ set the people in order, and the nations shall be subject unto me.

‖ Or, *govern.*

15 Horrible tyrants shall be afraid,

in the slow history of their ripening," and of those in which the intense action of a few years exerts an influence over many generations.

9–16. The writer here passes from the general blessings conferred by Wisdom on mankind, to those which she specially confers on rulers both in their public (9–15) and in their private life (16).

9. *I purposed.*] Ἔκρινα, "I decided" (as in 1 Cor. ii. 2).

to live with me.] Ἀγαγέσθαι (*v.* 2) πρὸς συμβίωσιν (see note on *v.* 3).

a counsellor of good things.] σύμβουλος ἀγαθῶν. The parallel clause shews the meaning to be "*an adviser in prosperity.*" The genitive ἀγαθῶν cannot properly mean this, but seems to be used by a sort of false analogy.

a comfort in cares and grief.] No other instance is quoted in which παραίνεσις has this meaning. In classical Greek it means "an exhortation." It does not occur in the LXX. nor in the N. T., but is used by Symmachus in Ps. cxix. 100 in the sense of "precepts." The Lexicographers do not give it the sense of "consolation," but it is obvious that "an admonition" (*e.g.* to bear sorrows bravely) may come as a consolation, and this is the sense involved in the Vulg. *allocutio.*

10. *among the multitude.*] In all public gatherings. Comp. 1 K. iii. 28.

though I be young.] This allusion is valuable, as shewing that the writer is speaking throughout in the person of Solomon at the beginning of his reign, and in the zenith of his power and wisdom. It thus becomes needless for him to enter into any of the questions suggested by the fact that his ideal teacher in the ways of Divine Wisdom himself became a conspicuous example of unwisdom and self-indulgence. What was the exact age of Solomon when he came to the throne we cannot tell; but in his prayer at Gibeon he says, "I am but a little child" (1 K. iii. 7), and David speaks of him as "young and tender" when the people first swore allegiance to him (1 Chron. xxix. 1; comp. xxii. 5). "How wise wast thou in thy youth!" Ecclus. xlvii. 14. Josephus ('Antt.' viii. 7, § 8) says that he was fourteen at his accession.

11. *of a quick conceit in judgment.*] An obvious allusion to 1 K. iii. 16–28. "Conceit" is used in the Elizabethan sense of the word to mean "understanding." It is derived from the Latin *conceptum.* Hence in our Translators' preface "If any man conceit" means "if any *suppose.*"

of great men.] Lit., "of potentates." An allusion to the respect felt for Solomon by Hiram (1 K. v. 7, ix. 14), Pharaoh (1 K. ix. 24), the Queen of Sheba (1 K. x. 5–9), and other rulers (1 K. iv. 24).

12. *when I speak.*] The verse indicates the deep and universal admiration for Solomon's wisdom, as excelling "the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt." He "was wiser than all men" (1 K. iv. 30, 31). The form of the passage is influenced by Job xxix. 7–11.

if I talk much.] λαλοῦντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον. Vulg., *sermocinante me plura,* "if I extend my discourse."

they shall lay their hands upon their mouth.] In sign of deep and humble respect: Judg. xviii. 19; Job xxi. 5, xxix. 9, xl. 4. Comp. Ps. xxxi. 9.

"Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant." VIRG.

13. *by the means of her.*] Rather, "on her account" (δι' αὐτήν), as in *v.* 10.

immortality.] Here, as the context shews, "undying fame." The word first occurs in the writings of Plato (see *v.* 17; iv. 1; xv. 3).

14. *I shall set . . . in order.*] Διοικήσω. See *v.* 1.

the people.] The tribes subject to me (1 Kings iv. 24) as far as the Euphrates.

the nations.] The Gentiles (*Goîm*).

15. *Horrible tyrants.*] Perhaps the writer is

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when they do but hear of me; I shall ‖ Or, *appear.* ‖ be found good among the multitude, and valiant in war.

16 ‖ After I am come into mine house, I will repose myself with her: for her conversation hath no bitterness; and to live with her hath no sorrow, but mirth and joy.

17 Now when I considered these things in myself, and [g] pondered them in my heart, how that to be allied unto wisdom [h] is immortality;

18 And great pleasure it is to have her friendship; and in the works of her hands are infinite riches; and in the exercise of conference with her, prudence; and in talking with her, a ‖ good report; I went about seeking how to ‖ take her to me.

19 For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit.

20 Yea rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.

21 Nevertheless, when I perceived

‖ Or, *Being entered into mine house.*

[g] Prov. 7. 3.

[h] ver. 13.

‖ Or, *fame.*

‖ Or, *marry her.*

thinking of Pharaoh and other Gentile kings whose daughters Solomon married.

valiant in war.] Solomon was never engaged in any actual war, but the whole characterisation is ideal. In the description of a perfect king, a "good and valiant," the writer may have silently recalled Homer's description of Agamemnon as "both a good king and a stalwart warrior"—

ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθός, κράτερός τ' αἰχμητής.

Plutarch says that this line was constantly on the lips of Alexander the Great.

16. *After I am come into mine house.*] Wisdom confers domestic peace as well as public glory.

mirth and joy.] Comp. 1 Macc. v. 54. "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace" (Prov. iii. 17). Various expressions in this ideal picture of Wisdom shew that the writer had read Prodicus's famous and beautiful apologue, "The Choice of Hercules" (Xen. 'Mem.' ii.).

17, 18. A recapitulation.

17. *immortality.*] See *v.* 13. The word is here used in its loftier sense of *personal* immortality.

18. *great pleasure.*] "Pure delight," *v.* 16.

infinite riches.] *V.* 5; vii. 14.

in the exercise of conference with her.] Συγγυμνασία, "fellow-exercise," is a late Greek word, used also by Plutarch. It means the wrestling of soul required by intercourse with Wisdom, and aided by her.

a good report.] "Glory," *v.* 15.

to take her to me.] Marg., "to marry her." Εἰς ἐμαυτὸν has the same sense as εἰς ἐμαυτοῦ, "into my own house."

19-21. Wisdom only obtainable from God by prayer.

19. *a witty child.*] The English word "witty" is here used in its former sense of "clever" (Vulg. *ingeniosus*), as in Prov. viii. 12. Judith xi. 23, "Thou art beautiful in thy countenance, and *witty* in thy words." The word εὐφυής, "well-natured," degenerated in meaning (just as "witty" has done, but to an even greater extent) till it came to mean jocose, like εὐτράπελος, or even βωμολόχος. Here it is used in its best sense, to imply excellent natural disposition, as in Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iii. 5, 17. Possibly, however, the writer intended it to mean merely "comely," and to imply that the *bodily beauty* of Solomon was perfected by the assignment to him of a nobler soul. Jewish legends made Solomon as supreme in loveliness as in wisdom. The thought would then resemble that of Virgil—

"Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus;"

but we must not import into it any fancies about pre-established harmony. The interpretation of the passage as a *prophecy* of Christ (Aug. 'De Gen.' *ad lit.* x. 18) belongs to the uncritical and unhistorical misapplications of Scripture which occupy so large a part of exegesis.

had a good spirit.] Lit., "I obtained as my lot a good soul,"—an expression on which we need not dwell, because the writer proceeds, in the next clause, to correct it, and to intimate the view which he took of the relations between the soul and body. By a "good" soul is meant a soul naturally inclined to virtue—endowed with good dispositions.

20. *Yea rather.*] The last clause needed correction in two respects: (1) It involved the use (however accidental and cursory) of "I" in the sense of "my body;" and (2) it left room for a possible error, if any understood the word ἔλαχον to imply the godless opinion that the possession of a "good soul" was a matter of *haphazard* (ii. 2). In this clause he uses "I" of the soul, and treats the body as its mere *receptacle* (σκεῦος, 2 Cor. iv. 7; 1 Thess. iv. 4. Comp. *vas*, Lucret. iii. 441; Cic. 'Tusc. Disp.' i. 5).

being good, I came into a body undefiled.] This clause opens the way for endless inferential speculations. St. Augustine, for instance, claims it as a support of Crea-

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that I could not otherwise obtain her, except God gave her me; and that was a point of wisdom also to know whose gift she was; I ‖ prayed unto the Lord, and besought him, and with my whole heart I said,

‖ Or, *went.*

tianism (the view that each separate soul is created immediately by God) as against Traducianism (the view that our souls are derived from our parents *ex traduce*, in the ordinary process of birth). There can be no doubt that the former, whatever may be its difficulties, is the view implied by Scripture (Eccles. iii. 21, xii. 7; Zech. xii. 1, "the Lord who . . . formed the spirit of man within him"). We need not enter into such controversies, because our only object is to explain the meaning of the writer. It is clear then that this passage implies the author's belief in the pre-existence (*προύπαρξις*) of souls. Compare Dante, 'Purgatorio,' xvi. 85–90:

"Esce di mano a lui, che la vagheggia
Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla,
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia.
L'anima semplicetta, che sa nulla
Salvo che, mossa da lieto Fattore
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla;"

and xxv. 68–73 ["know that so soon as the articulation of the brain is complete, the Mover turns to it with joy, *and breathes into it a new spirit*"].

We find the same thought in Wordsworth's

"Not in entire forgetfulness,
Nor yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

Here, however, the Roman Catholic commentators found themselves involved in a difficulty. The doctrine of the pre-existence of souls was condemned as heretical by the Second Council of Constantinople; and yet the Apocrypha was regarded as inspired. It followed, in accordance with the rule so fatal to all sound and honest exegesis, that the passage must be forced into accordance with orthodox dogma. One way of doing this was to take *μᾶλλον* with *ἀγαθός*, as is done by the Vulgate ("Et cum essem *magis bonus*"), and to explain it to mean, "when I became better," or "after making progress in goodness," in consequence of good training (Luther, Osiander, Calov), or of special grace (Bonaventura). Protestants, who regarded the doctrine of pre-existent souls as militating against their view of original sin, either looked on the passage as a proof that the book is not canonical and not inspired (Buddeus); or if they belonged to the school of Hengstenberg and Stier, which undertook a defence of the Apocryphal orthodoxy, they explained the verse away by rendering *ἦλθον* as a pluperfect, "I had come," or adopted other impossible means of reconciling the writer's view with that of the Protestant Confessions. See Grimm on this passage. The translation of the verse is perfectly simple. Even if (with Schmid) we could make *παῖς* the nominative to *ἦλθον*, the clause cannot be tortured into the meaning that he acquired bodily purity as he grew up. Setting aside these efforts to make the passage express the doctrinal views of the commentators, it is obvious that the words can only bear one sense; namely, that the soul exists before and apart from the body. This was the general belief of the Jews at this epoch. It is found in Philo, who held that Gen. i. 27 narrated the creation of a "heavenly" and "sexless" man ('Leg. Allegg.' i. 12, 28; ii. 4); and that Gen. ii. 15 described his reception of (*λαμβάνειν*) "a created mind" (*ὁ ποιηθεὶς νοῦς, ib.* 28), which was pre-existent and perfect (*ib.* i. 30). See also 'De Somn.' 22; 'De Gigant.' ii. 3; and Siegfried, 'Philo,' p. 242. It is also found in the current opinion of the Essenes, who believed in the transmigration of souls ('B. J.' II. viii. § 11); in the Kabbalah ('Zohar.' ii. 96); and in the Talmud generally. The Jews held that all the unborn souls of Jews were summoned to Sinai to hear the moral law, and that before birth the soul of every human being was taken to see both Paradise and Gehenna, that it might learn the rewards of virtue and the penalty of sin. Some have found precarious traces of this view in John ix. 2, and in Deut. xxix. 14, 15; Job xxxviii. 21. The Alexandrians derived it from Plato and the Stoics ('Phaedr.' 248, c). The doctrine of pre-existence was openly held by Synesius even after he became a bishop. The views of St. Augustine may be found in 'De libero Arbitrio,' i. and iv.; 'Ep.' cxx. A panegyrist on Theodosius says, "Sive ille divinus animus venturus in corpus dignum metatur hospitium, sive cum venerit fingit habitaculum pro habitu suo." Pseudo-Solomon differs, however, both from the Stoics and from Philo in that he does not dwell on the body as irredeemably evil, or as the tomb of the soul (*σῶμα = σῆμα*); nor does he hold that only the sensuously-inclined souls (*ἴνγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμέναι*, Jos. *l. c.*) become incorporated with bodies. His view is that souls are created "good" or "bad," in the sense that they are more or less well- or ill-disposed; or at any rate that they may have become good or bad in previous states of existence.

21. *I could not otherwise obtain her.*] Some would render the words *ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἔσομαι ἐγκρατὴς* "that otherwise I shall not be temperate," or "have mastery over myself."

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CHAPTER IX.

1 *A prayer unto God for his wisdom,* 6 *without which the best man is nothing worth,* 13 *neither can he tell how to please God.*

O GOD of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, [a] who hast made all things with thy word,

2 And ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should [b] have dominion over the creatures which thou hast made,

3 And order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with an upright heart:

[a] Gen. 1. Ps. 33. 9. John 1. 3.

[b] Gen. 1 28. Ps. 8. 6.

The Vulgate (*quoniam aliter non possem esse continens*) might have this meaning, but may also intend the same as the A. V. No doubt "continence," in the sense of mastery over bodily desires, was regarded by the writer as an essential element of Wisdom (ix. 15); nor is the incontinence of Solomon any argument against this rendering, since the writer has before him both an ideal and a youthful Solomon (*v.* 10). Ἐγκρατὴς has the meaning of "chaste" in Ecclus. xxvi. 15, and in Tit. i. 8 (where alone it occurs in the N. T.). On the other hand, the more common meaning of ἐγκρατὴς is *compos voti;* and although the genitive is almost invariably expressed (ἐγκρ. γνώσεως, Ecclus. xv. 1, &c.), yet in Ecclus. vi. 27 we find ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος μὴ ἀφῇς αὐτήν, "when thou hast *got hold of her* (Wisdom), let her not go." It is true that there the σοφίας is easily supplied; but so it is in this passage, for σοφία is the subject of the whole chapter and of the whole book, though φρόνησις (in its lower sense) is a prominent substantive in these clauses. The A. V. is therefore probably right.

and that was a point of wisdom also.] The meaning is, "Yea and this (τοῦτο, the following) required thoughtful intelligence;" namely, to know to whose gift of grace wisdom belongs. Jas. i. 5, 17.

with my whole heart.] Deut. vi. 5; Josh. xxii. 5.

CHAPTER IX.

Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom.

An appeal to the love of God as the Creator (1–4), because Solomon is but weak and human, and needs wisdom (5, 6) as a king (7), and that he may build the Temple (8); since without the guidance of Wisdom and her universal knowledge he cannot rule worthily (9–12). For man is ignorant (13), feeble (14), sensuous (15), and incapable of knowing heavenly or spiritual things (16, 17), and Wisdom is the only Saviour of mankind (18).

1. *God of my fathers.*] This form of address is derived from Gen. xxxii. 9. The vocative Θεέ of the original is only used in late Greek. The prayer in this chapter is suggested by the prayer of Solomon in 1 K iii. 6–9 and 2 Chron. i. 8–10.

Lord of mercy.] The title concentrates the force of the very numerous passages of Scripture which speak of mercy as the most essential among the Divine attributes: Ex. xxxiv. 7; Num. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxxvi. 15, &c. God is called in the N. T. "the Father of uttermost compassion" (πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, 2 Cor. iii. 1), and the "God of all grace" (1 Pet. v. 10). Some MSS. read "Lord of *thy* mercy." In a striking passage of the Talmud we find the story of Rabbi Ishmael ben Elishah, who, entering into the Holy of Holies, saw Acathriel Jah, Lord of Sabaoth, sitting on a throne, and prayed: "May it please Thee to cause Thy mercy to subdue Thy anger; may it be revealed above Thy other attributes; and mayst Thou deal with Thy children according to the quality of mercy." And it seemed as though God was pleased at the prayer. ('Berakhoth,' f. 7. 1.) It is well known that every sura of the Koran begins with the words "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful." One of Mohammed's traditional sayings is, "When God created the creation, He wrote a book, which is near Him upon the sovran throne, and what is written is this, '*Verily my compassion overcometh my wrath.*'" Comp. Jas. ii. 13, κατακαυχᾶται ἔλεος κρίσεως.

with thy word.] Ps. xxxiii. 6. This is parallel to "by thy wisdom" in the next verse. Both "word" and "wisdom" may sometimes be used in the Philonian sense of a personified, though not incarnate, Logos; but it is much more probable that in a prayer based on Old Testament analogies the words bear their ordinary sense: Gen. i. 2; Ecclus. xlii. 15.

2. *through thy wisdom.*] Christ is called "the power of God and the wisdom of God" in 1 Cor. i. 24: but expressions like these in the Book of Wisdom only dimly prefigure the future revelation.

that he should have dominion.] Gen. i. 26–30; Ps. viii. 6–8; Ecclus. xvii. 4.

the creatures.] The word κτίσμα properly means "a building" (Hesych. οἰκοδόμημα) or "a colony" (Strabo). It does not occur in the LXX., and in the N. T. only in 1 Tim.

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[c] 1 Kings 3. 9.

4 Give [c] me wisdom, that sitteth by thy throne; and reject me not from among thy children:

[d] Ps. 86. 16. & 116. 16.

5 For I [d] thy servant and son of thine handmaid am a feeble person, and of a short time, and too young for the understanding of judgment and laws.

6 For though a man be never so perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be nothing regarded.

7 Thou hast chosen me to be a [e] king of thy people, and a judge of thy sons and daughters:

[e] 1 Chron. 28. 5. 2 Chron. 1. 9.

8 [f] Thou hast commanded me to build a temple upon thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein thou

[f] 2 Sam. 7. 12, 13.

iv. 4; Jas. i. 18; Rev. v. 13, viii. 9, where it has the same sense as here, and in xiii. 4, 5, viz. "a created thing."

3. *equity and righteousness.*] Rather, "holiness and righteousness." The same words are conjoined in Luke i. 75; Eph. iv. 24. Even in Plato we find the definition that ὅσιος refers to holiness towards God, and δίκαιος to just conduct towards men ('Gorg.' 507, b). Man's dominion over the material universe and its living inhabitants is indeed to be absolute (ἵνα δεσπόζῃ), but it is not to be arbitrary and tyrannical.

execute judgment.] That is, "maintain his rule." See note on i. 1. Here the phrase is applied to the dominion of man over the world.

with an upright heart.] So, too, in 1 K iii. 6. Solomon prays that he may govern "in uprightness of heart."

4. *Give me wisdom.*] The writer has not overlooked the fact that man must do his part as well as God, and that, while he thus prays for wisdom, he must also by moral purity and faithfulness strive after its attainment (i. 1–5, &c.). "Nur durch ein göttliches Leben wird der Mensch Gottes inne" (Jacobi).

that sitteth by.] The metaphorical expression that Wisdom is "the Assessor of God's throne" is founded on Prov. viii. 30, 31, "Then was I by Him." Comp. Ecclus. i. 1. So in the classic poets the words πάρεδρος, σύνθρονος, σύνεδρος (τῷ θεῷ) are applied to Justice, Righteousness, Themis, &c. (Pind. 'Ol.' viii. 22; Soph. 'O. C.' 1382; Eur. 'Iph. Aul.' 192, &c.; Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' ii.)

thy throne.] Lit., "thy thrones." The *pluralis excellentiae* for "throne," as in *v.* 12; xviii. 15. The use of this plural in Dan. vii. 9 led to a great and important controversy among the Jewish Rabbis. The true rendering of that verse is "the thrones were *placed*," and in the discussion about the plural Rabbi Iddith said that a second throne was placed for Metatron (μεταθρόνιος). In all such speculations we trace the dim influence of Christian doctrine, and the instinctive yearning for "a Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." See 'Yevamoth,' f. 16. 2; 'Chagigah,' f. 14. 2; 'Sanhedrin,' f. 38. 2.

reject me not.] Ἀποδοκιμάζω means "I test, and reject." Thus in Jer. vi. 30, ἀργύριον ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον means silver "tested and found to be spurious." Hence the word ἀδόκιμος, "reprobate:" Is. i. 22; 2 Cor. xiii. 6; 2 Tim. iii. 8; Heb. vi. 8, &c.

from among thy children.] See ii. 13.

5. *thy servant and son of thine handmaid.*] Ps. lxxxvi. 16; cxvi. 16.

a feeble person, and of a short time.] Ps. lxxxix. 47.

too young.] Comp. viii. 10. Founded on 1 K. iii. 7.

6. *shall be nothing regarded.*] Lit., "shall be reckoned for nought." Man's "nothing-perfect," even when it is perfect relatively to human estimate, becomes valueless in contrast with "God's All-complete." 1 Cor iii. 19, "The wisdom of this world is folly with God," and "the foolishness of God is wiser than men" (*id.* i. 25). Compare also 2 Cor. xiii. 1–3.

7. *hast chosen me.*] Lit., "chosen me beforehand" or "by preference," "before all the house of my father," 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. An allusion to the prophecy of Nathan to David (2 Sam. vii. 12–14).

of thy sons and daughters.] The rarity of the latter expression ("*daughters* of God") is due perhaps to the depressed condition of Eastern womanhood. It occurs in Is. xliii. 6; 2 Cor. vi. 18. The Jews are here regarded as being God's "sons and daughters," not because God is "the Father from whom *every* fatherhood is named," but in a special and peculiar sense.

8. *to build a temple.*] 2 Sam. vii. 13; Ex. xxv. 40.

upon thy holy mount.] Moriah. It was hallowed by the tradition of the Jews that there Abraham had slain the ram in place of Isaac; and by the vision of the Angel to David on the threshing-floor of Araunah. Afterwards it was called "the holy hill," because of the Temple (Ps. xxiv. 3; xlviii. 1; lxxxvii. 1, &c.). The Jews spoke of it as

dwellest, [g] a resemblace of the holy tabernacle, [h] which thou hast prepared from the beginning.

9 And [i] wisdom was with thee: which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and knew what was acceptable in thy sight, and right in thy commandments.

10 O send her out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory, that being present she may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee.

11 For she knoweth and understandeth all things, and she shall lead me soberly in my doings, and preserve me ‖ in her power.

12 So shall my works be acceptable, and then shall I judge thy people righteously, and be worthy to sit in my father's seat.

13 For [k] what man is he that can know the counsel of God? or

[g] Hebr. 8. 5.
[h] Matt. 25. 34. Hebr. 11. 10.
[i] Prov. 8. 22. John 1. 1, 2, 3, 10.
‖ Or, *by her power*, or, *glory*.
[k] Isai. 40. 13. Ecclus. 1. 6. Rom. 11. 34. 1 Cor. 2. 16.

"the Hill of the House." These phrases were probably later than Solomon's days.

in the city wherein thou dwellest.] Lit., "of thine encampment." Comp. LXX. 2 Chron. vi. 21. Jerusalem was called "the City of God" (Ps. xlvi. 5; lxxxvii. 3). It is still called "The Holy, the Noble" (El Koodsh es Shereef). With the word κατασκήνωσις compare Heber's lines:

"Ye guardian saints! ye warrior sons of Heaven,
To whose high charge Judea's state was given!
Oh wont of old your nightly watch to keep,
A host of gods on Sion's towery steep!"

a resemblance.] Lit., "an imitation." The word is in apposition both to "temple" and "altar." The allusion is to Ex. xxv. 40, "Look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount;" Acts vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5.

which thou hast prepared from the beginning.] Rather, "which thou preparedst." The same verb is used in Ex. xv. 17; Prov. iii. 19. The various allusions to the heavenly archetype of the earthly tabernacle were seized upon both by superstition and by philosophy. The literalist school of Jewish Rabbis, those who devoted themselves to the Halakhah and spent their lives in glorifying the *minutiae* of ritual, said that there was in heaven an actual material temple and altar of fire corresponding to the real ones ('Menachoth,' f. 29. 1).

On the other hand, the Alexandrian school of Jewish hagadists and philosophers eagerly applied these passages to support the doctrine of ideas, and expanded them into the conception that all things have an eternal archetype, and that

"Earth
Is but the shadow of heaven, and things therein
Each to the other like more than on earth is thought."

As a matter of fact, Solomon's temple diverged very widely from the tabernacle in the wilderness, and therefore from "the pattern in the mount." The conception of "a heavenly tabernacle" is found in Heb. viii. 2, ix. 11; Rev. xiii. 6. Clement of Alexandria ('Strom.' iv. 8) calls the earthly Church "an image (εἰκὼν) of the heavenly."

from the beginning.] The phrase might be used in its ordinary scriptural sense (Is. xlv. 21, &c.), in which it is equivalent to "from the dawn of Jewish or of human history," "from the foundation of the world" (Rev. xiii. 8). Many Alexandrian readers of the book would, however, interpret such expressions in accordance with the philosophy of Eternal Ideas which they fancied that they could read into Scripture. That such notions were in harmony with those of the author appears from his remarks on the High Priest's robes (xviii. 24).

9. *wisdom was with thee.*] The verse expresses exactly the same thoughts as Prov. viii. 22–31.

acceptable in thy sight.] Gen. xvi. 10.

right in thy commandments.] Εὐθὲς is often used in the LXX. (for εὐθὺ) as a translation of טוֹב, "good." The writer implies that even the works of the natural creation were carried out in accordance with moral laws.

10. *out of . . . from.*] The prepositions ἐξ and ἀπὸ are here correctly used, the former meaning "from within," and the latter merely "from;" but that the writer paid no special heed to these distinctions appears from his reversing the expressions in xviii. 15, ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων. The A. V. omits the "send" (πέμψον) of the second clause.

11. *in her power.*] Rather, "in her glory." Her glory—an emanation of the divine glory (vii. 26)—shall be like a protecting atmosphere around me. The Jews sometimes spoke of the Shechinah as an overshadowing tent.

12. *acceptable.*] Προσδεκτὰ is a rare word, which only occurs in Prov. xi. 20; xvi. 16 (LXX.). The word rendered "acceptable" in *v.* 9 is ἀρεστόν.

seat.] "Thrones," as in *v.* 4; Ps. cxxi. 5.

13. *For.*] He gives the reason why it is so

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who can think what the will of the Lord is?

14 For the thoughts of mortal men are ‖ miserable, and our devices are but uncertain.

15 For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and [l] the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things.

16 And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find the things that are ‖ before us: but the things that are in heaven who hath searched out?

‖ Or, *fearful.*

[l] 2 Cor. 5. 1, 4.

‖ Gr. *at hand.*

necessary for him to seek wisdom from God. The passage closely resembles Is. xl. 13, 14; Rom. xi. 34, 35; 1 Cor. ii. 16. Comp. Job xxxvi. 22, 23, 26.

14. *For the thoughts of mortal men are miserable.*] Rather, "the reasonings of mortals are timid," *i.e.* vacillating and uncertain, or "wretched." Δειλοὶ is used but seldom in the LXX., and may have either meaning. In the N. T. it has the former sense (Matt. viii. 26; Rev. xxi. 8). Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 20, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts (διαλογισμοὺς) of man that they are vain" (Ps. xciv. 11).

are but uncertain.] ἐπισφαλεῖς, "unstable." Comp. ἐπισφαλῶς, iv. 4; Acts xxvii. 9. The word does not occur in the LXX.

15. *the corruptible body presseth down the soul.*] The writer does not say that matter is inherently evil, but he evidently shares the feelings of many schools of philosophy which looked on the body as a burden. See Cic. 'Somn. Scip.' 3. For the views of Philo see Siegfried, pp. 235–237. He goes so far as to call the body an "utterly polluted prison" (παμμίαρον δεσμωτήριον, 'De Migr. Abr.' 2; Opp. i. 437). Josephus also says that the soul suffers harm from its close union with the body ('c. Ap.' ii. 24). These views are derived from Plato, who says ('Phaed.' 83, d) that "each pleasure and pain has, as it were, a nail, and nails down the soul to the body, and fastens it to the body and makes it corporeal." Plotinus "blushed that he had a body;" and through the Neo-Platonists there filtered down to the Fathers, and from them to the Middle Ages, the notion that the body was a source of all corruption, and was to be crushed as an enemy. St. Francis of Assisi spoke of his body as "my brother, the ass," and the Curé d'Ars as "*ce cadavre.*"

presseth down the soul.] Compare Hor. 'Sat.' ii. 77–79:—

> "Quin corpus onustum
> Hesternis vitiis animam quoque *praegravat* una,
> Atque affigit humi divinae particulam aurae."

The phrase may be borrowed from Plato ('Phaedo,' 81, c), where he speaks of the body as ἐμβριθὲς and βαρύ, and says that the soul is "weighed down" (βαρύνεται) by its earthiness. So, too, Seneca ('Ep.' 65), "Corpus hoc animi *pondus* et *poena* est: *premente* illo urgetur, in vinculis est."

the earthy tabernacle.] The body is often compared to a tent: Is. xxxviii. 12, "a shepherd's tent;" Job iv. 19, "them that dwell in houses of clay;" 2 Cor. v. 4, "We that are *in this tabernacle*, do groan, *being burdened;*" 2 Pet. i. 13, "As long as I am in this tabernacle." St. John says that the Word "tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us" (i. 14). So, too, Plato called the body "an earthy tabernacle" (γήϊνον σκῆνος, *ap.* Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' v. 593), and "*a house* that is united with the soul" ('De Somn.' i. 20); Hippocrates, 'Aphor.' viii. 18, ἀπολείπουσα ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος σκῆνος. Aelian uses it even of animals, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ζώου σκῆνος ('H. Animal.' v. 3).

> "Here *in the body pent*,
> Afar from Him I roam,
> Yet nightly pitch *my moving tent*
> A day's march nearer home."
> J. MONTGOMERY.

Longfellow speaks of death as

> "Nought but a step into the open air
> *Out of a tent* already luminous
> With light, that shines through its transparent folds."

the mind that museth upon many things.] Vulg., *multa cogitantem*, "the much-pondering" mind. "Mind" is here only a varied phrase for "soul" in the previous clause. The writer nowhere recognises the Platonic trichotomy of the being of man. Πολυφροντὶς more often means "full of care," but that sense is here unsuitable to the context.

16. *things that are upon earth, &c.*] We have but an imperfect inkling (viii. 8) of earthly phenomena (vii. 20), and the discovery of what immediately concerns us requires labour; who then can track out (vi. 22) the secret things which are known only to God? The antithesis is the same as in John iii. 12. Comp. 4 Esdr. iv. 21: "They that dwell upon the earth can understand nothing but what is upon the earth; and he who is above the heavens, what is above the height of the heavens."

the things that are in heaven.] Comp. our Lord's words to Nicodemus: "If I have told you *earthly things* and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of *heavenly* things?" (John iii. 12.)

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17 And thy counsel who hath known, [m] except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above?

[m] 1 Cor. 2. 10.

18 For so the ways of them which lived on the earth were reformed, and men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom.

CHAPTER X.

1 *What wisdom did for Adam,* 4 *Noe,* 5 *Abraham,* 6 *Lot, and against the five cities,* 10 *for Jacob,* 13 *Joseph,* 16 *Moses,* 17 *and the Israelites.*

SHE preserved the first formed father of the world, that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall.

17. *thy counsel who hath known?*] God's counsel is known only to Wisdom (*vv.*9–12) and to those to whom she partially reveals it (*v.* 18).

thy Holy Spirit.] See on vii. 22, 25. The verse must not of course be interpreted in the full sense of modern doctrine; but the thought is similar to that in 1 Cor. ii. 10–12: "The Spirit searcheth all things, even the depths of God." St. Paul very possibly had this passage in his mind.

from above.] Lit., "*from highest* realms," Job xxii. 12 (LXX.); *τὰ ἐπουράνια,* "the heavenlies," Eph. i. 3, &c.

18. *were reformed.*] Vulg., *correctae.* The verb διορθόω is used in Jer. vii. 2 to express amendment, *ἐὰν διορθώσητε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν.* The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 10) speaks of "the epoch of amendment" (*μέχρι καιροῦ διορθώσεως*). As it is, mankind is walking in "crooked ways:" i. 3; Prov. ii. 15.

and were saved through wisdom.] The word "saved" has many shades of meaning, and we may consequently say that we are saved by faith (Lk. vii. 50); "by grace through faith" (Eph. ii. 5); or "by hope" (Rom. viii. 24); or by the Gospel (1 Cor. xv. 2); or "according to mercy" (Tit. iii. 5); or by love (Lk. vii. 47); or, as here, "by wisdom." Wisdom saves men by turning them from the paths of sin and error. The answer to the question "*Who* are they who are thus saved?" is practically given by the words here added in the Vulgate, *quicumque tibi placuerunt, Domine, a principio.* The answer is meant to be furnished by the entire remainder of the book. The prayer of Solomon ends here, and the subject of the second great division of the book is ingeniously introduced by this last verse. This first great section is complete in itself, and is superior both in style, depth, and originality to the following section.

X.–XIX. Wisdom exemplified as a Power in History.

How Wisdom saved individual souls and the Israelites in general (x.). A contrast of the fortunes of Israel and idolatrous Egypt (xi. xii.). The origin, the folly, and the punishment of idolatry (xiii.–xv.). Development of the contrast between the fortunes of Israel and Egypt (xvi.–xix.).

In the following chapters of the book we have a Jewish philosophy of history, in which the lessons of the past are deduced from the scriptural notices of Patriarchs from Adam and Moses (x. 1–14); and of the Israelites, especially in the days of the Exodus (x. 15–xii.), and after the Exodus (xvi.–xix.). The same theme is also illustrated by a digressive sketch of the history of idolatry (xiii.–xv.). The object of the writer is to glorify Wisdom by shewing that the wise, the just, the upright, who feared God, were by her preserved and blessed, while guilty men and idolatrous nations were punished. The two thoughts most prominently developed are the baseness of idolatry and the punishment of guilt. This section is chiefly remarkable (1) for the extreme elaboration of the style, which is always highly rhetorical, and sometimes degenerates into bombast, euphuism, and affectation; (2) for the licence with which the writer deals with the scriptural records, amplifying, exaggerating, idealising, and not unfrequently availing himself of details either invented by himself or borrowed from the Jewish Hagadah. Attention will be drawn to these points in some of the following notes.

Similar passages, so far as a moral and spiritual review of the lessons of history is concerned, are Judges ii. 1–23, vi. 7–10; 2 Kings xvii. 7–23; Nehem. ix. 9–31; Pss. lxxviii., lxxx., cv., cvi., cxxxv., cxxxvi.; Acts vii.; Heb. xi.; Clemens Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 9–12; and parts of the Ep. of Barnabas.

Readers may recall the fine prayer in Cardinal Newman's 'Dream of Gerontius.'

CHAPTER X.

Wisdom saved Adam (1, 2); punished Cain and his guilty descendants, but saved Noah (3, 4); preserved Abraham (5); preserved Lot, but punished the Sodomites and Lot's wife (6–9); preserved Jacob (10–12); Joseph (13, 14); and the Israelites by the instrumentality of Moses (15–21).

1. *She preserved the first formed father of*

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[a] Gen. 1. 28. 2 And [a] gave him power to rule all things.

[b] Gen. 4. 8. 3 [b] But when the unrighteous went away from her in his anger, he perished also in the fury wherewith he murdered his brother.

[c] Gen. 7. 19, 21, 22, 23. [2] Pet. 2. 5. 4 For whose cause the [c] earth being drowned with the flood, wisdom

the world.] The writer begins with Adam, whom he again calls "the protoplast" (vii. 1); and he shews that Wisdom saved him. "Wisdom" throughout these chapters—though the various meanings attached to the word still continue to be interchanged — is generally used to express the active redeeming principle which is at work in the world; the Divine Providence which protects the righteous, because it is trusted in and apprehended by them. The writer is fond of using the emphatic pronoun *αὕτη* for Wisdom (vii. 10, 29; viii. 1, 7, 9, &c.).

that was created alone.] "Adam, who *was the Son of God*" (Lk. iii. 38). This is the simplest way of taking the words. Adam alone was "*created;*" other men are born to their parents. Great stress is laid upon this fact in 'Sanhedrin,' f. 38. 1; and Targ. Jonathan, Gen. iii. It is true that even Traducianists might speak of all men as "created," but the word applies to Adam with special force. Other versions are suggested; as, "*while he was the only-created,*" i.e. before the birth of Eve, as it is understood by Pellicanus, Osiander, Tirinus, &c. But though such a rendering may be analogous to 1 Tim. ii. 14, and to the views of Philo ('De opif. mund.' § 63), neither the Greek nor the context admit of it. Grimm, Calmet, Wahl, Schmid, &c., give to *μόνον* the sense of "*unprotected,*" "left to himself," as in John viii. 29, xvi. 32; but in those passages *μόνος* derives that shade of meaning exclusively from the context. Wisdom "protected" Adam, not from sin, nor from external dangers (Corn. à Lapide, Grimm, &c.), but from final ruin, in the sense implied by the next clause.

and brought him out of his fall.] Lit., "rescued him out of his own transgression." Wisdom—*i.e.* the redeeming power of God working in the penitent heart of man—"rescued" Adam, as Tirinus says, "inspirando *poenitentiam* et indulgendo *veniam.*" It is true that Adam's repentance is nowhere distinctly stated in Scripture, but it seems to be implied in the Book of Genesis. The Rabbis ('Bereshith Rabba,' viii.; 'Nishmath Chajim.' f. 152. 2), and the Fathers generally, believed in the final salvation of Adam (Iren. 'c. Haer.' iii. 23; Tert. 'de poenit.' 12; Epiphan. 'Haer.' xlvi., &c.), and that he was delivered from purgatory when Christ "descended into Hades." See Dante, 'Purgat.' xxxiii. 61, 62. In the 'Paradiso,' xxxii. 121, he is represented sitting in the very heart of the Celestial Rose.

"He who is sitting near her on the left
Is that great sire, through whose temerity
Mankind were of their happiness bereft."

Dähne, Nitzsch, Keerl, and others have given other explanations of this verse, which are needless, and indeed untenable. What was meant by the strange addition in some MSS. of the Vulgate, *et eduxit illum de limo terrae*, it is difficult to say. It may be a mere blunder. "Fall" is *παράπτωμα*, "trespass" (Rom. v. 15, 17, 18). To refer Adam's "peculiar fall" to the ante-natal offence of desiring to be born (Gfrörer, 'Urchristenthum,' ii. 242) is quite unwarrantable.

2. *power to rule all things.*] Probably no more is meant than an allusion to Gen. i. 20; Ps. viii. 1. Ἰσχὺς properly means "strength." The Rabbis supposed Adam to be endowed with superhuman size, strength, and knowledge, but there is no certain reference here to these Hagadoth ('Bereshith Rabba,' viii., xvii., &c.). See Hamburger, 'Geist d. Hagadah,' *s. v.* Adam.

3. *the unrighteous.*] Cain. It is true that the writer means each scriptural personage to stand for a class, yet the continuous suppression of the names can hardly be excused from a charge of literary affectation.

from her.] From Wisdom.

he perished also in the fury wherewith he murdered his brother.] These eleven words somewhat tamely represent the almost Aeschylean energy of the three words of the original—*ἀδελφοκτόνοις συναπώλετο θυμοῖς.* The manner in which Cain "perished with" Abel through his fratricidal passion is not detailed. There are in the Talmudic writings two legends respecting the death of Cain. One was that he was "the man" whom Lamech accidentally slew (Gen. iv. 23); another that he was crushed in the ruins of a falling house. The word *συναπώλετο* seems to imply that he perished *with Abel* by incurring spiritual death in the very act of inflicting natural death. The blow that murdered his brother, murdered also his own soul. What makes this explanation nearly certain is that (1) it harmonises with the literary manner of the author; and (2) it agrees with the remark of Philo ('Quod det. pot.' 14) that "Cain rose up, and *slew himself*, but not his brother," because his soul died to virtue when he became a murderer. (See on Cain, 'Bereshith Rabba,' § 22.)

4. *For whose cause.*] "On whose account"—because the guilt of Cain was trans-

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again preserved it, and directed the course of the righteous in a piece of wood of small value.

[d] Gen. 11. 9.

5 Moreover, [d] the nations in their wicked conspiracy being confounded, she found out the righteous, and preserved him blameless unto God, and [e] kept him strong ‖ against his tender compassion toward his son.

[e] Gen. 22. 10. ‖ Or, *in*.

6 [f] When the ungodly perished, she delivered [g] the righteous man, who fled from the fire which fell down upon ‖ the five cities.

[f] Gen. 19. 16. [g] 2 Pet. 2. 7. ‖ Gr. *Pentapolis*.

7 Of whose wickedness even to

mitted to his descendants, who filled the world with crime (Gen. vi. 4, 5). Josephus dwells on the fact that Cain's descendants became worse and worse (*κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν*) by handing on an evil disposition and an evil example ('Antt.' I. ii. 2). In this enumeration Enoch is passed over, perhaps because he has been already mentioned in iv. 10; or because the writer wished to connect the Deluge immediately with the guilt of Cain.

> "'Twas but a little drop of sin
> We saw this morning enter in;
> And lo! at eventide a world is drowned!"
> KEBLE.

Grimm's notion that he meant to discountenance those of his contemporaries who regarded Enoch rather than Solomon as a type of perfect wisdom is surely very far-fetched.

being drowned.] *κατακλυζομένην.* The word for the Deluge in Gen. vi. 17, &c., is *κατακλυσμός*. Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 6.

preserved it.] Saved the earth and the race from final destruction, by "steering the just man by a contemptible log." St. Peter (iii. 20) uses the curious expression that Noah and his family were saved "by" or perhaps "through" water (*δι' ὕδατος*).

the righteous.] Noah represented the ideal just man, *i.e.* the faithful Hebrew: Gen. vi. 9; Heb. xi. 7.

in a piece of wood of small value.] Lit., "by a cheap log." The writer is not disparaging the size of the Ark as described in Genesis, but is only contrasting the insignificance of the means of safety with the terrors of the great Deluge. Similarly, in xiv. 5 he calls a ship *ἐλάχιστον ξύλον*, just as Seneca uses "*tenue lignum*" ('Med.' 306). Both words—*εὐτελὲς*, "cheap," "valueless," and *ξύλον*, "a log," "a piece of timber"—are contemptuous. The passage is analogous to xiv. 3–5, where the "wisdom" which is here described as the saving principle is called "the providence of God."

5. *Moreover.*] The verse again begins with the emphatic "she," and might be rendered, "*She also, when the nations were mixed together in unanimity of wickedness, recognised the just man.*" The contemptuous term *συγχυθέντων* seems to be an allusion to Babel with its confusion of tongues (*συγχέωμεν, σύγχυσις*, LXX., Gen. xi. 7, 9). The "concord of wickedness" means universal idolatry.

found out.] This is a rendering of *εὗρε*, which is found in some MSS., but *ἔγνω*, "recognised," is better supported. Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 19, *ἔγνω Κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ*.

the righteous.] Abraham (Gen. xvii. 1). If the words are pressed, the writer seems to make Abraham a contemporary of the building of Babel. It is not improbable that he held this view, for the Jewish Hagadists told how Abraham had been saved out of a burning furnace, into which he was put by Nimrod, for destroying the idols which his father Terah made. The whole legend is framed out of the word Ur, which means "fire" or "light." See 'Sanhedrin,' f. 93. 1.

unto God.] Comp. Jon. iii. 3; Acts vii. 20.

kept him strong against his tender compassion toward his son.] *ἐφύλαξεν*; *custodivit*, "guarded." In the last clause the verb was *ἐτήρησεν, conservavit*, "preserved" (comp. *ἐτήρουν ... ἐφύλαξα*, John xvii. 12). The meaning is that Wisdom protected him from the temptation to disobey God's command out of love for his son: Gen. xxii. 1; Ecclus. xliv. 20, "when he was proved, he was found faithful;" 1 Macc. ii. 52; Heb. xi. 18; Jas. ii. 21.

6. *When the ungodly perished.*] Rather, "were being destroyed;" namely, in the overthrow of Sodom.

the righteous.] Lot (Gen. xix. 17–22). Comp. xix. 17; 2 Pet. ii. 7.

which fell down upon the five cities.] *καταβάσιον Πενταπόλεως.* In late Greek (Plutarch) *αἱ καταβάσιαι* is used for lightning-flashes ("fulmen *caducum*," Hor.; "the *rushing* thunderstroke," E. B. Browning). Aeschylus calls Zeus "the lightener" (*καταιβάτης*). For the five cities—Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, Zoar (Gen. xiv. 2)—the writer uses the classic term Pentapolis. We find the same tendency to make use of classical analogies in the LXX., which even goes so far as to render the name Keren Happuch by Amalthea's horn (Job xlii. 14).

7. *the waste land that smoketh is a testimony.*] A reference to Gen. xix. 28, and to the current belief that the land around the shores of the Dead Sea still smoked in sign of the divine vengeance. The same belief is found in Philo ('De Abrah.' 27), Josephus

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this day the waste land that smoketh is a testimony, and plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness: and [h] a standing pillar of salt *is* a monument of an unbelieving soul.

[h] Gen. 19. 26.

8 For regarding not wisdom, they gat not only this hurt, that they knew not the things which were good; but also left behind them to the world a memorial of their foolishness: so that in the things wherein they offended they could not so much as be hid.

9 But wisdom delivered from pain those that attended upon her.

10 When [i] the righteous fled from his brother's wrath, she guided him in right paths, shewed him the king-

[i] Gen. 23. 5, 12.

('B. J.' iv. 8, § 4), and in Jude 7. It is also found in the Fathers (Tert. 'Apolog.' 40). In ancient days this bituminous soil may have smoked, like burnt Phrygia, the Solfatara, parts of Idumea (Isa. xxxiv. 10), and, according to the Rabbis, the Valley of Hinnom; or the dense mist which rises from the scorched hollow in which the Dead Sea lies may have led to this notion. The Rabbis made Job xxviii. 5 a description of the land of Sodom ('Sanhedr.' f. 109. 1). The word *Sedôm*, perhaps, means "burning" (Gesenius, 'Thesaur.' 939 a).

plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness.] Lit., "plants fruit-bearing in unperfected seasons." The writer seems to think that the burning and accursed soil ripened before their time the fruits, which consequently came to nothing. He must have heard of the famous "apples of Sodom," which look alluring outside, but are full of dust and bitterness, or, in the exaggerated expression of Josephus ('B. J.' iv. 8, § 5), "dissolve into smoke and ashes." Solinus ('Polyhist.' 38) describes the fruit as "having indeed an appearance of ripeness, but covering within an ashen griminess" (*fuliginem favillaceam*). Tacitus, who had heard these stories, devotes to this region a descriptive chapter, and says that the natural productions of the soil, even when they grow to the semblance of maturity, "black and empty, vanish as it were into ashes." There are various fruits—such as the fruit of the *Asclepias gigantea, Solanum sanctum, Calotropis procera*, and *Solanum melangaena*—of which an exaggerated description might correspond with the legends of

> "Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye,
> But turn to ashes on the lips."

is a testimony.] Comp. Jas. v. 3.

a standing pillar of salt is a monument of an unbelieving soul.] Lot's wife is called "an unbelieving soul," because the root of her longing to return to Sodom was want of faith. The catastrophe which befel her during the flight from Sodom is expressed in language of somewhat uncertain meaning; but it is certain that, in later days, the verse (Gen. xix. 26) was understood to mean that she actually became "a pillar of salt." This pillar was identified with the curious detached columns of crystallised salt, 40 feet high, above their natural pedestal, which are found in a valley of Usdum, on the S.W. of the Dead Sea (see Ritter, 'Erdkunde,' xv. 733). We find in the Jerusalem Targum, "Because the wife of Lot was of the children of the people of Sodom, she looked behind to see what would be the end of her father's house; and behold she was made to stand a statue of salt, until the time of the resurrection shall come" (Etheridge, 'Targums,' i. 217). Ancient travellers who saw these strange phenomena were told by the inhabitants, and sincerely believed, that they had seen the salt pillar into which Lot's wife had been turned (Iren. 'Haer.' iv. 31, § 3; Justin Mart. 'Apolog.' i. 53). Thietmar (A.D. 1217), in his 'Peregrinatio,' mentions (xi. 47) the spot where he had seen "the statue of salt into which Lot's wife was turned." There is a curious legend ('Bereshith Rabba,' § li.) that she made a pretence of borrowing salt to betray the presence of her guests.

8. *regarding not.*] παροδεύσαντες. See note on vi. 22.

to the world.] Lit., "to life," *i.e.* to all living men, as in xiv. 21.

a memorial.] Namely, the smoking soil, the "Hell-apples," and the pillar of salt.

of their foolishness.] ἀφροσύνης. See note on iii. 12.

so that.] Rather, "in order that." It was God's purpose that there should be a perpetual memorial of the detection and exposure of secret crime.

9. *those that attended upon her.*] The notion that the word θεραπεύσαντας supports the theory of the writer's supposed connexion with the sect of the Therapeutae, is on a piece with many other attempts to force exaggerated inferences out of simple words. In Philo, Jacob is the type of the man who has *trained himself* in virtue by ἄσκησις.

10. *the righteous.*] Jacob.

fled from his brother's wrath.] Lit., "fugitive of the wrath of his brother." The allusion is to Gen. xxvii. 42. Philo also speaks of Jacob as "the fugitive" in his tract περὶ φυγάδων ('De Profugis').

dom of God, and gave him knowledge of holy things, made him rich in his travels, and multiplied *the fruit of* his labours.

k Gen. 31. 11 k In the covetousness of such as oppressed him she stood by him, and made him rich.

12 She defended him from his enemies, and kept him safe from

l Gen. 32. 24. those that lay in wait, and l in a sore conflict she gave him the victory; that he might know that godliness is

m Gen. 37. 28. & 39. 7. Acts 7. 10. stronger than all.

13 m When the righteous was sold, she forsook him not, but delivered him from sin: n she went down with him into the pit,

n Gen. 39. 21. & 41. 14, 40, 41.

14 And left him not in bonds, till she brought him the sceptre of the kingdom, and ‖ power against those that oppressed him: as for them that had accused him, she shewed them to be liars, and gave him perpetual glory.

‖ Or, *the power of them that ruled over him.*

15 o She delivered the ‖ righteous people and blameless seed from the nation that oppressed them.

o Exod. 1. 12. & 12. 42. ‖ Or, *holy.*

16 p She entered into the soul of

p Exod. 3. 12.

in right paths.] The context shews that the meaning is moral.

shewed him the kingdom of God.] A remarkable expression, with which we may compare John iii. 3, 5; though no doubt the immediate reference is to Jacob's dream (Gen. xxviii. 12–22).

knowledge of holy things.] Jacob's dream gave him, as it were, a glimpse of heaven.

made him rich.] εὐπόρησεν. The word is usually intransitive. It is one of the functions of Wisdom "to enrich" (vii. 11).

the fruit of his labours.] This is no doubt the true rendering of πόνους here, as in Prov. iii. 9 (LXX.). The reference is to the growth of Jacob's flocks and herds (Gen. xxx. 25–43).

11. *of such as oppressed him.*] Laban (Gen. xxix. 15; xxx. 27–35; xxxi. 55). The more usual construction of κατισχύω is with the genitive (as in vii. 30), with the meaning "prevail against."

12. *from those that lay in wait.*] A reference either to Laban's pursuit (Gen. xxxi. 23), or to some Hagadah about Esau, who is represented in far darker colours in later Jewish tradition than he is in the Bible. The narrative of Gen. xxxii. xxxiii. in no wise justifies the expression. The Talmud speaks of Esau as "the wicked" ('Giltin,' f. 56. 2; 'Soteh,' f. 13. 1). There may, however, be an allusion to the hostility of the Canaanite tribes (Gen. xxxv. 5), which was suppressed by "the terror of God."

gave him the victory.] The verb βραβεύω is rare, not occurring in the LXX., and only once in the N. T. (Col. iii. 15, where it is used intransitively). The "sore conflict" alluded to is the wrestling with the angel at Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 24–32; Hos. xii. 4).

13. *the righteous.*] Joseph.

delivered him from sin.] Gen. xxxix. 7–20. The Vulg. vaguely paraphrases ἐξ ἁμαρτίας by *a peccatoribus.*

into the pit.] The pit (λάκκον) must here be a metaphorical expression for Potiphar's prison, as in Ex. xii. 29, where the LXX. use λάκκος, and the A.V. "dungeon," for the Hebrew "house of the pit." It is true that the word might seem more applicable to the dry pit into which Joseph was let down by his brothers: but (1) it is not obvious in what sense Wisdom went down with him into that pit; (2) the next clause refers to the Egyptian prison; and (3) there seems to be an allusion to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams (Gen. xxxix. 21—xl. 23).

14. *the sceptre of the kingdom.*] Σκῆπτρα is the *pluralis excellentiae* to express, as in classic Greek poetry, the abstract sense of power. The writer may only be referring to Gen. xli. 39–45, but the expressions seem to point to the Jewish exaggeration mentioned by Philo: "Then Pharaoh appointed him successor of the kingdom, or rather, to speak the exact truth, king, leaving to himself the *name* of rule, but resigning to Joseph the reality of government" ('De Joseph.' § 21).

those that oppressed him.] Potiphar and his wife (Gen. xxxix. 16–20), and Joseph's brethren in his early years (Gen. xxxvii. 4–11, 20).

15. *the righteous people.*] Rather, "the *holy* people." Here the application of history passes from individuals to the whole race of Israelites. Of course it is only in a highly ideal sense that such terms as "holy nation" and "blameless seed" can be applied to a people whom the Scriptures in many passages repeatedly characterise as sensual, idolatrous, disobedient, stiffnecked, and rebellious (Deut. ix. 1–24, xxxi. 27, xxxii. 15–29; Nehem. ix. 16–35; Ezek. xx. 8–44, xxiii. 3; Amos v. 26; Acts vii. 37–43, 51–53, &c.). The idealisation is, however, maintained unbroken throughout this book, and can only be explained by the considerations that (1) Israel was a chosen people (Ex. xix. 6; Lev. xx. 24; Deut. vii. 6;

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[q] Josh. 1. 1. Ps. 105. 26. Hebr. 3. 5.
[r] Exod. 5. 1. & 7. 10. & 8, & 9, & 10, & 11, & 12, & 13. Ps. 105. 27, &c.
[s] Ps. 105. 39.
Or, *flame*.
[t] Exod. 14. 21, 22, 29. Ps. 78. 13.

[q] the servant of the Lord, and [r] withstood dreadful kings in wonders and signs;

17 Rendered to the righteous a reward of their labours, guided them in a marvellous way, [s] and was unto them for a cover by day, and a ‖ light of stars in the night season;

18 [t] Brought them through the Red sea, and led them through much water:

19 [u] But she drowned their enemies, and cast them up out of the bottom of the deep.

[u] Exod. 14. 27, 28.

20 Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly, and [x] praised thy holy name, O Lord, and magnified with one accord thine hand, that fought for them.

[x] Exod. 15. 1.

21 For wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb, and made the tongues of them that cannot speak eloquent.

Is. lxii. 12, &c.), in spite of incessant backsliding; and (2) that the writer stedfastly fixes his thoughts on the true and faithful Israelites, who were representatives of "the righteous man" (John i. 47).

16. *She entered into the soul.*] Compare vii. 27.

of the servant of the Lord.] Moses. The word is not the common term δοῦλος, but the more honourable θεράπων, which, with reference to Ex. xiv. 31, Num. xii. 7, seems to be given in this sense exclusively to Moses (Heb. iii. 5, where alone the word occurs in the N. T.).

dreadful kings.] Here, as throughout these references, the writer may have in his mind the Jewish Hagadoth, which made Moses a military leader against Pharaoh's enemies (Jos. 'Antt.' ii. §§ 1, 2). But, on the other hand, the plural may be merely generic, just as in classic Greek the plural is used to give rhetorical force to a statement. Comp. *vv.* 11, 14; Ps. civ. 30, &c.

in wonders and signs.] See note on viii. 8.

17. *to the righteous.*] Rather, "to the holy," *i.e.* to the Israelites.

a reward of their labours.] Namely, the "jewels of silver and jewels of gold" (Ex. xi. 2, 3; xii. 35, 36), which might be regarded as a late payment for their long toils in building the treasure-cities of Egypt (Ex. i. 11, v. 2–14; Gen. xv. 14).

was unto them for a cover by day.] It was natural that many legendary particulars should be added by the Jews to the simple scriptural allusion to the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night (Ex. xiii. 21, 22; xiv. 19, 24; xl. 38, &c.). The writer alludes to it again in xviii. 3 (where he makes it both a guide and "a harmless sun to entertain them honourably"), and xix. 7, where it is called "a cloud shadowing the camp." This view of it appears as early as Ps. cv. 39: "He spread a cloud for a covering." From the allusions in the passages of Exodus, it was natural for Philo to identify the pillar of cloud and fire with the Logos, as Pseudo-Solomon here identifies it with 'Wisdom' ('Quis rer. div. haer.' Opp. ii. 501). Compare Scott:

"When Israel, of the Lord beloved,
Forth from the land of bondage came,
Her fathers' God before her moved,
An awful guide, in smoke and flame.
By day along the astonished sands
The cloudy pillar guided slow;
By night Arabia's crimson sands
Returned the fiery column's glow."

a light of stars.] Lit., "a *flame* of stars." It is not easy to see the exact meaning of the writer in thus describing the "pillar of fire." Comp. Ps. lxxvii. 14, ὡδήγησεν αὐτοὺς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἐν φωτισμῷ πυρός.

18. *through the Red sea.*] Rhetorically amplified in xix. 7; Ps. lxxvii. 13, xxxii. 7 (in both which places the LXX. have the curious expression ὡσεὶ ἀσκόν, "like a wine-skin").

19. *cast them up out of the bottom of the deep.*] The Red Sea flung up the bodies of the Egyptians "from the bottomless depth." It is quite impossible to follow the Vulg., Luther, &c., in rendering it *ab altitudine inferorum eduxit illos* (the Israelites). The reference is to the Egyptian corpses (Ex. xiv. 30). In the Jerusalem Targum the earth and the sea reject the Egyptian corpses with equal abhorrence. Comp. Ps. lxxiv. 14. See 'Bereshith Rabba,' § 22, where Rabbi Eliezer says that in the Red Sea the Egyptians were struck with 200 plagues.

20. *spoiled the ungodly.*] This alludes to the very natural Jewish tradition that the dead bodies of the Egyptians supplied the Israelites with arms (Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 16, § 6), although Josephus only mentions the arms and baggage, not the corpses.

praised.] Lit., "hymned." Ex. xv. 1–21.

21. *the mouth of the dumb.*] The plurals "the dumb," "them that cannot speak," are poetic generalisations founded on the stammering tongue of Moses (Ex. iv. 10; vi

CHAPTER XI.

5 *The Egyptians were punished, and the Israelites reserved in the same thing.* 15 *They were plagued by the same things wherein they sinned.* 17 *God could have destroyed them otherwise,* 23 *but he is merciful to all.*

SHE prospered their works in the hand of the holy prophet.

[a] Exod. 16. 1.

2 [a] They went through the wilderness that was not inhabited, and pitched tents in places where there lay no way.

3 [b] They stood against their enemies, and were avenged of their adversaries.

[b] Exod. 17. 10, 11, 13.

4 When they were thirsty, they called upon thee, and [c] water was given them out of the flinty rock, and their thirst was quenched out of the hard stone.

[c] Exod. 17. 6. Numb. 20. 11.

5 For by what things their enemies were punished, by the same they in their need were benefited.

6 For instead of a fountain of a

12, 30), but here ideally extended to all the Israelites.

of them that cannot speak.] Lit., "of babes." Comp. Ps. viii. 2.

eloquent.] τραυάς. See note on vii. 22.

XI., XII. CONTRASTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, AS FURNISHING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LAWS OF DIVINE PUNISHMENT.

CHAPTER XI.

God's care of Israel in the wilderness (1–3): He gave them water (4); by which element He also punished the Egyptians (5–7), dealing with them in judgment, not for fatherly admonition (8–10). The retributive misery of the Egyptians was analogous to their sins (11–16). How God might have punished them in His power (17–22); but God's power is conditioned by His love (23–26).

1. *She prospered their works in the hand.*] Rather, "by the hand," a common Hebraism (בְּיַד), Acts vii. 35, &c. The same phrase is used with this verb (εὐώδωσε) in LXX.: Gen. xxxix. 23; Judg. xv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 21 (ὡδηγήσας).

the holy prophet.] Moses (Deut. xviii. 15). "By a prophet the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved" (Hos. xii. 13). Philo ('Vit. Mos.' 23) and Josephus ('Antt.' iv. 8, § 49) agree in speaking of Moses as the greatest of all the prophets. In the Talmud he is on all occasions exalted beyond measure. All his prayers were granted ('Berachoth,' f. 7. 1). He was equivalent to all Israel, since (by Gematrics) "Moses our Rabbi" = 613, as also does "Lord God of Israel" (see Hershon, 'Talmudic Treasures,' p. 322). For the epithet "holy," see 2 K. iv. 9; Lk. i. 70; 2 Pet. iii. 2; Eph. iii. 5. This first verse belongs in form to the last chapter, since Wisdom is still the subject.

2. *They went through.*] Διώδευσαν. The word is chosen for the sake of the paronomasia with εὐώδωσε in the last verse.

the wilderness that was not inhabited.] Rather, "an uninhabited wilderness."

pitched.] The classical verb (ἔπηξαν), used also in Heb. viii. 2.

where there lay no way.] Through these "pathless places" they were led by the cloudy and fiery pillar, and afterwards by Hobab.

3. *their enemies.*] Amalek (Ex. xvii.), Arad (Num. xxi.), Sihon, and Og, the Moabites, the Midianites, &c. Πολέμιοι means "enemies in war;" ἐχθροὶ enemies generally.

were avenged of.] Rather, "successfully repelled."

4. *called upon thee.*] This statement is due to the generalising idealism of the writer. The Book of Exodus says: "The people thirsted . . . and . . . *murmured against Moses*" (Ex. xvii. 3), and "were almost ready to stone him." It was Moses, not the people, who "cried unto the Lord" (Ex. xvii. 4), and he, together with the better and more faithful Israelites, are here regarded as the real representatives of the people (comp. Num. xx. 2–6).

out of the flinty rock.] The word ἀκροτόμου is borrowed from the LXX. Deut. viii. 15. It is used in the senses of "sharp" and "hard." The Vulg. renders it *de petrâ altissimâ*, as though the reading were ἀκροτάτου, but probably the word is to be understood in the sense of "precipitous." It occurs again in Ecclus. xl. 15, "upon a *hard* rock;" *id.* xlviii. 17; and in Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' i. 38.

their thirst was quenched.] Lit., "a healing of their thirst."

5. *For by what things their enemies were punished.*] This verse strikes the key-note of the topic which is touched upon in *vv.* 6, 7, and elaborately illustrated in chapters xvi.–xix. In this verse the Vulgate has the unimportant and wholly unauthorised addition *a defectione potus sui.* This passage

[d] Exod. 7. 17. perpetual running river [d] troubled with foul blood,

[e] Exod. 1. 22. ch. 18. 5. 7 For a manifest reproof of [e] that commandment, whereby the infants were slain, thou gavest unto them abundance of water by a means which they hoped not for:

[f] Exod. 7. 20. 8 Declaring by that thirst then [f] how thou hadst punished their adversaries.

9 For when they were tried, albeit but in mercy chastised, they knew how the ungodly were judged in wrath and tormented, thirsting in another manner than the just.

10 For these thou didst admonish and try, as a father: but the other, as a severe king, thou didst condemn and punish.

11 Whether they were absent or present, they were vexed alike.

12 For a double grief came upon

is alluded to in the Sarum use for Baptism. See Blunt, 'Annotated Prayer-book,' p. 218.

6. *troubled.*] The best-supported reading is not ταραχθέντες, but ταραχθέντος, which also avoids the supposition of a change of construction in the ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς (*anakoluthon*). A writer so careful and polished as the author of this book is rarely contented to leave an *anakoluthon* in his style. Render, "Instead of a perennial fountain, their river being turbid with mire-clotted blood." Both Philo ('Vit. Mos.' 17) and Josephus ('Antt.' II. xiv. § 1) exaggerate the narrative of Exodus, and the latter says ('Antt.' III. i. § 4) that the same river was blood to the Egyptians and sweet to the Hebrews.

7. *For a manifest reproof.*] He here incidentally alludes to the thesis which he afterwards fully develops, "that wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished" (*v.* 16). For the "infant-slaying ordinance," see Ex. i. 22; Heb. vii. 23. The word "infant-slaying" (νηπιοκτόνος) is a compound not found elsewhere, and probably invented by the writer (comp. τεκνοφόνος, xiv. 23). Philo says that the water of the Nile was turned into blood because the Egyptians honoured water as the primary element ('Vit. Mos.' 17). The Scriptures neither recognise this notion, nor allude to the resemblance between the punishment and the crime, but simply speak of the plagues of Egypt as signs of God's power, intended to convince the Egyptians that they must obey His commands.

8. *Declaring . . . how thou hadst punished their adversaries.*] The writer draws his own inferences quite independently of any scriptural warrant, and not at all in accordance with the best spirit of the scriptural writers. He gives the same fantastic explanation of the trials of the Israelites in xvi. 4.

9. *in mercy chastised.*] In a series of finely-balanced antitheses, which belong to the most euphuistic forms of Greek style (*parisosis, paromoiosis*), the writer in these verses (8–10) practically—though perhaps not intentionally—represents God as being what He is not; namely, a respecter of persons.

they knew how the ungodly were judged in wrath.] It is impossible not to see the narrowness of Jewish pride and particularism (1) in the assumption that all the trials which befell the Israelites were only the outcome of fatherly tenderness, whereas the misfortunes of the Egyptians were the result of their guilt and God's severity; and (2) in the unworthy fancy that one object of the sufferings of Israel was to shew them how much more severely their enemies had suffered. Far nobler are the thoughts of Deut. viii. 2, 3, where Moses tells the Israelites that these sufferings were meant to teach them "that man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." The writer may have founded his view on various passages of Scripture, but only by reading them apart from their context, and with the blindness of Jewish prejudice. Indeed such passages as this are scarcely consonant with the nobler views expressed at the end of the chapter (*vv.* 24–26).

thirsting in another manner than the just.] This clause is not found in this verse either in the original or the Vulgate, but is taken from *v.* 14. The conjecture that the clause has got misplaced, thus boldly adopted into the text, is, to say the least, highly ingenious; for here it is eminently appropriate, and does not seem equally so in *v.* 14.

10. *as a father.*] Deut. viii. 5; Heb. xii. 5, 6.

as a severe king.] For the word ἀπότομος see *v.* 20. The truth, of course, is that God equally rewards all who in every nation feel after Him and find Him (Acts x. 35; xvii. 27), and punishes Jew and Gentile alike out of His equal justice. "Yet ye say the way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel; Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?" (Ezek. xviii. 25.) The kindness (χρηστότης) and severity (ἀποτομία) of God are contrasted in Rom. xi. 22.

11. *Whether they were absent or present.*] Namely, from the Israelites. How they could be grieved when they were *absent* from the Israelites is explained in *vv.* 12–14.

them, and a groaning for the remembrance of things past.

13 For when they heard by their own punishments the other to be benefited, they ‖ had some feeling of the Lord.

‖ Or, *perceived.*

14 For whom they rejected with scorn, when he was long before thrown out at the casting forth *of the infants*, him in the end, when they saw what came to pass, they admired.

15 But for the foolish devices of their wickedness, wherewith being deceived they worshipped serpents void of reason, and vile beasts, thou didst send a multitude of unreasonable beasts upon them for vengeance;

16 That they might know, that

they were vexed.] ἐτρύχοντο. The verb does not occur in the Bible, but is used again in xiv. 15.

alike.] The adverb should be taken with the two participles—"alike, whether being present or absent."

12. *a double grief.*] They suffered both the actual punishment and the subsequent remorse and envy described in the next verse.

13. *the other to be benefited.*] It added poignancy to their misery to feel that it involved a continuous boon to their enemies (εὐεργετουμένους).

they had some feeling of the Lord.] "They perceived the Lord," *i.e.* they recognised His hand.

14. *they rejected with scorn.*] Lit., "they refused, jeering at him." We are in the region of rhetoric and of Hagadoth; for it is nowhere said that either Pharaoh or the Egyptians "jeered" at Moses. On the contrary, he seems to have inspired them with awe.

when he was long before thrown out.] The "*when*" is misleading, for it is not meant that the Egyptians mockingly rejected Moses when he was an infant in the ark of bulrushes. Render "Him whom, long ago flung forth at the exposure (of the infants), they refused with jeers." The exposure of Moses in the Nile is again alluded to at xviii. 5. The Pentateuch does not justify the expression χλευάζοντες, though it speaks of the *anger* of the Egyptians against Moses (Ex. vii. 23; x. 10, 11, &c.).

when they saw what came to pass.] Lit., "at the end of the consequent issues," *i.e.* after the deliverance from Egypt.

they admired.] The allusion is to Ex. xi. 3. If the meaning is that they admired the miracles wrought by Moses in the wilderness, the writer must be following some Jewish tradition, for there is no allusion to the fact in Scripture. Compare Acts vii. 23; Heb. xi. 24, 25. It is after this clause that we find in the original the words οὐχ ὅμοια δικαίοις διψήσαντες, which the A.V. has transferred to *v.* 9, where they are much more apposite. The Egyptians thirsted "*unlike* the just" (a *litotes* for "in a worse manner than the Hebrews"). The writer thinks himself authorised to make the assertion because the thirst of the Israelites was not mocked by the "miry blood" which tormented the Egyptians, and was terminated by the miracle of the stricken rock. There is no warrant in Scripture for this view.

15. *for the foolish devices of their wickedness.*] St. Paul seems to have had this passage in his thoughts when he wrote Rom. i. 21, ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. Their iniquity ἀδικία (Rom. i. 22) was the cause of their senseless imaginations. The writer has already said (i. 5) that "the holy spirit of discipline . . . will remove from senseless devices" (ἀπὸ λογισμῶν ἀσυνέτων).

they worshipped serpents void of reason, and vile beasts.] xii. 24; xv. 18, 19. Ἑρπετὰ means "reptiles" in general, all creatures that creep, *e.g.* crocodiles, beetles, &c. Vulg., *mutos serpentes.* Ancient authors (Herod. ii. 74; Clem. Alex. 'Paedag.' III. ii. 4, &c.) testify to Egyptian ophiolatry; but both words in the Vulgate are wrong, for ἄλογα means "irrational" (2 Pet. ii. 12), and ἑρπετὰ is not confined to "serpents." The poetic word rendered "beasts" (κνώδαλα) means any kind of noxious, and especially poisonous, creatures (xvii. 9). Εὐτελὴς, "cheap," "vile," occurs again at xv. 10.

thou didst send.] xvi. 3, "Thou didst send against them." Vulg., *immisisti.*

of unreasonable beasts.] Frogs, flies, lice, locusts, in the various plagues (xvi. 9), to which the writer in xvii. 9 adds serpents, and Josephus ('Antt.' ii. 14, § 3) unknown wild beasts.

16. *that wherewithal a man sinneth . . .*] In this verse the writer enunciates a remarkable moral law which is enshrined in the proverb—

> "Per quod quis peccat, per idem punitur et idem."

There is undoubtedly in many cases a hideous resemblance between crime and punishment;

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& ch. 12. 23. & wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished.

17 For thy Almighty hand, that made the world of matter without

men suffer in a manner similar to that in which they have sinned. Sometimes the crime reproduces itself, and they become the victims of crime taught by their own bad examples. Sometimes the sin becomes itself the punishment, and in the form of destroying habits their vices, no longer pleasurable, become the instruments with which they are scourged. The engineer is

"hoist with his own petard;"

and

"Even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of the poisoned chalice
To our own lips."

The writer seems to feel something of the delight of a moral discoverer in dwelling on this characteristic of judgment. See *vv.* 7, 8; xii. 23; xvi. 1; xvii. 3; xviii. 6. While, however, we would give him due credit for his eloquence and insight, it must be admitted (1) that he dwells on this law of punishment with disproportionate emphasis; (2) that the law is liable to numerous exceptions. It is a still more serious objection to his method of handling the subject that he fails to develop the truth, that the resemblance of sins to their retribution is in the most striking and instructive instances due to the *normal* character of punishment, working not by arbitrary inflictions, but by uniform consequences. He represents the plagues of Egypt as being inflicted with express reference to their affinity to Egyptian transgressions. He is perhaps partially entitled to this opinion, though nothing is said about it in the Book of Exodus; but the retributive law which he is illustrating has a much more solemn significance when we see that it is not due to direct divine interference, but to the normal process by which the self-avenging power of sins, in their very commission, involves the germs of their own fatal consequences.

It is a further objection to his method of treatment that he strains facts into accordance with his theories. For instance, in these verses he distinctly implies, and in xii. 23, 24 expressly states, that the Egyptians were tormented with vermin because they worshipped vermin. This, however, was not true of the ancient Egyptians, who were of all nations in this respect the most scrupulously clean.

We find more than one recognition of exact Nemesis in Scripture. The famous *Lex talionis* (Gen. ix. 6; Ex. xxi. 24, &c.) is based upon it. Jacob the deceiver is himself deceived. "In the thing wherein they (the Egyptians) dealt proudly, God was above them," Ex. xviii. 11. Adonizedek, who had cut off the thumbs and toes of 70 kings, has his own cut off (Judg. i. 6, 7). Agag's sword has made many mothers childless, and his mother is made childless by the sword (1 Sam. xv. 23). David has sinned by treachery, adultery, and murder, and is punished by treachery, adultery, and murder. In Hab. ii. 6, by an ingenious "taunting proverb" the word for "pledges" means also "thick clay." In Rev. xvi. 5, 6 the Angel cries, "Thou art righteous, O Lord . . . because Thou hast judged thus: for they have shed the blood of saints . . . and Thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy."

In other scriptural allusions the law is explained as sometimes rising from example and the sense of human equity (Matt. vii. 2, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;" Matt. xxvi. 52, "They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword;" Jas. ii. 13, "He shall have judgment without mercy, who shewed no mercy"): sometimes as due to the natural development of human crimes (Gal. vi. 7, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for *whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap*;" Rom. ii. 2, "We are sure that the judgment of God is *according to truth*").

The law is occasionally pointed out by other writers. Thus the Egyptians imagined that Cambyses died by the same dagger with which he had stabbed their Apis, and by a wound in the same spot (Herod. iii. 64). Josephus often alludes to analogous retributions, as illustrated by the death of Herod the Great ('Antt.' xvii. 6); by the misfortunes of Herod Antipas ('Antt.' xviii. 5, § 2) and of Herod Agrippa (*id.* xix. 8, § 2); and by the compulsory circumcision, through disease, of Apion, who had derided circumcision ('c. Ap.' ii. 13); and, on a large scale, by the final miseries of the Jews ('Prolog. ad B. J.'). Philo narrates that an Alexandrian heathen who had sneered at the splendid present which the Lord of the world had made to Abraham and Sarah of the letters *a* and *ρ*, was punished with madness ('De nomin. mutat.' § 8). He dwells with satisfaction on the horrible death of Flaccus as suitable to a persecutor ('Leg. ad Caium'). A similar theme is treated by Lactantius in 'De mortibus persecutoria.'

17. *thy Almighty hand.*] Interchangeable with "thy Almighty Word," xviii. 15.

that made the world of matter without form.] Rather, "even though it created the Universe (*Kosmos*) out of formless matter."

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form, wanted not means to send among them a multitude of bears, or fierce lions,

18 Or unknown wild beasts, full of rage, newly created, breathing out either a fiery vapour, or filthy scents

The words ὕλη and ἄμορφος are both borrowed from the Platonists (Timaeus, p. 51 *a*). Plato does not himself indeed use the word ὕλη for "matter," but it became common among his followers; and Diogenes Laertius (iii. 41) says that Plato set forth two principles of all things, God and Matter. The conception of the eternity of matter was fixed by the aphorism of Aristotle ('Phys.' i. 4, § 9) that "nothing can be made out of nothing." At the same time Plato had already saved himself from appearing to *limit* the creative power of God by denying to matter all conceivable accidents and speaking of it as invisible (Vulg. *ex materiâ invisâ* here) and infinitely plastic (Timaeus, p. 51 *a*). According to Timaeus Locrius (in whom the word ὕλη in the sense of "matter" first occurs), Matter, the mother of all visible and perceptible things, is invisible, chaotic (ἄμορφον), unformed (ἀσχημάτιστον), and receptive of any shape. Plutarch also calls it colourless (Tim. Locr. 94 *a*). It is the passive and constituent principle of things (Diog. Laert. vii. 134). Philo adopts this terminology ('De Vict. offer.' Opp. ii. 261; 'De Mund. opif.' 2), and adds other epithets descriptive of the substance in which

"All form is formless, order orderless."[1]

"Matter" is the antithesis to "mind" (νοῦς). Aristotle uses the phrase ὑλικὸς ἀρχή ('Part. An.' i. 1, 20) and ὑλικὴ οὐσία ('Metaph.' iv. 7. 1). See Ueberweg, 'Hist. of Philos.' i. 123, 194, &c.

Now, if Philo and Pseudo-Solomon meant to teach the eternity of matter, they are so far heretical; since the teaching of the Church has ever been that "God made all things of nothing," or, at least, out of Himself.

There can be no doubt that *Philo* believed in the eternity of matter, because he emphatically repeats the aphorism of Aristotle ('De incorrupt. Mundi,' § 2),[2] and because he says that there are four causes of creation —the Agent (God, ὑφ' οὗ), the Instrument (the Logos, δι' οὗ), the *material* cause (Matter, ὕλη, ἐξ οὗ), and the final cause (the illustration of God's goodness, δι' ὅ). He nowhere distinguishes—not even in his special tract on Creation ('De Mundi opificio')—between any *first* creation of matter and *second* creation of the Kosmos,[1] but regards creation as a ceaseless act.[2]

On the other hand, commentators, both Romanist and Protestant, have been anxious to defend the orthodoxy of the writer of this book. As far as the present verse is concerned he may merely have meant to refer to Gen. i. 2, and ὕλη ἄμορφος may be only a classic and philosophical equivalent for the "without form and void" (תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ), which the LXX. render by ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. Out of this "vast abyss" God created the κόσμος or orderly disposition of the universe (*v.* 20). St. Augustine takes this to have been the writer's meaning, but it cannot be regarded as certain. Kübel ('Stud. u. Krit.' iv. 698) refers to ix. 1, xii. 9, as indicating that the writer here only alludes to the *secondary* creation of order out of chaos; but the references are very far from decisive.

wanted not means.] In *vv.* 17–23 he shews what God might have done in the exercise of His Almighty power; but he adds (23–26) that God did not adopt these means because of His love for all. With the expression οὐκ ἠπόρει, "lacked not means," comp. xii. 9; LXX. 1 Sam. xiv. 6; 2 Chron. xiv. 11.

a multitude of bears, or fierce lions.] The writer is not here thinking of any beast worship, which in some ages prevailed in some parts of Egypt (*e.g.* the worship of lions at Leontopolis), but is only saying that if it had been God's object to *destroy* them, He might have sent against them as many bears and lions as He did send flies and locusts. The passage is probably a reminiscence of Philo ('Vit. Mos.' 1, 19), who says that, since God only wished to admonish (νουθετεῖν) the Egyptians, He did not send "bears and lions and panthers," but only minute and contemptible insects. The Jews were fond of illustrating God's power to overthrow His enemies by the smallest creatures. This is the point of the famous story about the gnat which crept up the nostril of Titus and grew in his brain ('Gittin,' f. 56. 2). The Israelites are threatened with wild beasts in Lev. xxvi. 22; and "the noisome beast" is among God's four sore judgments in Ezek. xiv. 21.

[1] He calls matter the παθητὸν, and mind the δραστήριον αἴτιον. He attempts to support his unscriptural notion by some fantastic allegorising of Laban and τὰ ἄσημα in Gen. xxx. 42. See Siegfried, 'Philo,' 230, 231.

[2] ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ὄντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι τι. He seems to contradict himself in 'De Somn.' i. § 13.

[1] Ἐξ ἐκείνης γὰρ (ὕλης) πάντ' ἐγέννησεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτός· οὐ γὰρ ἦν θέμις ἀπείρου καὶ πεφυρμένης ὕλης ψαύειν τὸν ἴδμονα καὶ μακάριον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν . . . κατεχρήσατο. 'De Victim. offer.' 13. Comp. 'De Plantat.' 1; 'De Cherub.' 35; 'De Mund. opif.' 2.

[2] παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός. 'Leg. Allegg.' i. 3.

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of scattered smoke, or shooting horrible sparkles out of their eyes:

19 Whereof not only the harm might dispatch them at once, but also the terrible sight utterly destroy them.

20 Yea, and without these might they have fallen down with one blast, being persecuted of vengeance, and scattered abroad through the breath of thy power: but thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight.

21 For thou canst shew thy great strength at all times when thou wilt; and who may withstand the power of thine arm?

22 For the whole world before thee is [h] as a ‖ little grain of the balance, yea, as a drop of the morn-

[h] Isai. 40. 15.
‖ Or, *little weight.*

18. *unknown wild beasts, full of rage, newly created.*] Josephus ('Antt.' ii. 14, § 3), following some different legend, says that God *did* fill Egypt full of all sorts of wild beasts, of kinds that had never been seen before. Some render *θυμοῦ πλήρεις* "full of *venom*," and *θυμός* has this meaning in some passages of the LXX. (Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. lvii. 4; Amos vi. 12; Heb. חֲמַת). But it is better to retain the common meaning of "rage," as in vii. 20; xvi. 5.

either.] *ἤτοι.* The only other place in the Bible where the word occurs is Rom. vi. 16, where also it is used in the unclassical sense of "either," followed by *ἤ*, "or."

or filthy scents of scattered smoke.] The better reading is *λικμωμένους* (Vulg., *aut fumi odorem proferentes*), "frothing forth" (lit., "winnowing," "scattering like chaff"), "a roar of smoke." *Βρόμος*, "a roaring" (*fremitus*), is sometimes confused with *βρῶμος*, "a stench," as in Joel ii. 20, *ἀναβήσεται ὁ βρόμος αὐτοῦ*. There is no sufficient reason for taking the word in that sense here. "A roar of smoke" is one of the Aeschylean, lyrical expressions which the writer likes. Comp. Ovid. 'Met.' vii. 114, "*fumificisque* locum *mugitibus* implent." Comp. Job xli. 18, 20; xxxix. 20.

shooting.] Lit., "lightning." Job xli. 19, "Out of his (Leviathan's) mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out;" *id.* 21, "His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth."

19. *but also the terrible sight.*] Rather, "but even the sight (was able) to destroy, by terrifying them." The fabled basilisk was able to kill by a glance.

> "As the basilicok sleth folk
> By venime of his sight."
> CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale.*

> "So soon kills not the basilisk with sight."
> GREENE.

> "Make me not like the sighted basilisk.
> I've looked on thousands who have sped the better
> By my regard, *but killed none so.*"
> SHAKSPEARE, *Winter's Tale*, i. 2.

The basilisk is the "cockatrice" (*Tsiphoni*) of Is. xi. 8; Jer. viii. 17. The *cockatrice* is also said to kill by a glance:—

> "That bare vowel *I* shall poison more
> Than the death-darting *eye* of cockatrice."
> *Rom. and Jul.* iii. 2.

Comp. 'Twelfth Night,' iii. 4, &c. The word is a corruption of *cocodrillo*, crocodile.

20. *with one blast.*] As Sennacherib and his host were destroyed (2 K. xix. 7).

being persecuted of vengeance.] Rather, "being chased, or pursued, by Justice." This notion of Vengeance dogging the heels of crime, like a hound upon the scent, is common in all literature. "Some men's sins are open, going before to judgment, and some they *follow after*" (1 Tim. v. 24); Acts xxviii. 4, "whom vengeance (*ἡ δίκη*) suffereth not to live."

> "Vengeance, thy fiery wing, their race *pursued.*"
> HEBER.

through the breath of thy power.] Chap. v. 23; Job iv. 9.

thou hast ordered.] Rather, "Thou orderedst" (*i.e.*, at Creation).

in measure and number and weight.] Comp. 4 Esdr. iv. 36, 37. The true and valuable meaning of the clause is that God did not create these leviathans, and basilisks, and strange monsters, because He loves the ordered regularity of the kosmos (Job xxviii. 24–27; Is. xl. 12). In such passages we see the early conceptions of a Realm of Law. Further, God's mercy proportioned the means of punishment to the desired ends (Job xxxi. 6, "Let me be weighed in an even balance;" Is. xxviii. 17, the "line" and "plummet" of judgment). Another reason is given in *vv.* 23–26.

21. *thou canst shew . . . at all times.*] There was no immediate necessity therefore for any abnormally supernatural, intervention.

22. *the whole world.*] 2 Macc. viii. 18, "who at a beck can cast down . . . all the world."

as a little grain of the balance.] Lit., "a speck out of the scales." Comp. Is. xl. 15 (LXX.) *ῥοπὴ ζύγου*. 'Ροπὴ properly means the

ing dew that falleth down upon the earth.

23 But thou hast mercy upon all; for thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend.

24 For thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing which thou hast made: for never wouldest thou have made any thing, if thou hadst hated it.

25 And how could any thing have endured, if it had not been thy will? or been preserved, if not called by thee?

26 But [i] thou sparest all: for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls. [i] ch. 12 16.

CHAPTER XII.

2 *God did not destroy those of Canaan all once.* 12 *If he had done so, who could controul him?* 19 *But by sparing them he taught us.* 27 *They were punished with their gods.*

FOR thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things.

trembling dip, or inclination of the scales, but is here used for the tiniest grain that can cause the scales to dip if taken out or put in.

as a drop of the morning dew.] The *morning* dewdrop is the very type of evanescence: Hos. vi. 4; xiii. 3.

23. *But thou hast mercy . . .*] Ecclus. xviii. 13. God's omnipotence and man's utter feebleness are mentioned as the grounds of God's mercy, as in xii. 16, 18. From this is taken the beginning of the fine collect, "O God, who declarest Thine Almighty power, most chiefly by shewing mercy and pity."

"It is an attribute of God himself,
And earthly power doth then shew likest God's
When Mercy seasons Justice."

winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend.] Lit., "overlookest men's sins for repentance," xii. 10. The same curious English phrase is used in Acts xvii. 30, which is closely parallel to this: "The times of this ignorance God winked at (ὑπεριδών), but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent (μετανοεῖν)." For the thought see Rom. ii. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 9. With the phrase compare also Ecclus. xxviii. 7, "wink at (πάριδε) ignorance;" xxx. 11, "wink not at his follies."

"But we must give each other leave, and *wink at* either's war."—CHAPMAN, *Il.* iv. 66.

"*Because* they should amend" is old English for "in order that."

24. *For thou lovest all the things that are.*] We may be grateful to the writer for the beautiful thoughts of this and the following verses without stopping to inquire how he co-ordinated them with the uncompromising severity expressed in such passages as *vv.* 10–13, v. 17–23, &c. He here agrees with Philo, who in many passages speaks of "goodness," *i.e.* "kindness," as the final cause of all creation ('De opif. Mundi,' § 6; 'De Cherub.' § 35; 'De sacrif. Abel.' § 15, &c.).

abhorrest nothing which thou hast made.] Referred to in our Collect for Ash Wednesday.

25. *how could any thing have endured.*] Love is the law of God's providence no less than of His creative power.

if not called by thee.] Namely, "called into being." The expression is a Hebraism, καλεῖν being used like קָרָא in the senses both of "calling" and "creating" (Rom. iv. 17).

26. *thou sparest all: for they are thine.*] "His tender mercy is over all his works" (Ps. cxlv. 9).

O Lord, thou lover of souls.] Δέσποτα φιλόψυχε. This is an exquisite and original expression. In classical Greek φιλόψυχος means "loving life," *i.e.* cowardly. (Comp. John xii. 25.) It is here used in the sense that God "loveth not the death of a sinner," i. 13. The epithet may have been suggested by Ezek. xviii. 4, "Behold all souls are mine."

CHAPTER XII.

The reason why God spares all (1). Hence He gave gradual warning punishments even to the guilty Canaanites (2–8); not from want of power, or fear of consequence, since He is Almighty (9–14), but because His power is the basis of His justice and mercy (15–18); and because He desired to teach us mercy and to inspire hope (19), and to point the contrast of the yet greater mercy which He shews to His children (20–22). Hence even the plagues of Egypt had a merciful design.

The reader can hardly fail to observe that throughout the chapter the writer seems to be on the very verge of flagrant self-contradiction. He has just uttered the most noble thoughts about the love and mercy and universal care of God for all, and he continues at intervals to touch on this thought; yet his Jewish nationality constantly leads him to express sentiments of so fierce a satisfaction respecting those whom he regards as the

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2 Therefore chastenest thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended, that leaving their wickedness they may believe on thee, O Lord.

3 For it was thy will to destroy by the hands of our fathers both those ‖ old inhabitants of thy holy land, ‖ Or. *ancient.*

4 Whom thou hatedst for doing most odious works of ‖ witchcrafts, ‖ Or, *sorceries.* and wicked sacrifices;

enemies of God and Israel, as to be scarcely reconcilable with the catholicity of his higher generalisations respecting the nature of God. We see, throughout, the conflict of Hellenistic thought and Hebraic prepossessions, and the writer's apparent inconsistencies are the more excusable, because he is dealing with the nature and purposes of God as exhibited in dealings which we understand so imperfectly that the conclusions which we draw from them can only be regarded as partial and relative.

1. *For thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things.*] As this clause gives an explanation of the sense in which "all things are God's," it might more conveniently be added to the last chapter. The Vulg. paraphrases it, *O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus.* This seems to point to a reading ἀγαθὸν (for ἄφθαρτον), which is found in the Syriac and Arabic versions, but is otherwise without authority, and gives a weaker sense. Since God's Spirit is "incorruptible," men may grieve that Spirit and desecrate its temple, but never wholly lose it. "In all things" includes "in all men." Πάντων (xi. 26) and πᾶσι in this verse are *neuter*, as is proved by xi. 24. The writer, in his Alexandrian fashion, no doubt regarded as practically identical the *Stoic* conception of an *anima mundi* (to which his words seem to point in i. 7; vii. 24; viii. 7), and the *scriptural* conception of the life of man as being dependent on the Spirit of God (Gen. vi. 3; Job xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 14; Ps. civ. 30; Eccles. xii. 7). He says, indeed, that "Wisdom," which he uses interchangeably with "the Spirit of God," cannot dwell in sinful bodies or guilty souls (i. 3–5); but even in these he supposes a certain unalterable indwelling of Divine forces.

2. *Therefore.*] God's mercy, and the immanence of His Spirit in all things, explain the merciful gradualness of His punishments.

chastenest thou.] ἐλέγχεις, i. 3. Vulg., *corripis.*

them . . . that offend.] παραπίπτοντας, vi. 9.

by little and little.] κατ' ὀλίγον (Vulg., *partibus*); like the classical κατὰ βραχύ. But for His mercy God might have annihilated sinners at one stroke (*v.* 9, xi. 20).

warnest them.] In xi. 10 the writer has said that while God *warned* and tested the Israelites (νουθετῶν ἐδοκίμασας) as a Father, He judged and condemned (καταδικάζων ἐξητάσας) the Egyptians as a severe king. Since he proceeds to speak of the abominations of the old Canaanites, which were in every sense much worse than those of the Egyptians, his language involves a self-contradiction. Doubtless he would have been able to offer some sort of explanation of this inconsistency, but a more careful and less rhetorical writer, even if he were constantly struggling in the opposite currents of philosophy and Judaism, would hardly have left these contradictions side by side.

wherein.] ἐν οἷς, *i.e.* of the things wherein.

that leaving their wickedness they may believe on thee.] The writer is not here entering into theological considerations, and it is hardly fair to say that he considers punishment as the cause of repentance and faith. He meant no more than Isaiah, when he said (xxvi. 9), "When Thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." The "belief" of which he speaks (though expressed by πιστεύειν ἐπὶ σέ, Acts ix. 42; Rom. iv. 5) means no more than the acknowledgment of God mentioned in *v.* 27. Still we may agree with Grimm in the remark that the verse could hardly have been written by a Christian.

3. *it was thy will to destroy.*] In the Greek these words are in *v.* 6; the intermediate words in *vv.* 4, 5, 6, being parenthetical.

by the hands of our fathers.] The extermination may be attributed either to man or to God (Ex. xxiii. 33; Numb. xxxiii. 52).

those old inhabitants.] The tribes of Canaan.

of thy holy land.] We find the same expression in 2 Macc. i. 7. The name "the Holy Land" does not occur in either Testament, though we have "the Holy Mountain," "holy cities," "holy Jerusalem," &c. This is the earliest trace of the famous designation.

4. *Whom thou hatedst.*] The expression must of course be understood not only anthropologically, but popularly. The writer's impetuous particularism leads him into expressions which do not cohere. He here speaks of God *hating* the Canaanites, though he has just said (xi. 24) that God "*loveth all*

[a] ch. 14. 23.

5 And also [a] those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood,
6 With their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents, [b] that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help:
7 That the land, which thou

[b] Deut. 12. 31.

things that are." Had he been writing more calmly and accurately, he would have probably tried to draw some distinction between sinners and their sins (*v.* 8), though in general language this is often left unnoticed (Ps. v. 6, 7, "The Lord abhorreth the bloody and deceitful man").

of witchcrafts.] φαρμακειῶν. The word φαρμακεία properly means "incantation by means of drugs" (Vulg., *per medicamina*), but is used by the LXX. to express all kinds of sorcery, מְכַשְּׁפִים, *praestigiae* (Ex. vii. 11; Isa. xlvii. 9, &c.). On the crimes of the Canaanites, see Deut. xviii. 11–14.

wicked sacrifices.] Rather, unholy (ἀνοσίους) rites of all kinds; rites which offend against the Majesty of God. Such rites formed the main part of the worship of Baalim and Asherah.

5. *murderers of children.*] Comp. xiv. 23. The accusative depends on "hating" (μισήσας). The allusion is to the Ammonite worship of

"Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears;
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol."

See Lev. xx. 2; Ps. cvi. 37 ("they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils"); Ezek. xvi. 20, &c. The same horrors, which have their guilty root in depraved instincts, sometimes occurred in the worship of Baal (Jer. xix. 5).

and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood.] It is impossible to be sure of the reading here. The Vatican MS., which is the best, reads καὶ σπλαγχνοφάγων ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν θοίναν καὶ αἵματος, "and (hating) the banquet of entrail-devourers of human flesh, and of blood." Vulg., *et comestores viscerum hominum et devoratores sanguinis.* Possibly they read σπλαγχνοφάγους. The word is very rare, but occurs in Plutarch ('de Fluv.' v. 3, ὑπὸ σπλ. ἀετοῦ). Σπλάγχνα is specially used of sacrifices (see 2 Macc. vi. 7). The writer here accuses the Canaanites of cannibalism. The charge is unsupported, and is supremely improbable. Moloch-worship (Deut. xii. 31) was not cannibalistic.

6. *With their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew.*] The MSS. are here hopelessly confused, and the corruption must have sprung from the rarity of the expressions used and the difficulty of understanding them. The *text. rec.* has ἐκ μέσου μυσταθείας σου, and the Vulg. *a medio sacramento tuo.* The variations of the MSS. are within sufficiently narrow limits to shew that the true reading must have been something like this, but the σου is meaningless, and there is no such word as either μυστάθης or μυσταθεία, though Hesychius says that μυστάθης meant "a guild of augurs." It would be useless to enter into the many conjectures which have been made by the editors, because most of them are either extremely improbable or entirely untenable. The original reading may have been ἐκ μέσου μύστας θιάσου, "initiated worshippers from the mid religious rout" (Fritzsche), or ἐκ μύσους μύστας θιάσου, "initiated worshippers from the abomination of the religious rout" (Grimm). The latter reading is the more probable, because (1) μύσος is one of the rare, poetic, Aeschylean words which the writer likes; (2) the double genitive may have seemed harsh to the copyists, and may therefore have been altered; and (3) some MSS. have εκμυσουμυσταθειασου (Vatican, *a sec. manu*). The word θίασος originally meant a Bacchanalian choir of Moenads; and it suits the orgiastic priesthoods and votaries of the wild Phoenician nature worships. Another possible conjecture is ἐκμύσους μύστας θιάσου, "initiates of the abominable rout." The writer may have heard or invented the adjective ἐκμυσής.

that killed with their own hands.] This is the proper meaning of αὐθέντας, but the word is also used in wider and more general senses (Aesch. 'Eum.' 212; Eur. 'Andr.' 172); so that the writer may merely mean "parent-murderers of helpless souls," in the sense that they *authorised* the sacrifice of their children (*v.* 5). The priests kept these matters in their own hands. The "helplessness" of the lives thus sacrificed enhances the pity and horror of the crime. Comp. Ps. cvi. 37, 38; Jer. vii. 31.

7. *the land which thou esteemedst above all other.*] The Jews had many sayings in honour of Judea and Jerusalem. They thought that Jerusalem was the central point, as well as "the joy," of the whole earth. "Jerusalem is the light of the world" ('Bereshith Rabba,' § 59). "He who traverses so much as four ells in the land of Israel is sure of everlasting life" ('Kethuboth,' f. 111. 1). Its ten special excellences are extolled in 'Bava Kama,' f. 82. 1.

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esteemedst above all other, might receive a worthy ‖ colony of God's children.

‖ Or, *new inhabitance.*

8 Nevertheless even those thou sparedst as men, and didst send [c] wasps, forerunners of thine host, to destroy them by little and little.

[c] Exod. 23. 28. Deut. 7. 20. Josh. 24. 12.

9 Not that thou wast unable to bring the ungodly under the hand of the righteous in battle, or to destroy them at once with cruel beasts, or with one rough word:

10 But executing thy judgments upon them by little and little, thou gavest them place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed.

11 For it was a [d] cursed seed from the beginning; neither didst thou for fear of any man give them pardon for those things wherein they sinned.

[d] Gen. 9. 25.

a worthy colony.] The word "colony" (ἀποικίαν) is not what we should expect, since the Jews regarded Palestine as their native land. The land of *exile* was called ἀποικία, and "the children of the captivity" are called υἱοὶ τῆς ἀποικίας, Esth. i. 11, &c. In Jer. xxix. 1, the prophet's letter to the exiles is called ἐπιστολὴν τῇ ἀποικίᾳ. Hence the marginal suggestion, "or *new inhabitance*" (Vulg., *peregrinationem*). Perhaps the writer used it by mistake for ἐποικία, "a settlement," or παροικία, "a sojourning," since the latter word is sometimes used in a spiritual sense (1 Pet. i. 17). "A holy colony" would be "worthy" of a holy land.

of God's children.] Comp. xi. 10.

8. *thou sparedst as men.*] The word "men" points to the weakness and moral frailty of men, whom God spares as "remembering that they are but dust," Ps. lxxviii. 39.

wasps.] Ex. xxiii. 28, "I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hittite, &c., from before thee. I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land." Comp. Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12. Philo understood the expression literally ('De proem. et poen.,' Opp. ii. 423), and there can be little doubt that it alludes to the weakening or depopulation of parts of Canaan by swarms of hornets—a circumstance by no means unprecedented in Eastern history. See Aelian, xi. 28, xvii. 35; Ammian. Marc. xxiv. 8; Bochart, 'Hieroz.' iii. 407. That hornets were common in Palestine we see from the name *Zoreah* (Josh. xv. 33). Those who, with St. Augustine, take "hornets" to mean "*aculei timoris*" ('Qu. in Exod.' ii. 93) refer to Deut. i. 44, "The Amorites . . . chased you, as bees do" (comp. Ps. cxviii. 12), and quote the analogous metaphorical use of the word gadfly (*oestrus*) by classical writers.

by little and little.] κατὰ βραχύ. Ex. xxiii. 30, κατὰ μικρὸν μικρόν. See note on v. 2. The reason assigned by the writer—that the Canaanites might not be destroyed at once, and so might have time for repentance—is doubtless a legitimate inference, though it is not the one assigned in Ex. xxiii. 30.

9. *Not that thou wast unable.*] οὐκ ἀδυνατῶν. Comp. οὐκ ἠπόρει, xi. 17.

in battle.] ἐν παρατάξει, by fighting enemies face to face, Judith i. 6. The thought of the verse is only a repetition of xi. 17–23.

at once.] ὑφ' ἕν; comp. xviii. 19. πρὸς μίαν ῥοπήν, xviii. 12.

rough.] ἀποτόμῳ. See note on v. 20, 22 (the word is a favourite one with the writer); vi. 5; xi. 10; xviii. 15.

10. *thou gavest.*] Rather, "Thou wert giving" (imperfect).

place of repentance.] The same phrase, which corresponds to the Latin *locus poenitentiae* (though not in the common sense in which those words are used), is found in Heb. xii. 17. Comp. Rom. xii. 19; Eph. iv. 27.

not being ignorant.] The writer is fond of this *litotes:* xviii. 19; comp. 2 Cor. ii. 11.

that they were a naughty generation.] Lit., "that their birth was evil" (comp. iii. 12, 13).

and that their malice was bred in them.] Their wickedness (κακία) was not an exotic, but indigenous. It was commonly discussed in the schools of philosophy "whether virtue was a thing innate (ἔμφυτον) or acquired (διδακτόν)." In Jas. i. 21 the word is used in the sense of "implanted" or "engrafted," which the context (v. 11) shews to be here inadmissible. To talk here of "the doctrine of original sin" is an anachronism.

11. *a cursed seed from the beginning.*] The allusion is to the curse of Canaan (Gen. ix. 25). It is hard to see how the writer reconciles the thought of an hereditary curse producing innate wickedness with the doctrine of God's love for all (xi. 24). Perhaps he would have distinguished between predes-

[e] Rom. 9. 20.

12 For who shall say, [e] What hast thou done? or who shall withstand thy judgment? or who shall accuse thee for the nations that perish, whom thou hast made? or who shall come to stand ‖ against thee, to be ‖ revenged for the unrighteous men?

‖ Or, *in thy presence.*
‖ Or, *a revenger.*

13 For neither is there any God but thou that [f] careth for all, to whom thou mightest shew that thy judgment is not unright.

[f] ch. 6. 7. 1 Pet. 5. 7.

14 Neither shall king or tyrant be able to set his face against thee for any whom thou hast punished.

15 Forsomuch then as thou art righteous thyself, thou orderest all things righteously: [g] thinking it not agreeable with thy power to condemn him that hath not deserved to be punished.

[g] Job 10. 2.

16 For thy power is the beginning of righteousness, and [h] because thou art the Lord of all, it maketh thee to be gracious unto all.

[h] ch. 11. 26.

17 For when men will not believe

tination and prescience (xix. 1); or would have left the antinomy as irreconcilable, while at the same time he pointed out that room was left for individual amendment (*v.* 20), and even for individual salvation (Josh. ii. 1; Heb. xi. 31; Jas. ii. 25).

for fear of any man.] The exact nature of the fear—whether of the consequences of rebellion against God, or of man's judgments respecting God's actions—is left undefined.

pardon.] Lit., "fearlessness," "security." The meaning is not that God gave them *permission* to sin (ἀδ. τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν, *veniam, licentiam peccandi*). The sense is not clear, but seems to be that God did not, out of fear of any one, pardon them for their offences. (Vulg., *Nec timens aliquem veniam dabas peccatis illorum.*)

12. *For who shall say.*] How can God fear any one when there are none to resist His will? xi. 21; Job ix. 12; Is. xlv. 9; Rom. ix. 20.

for the nations that perish, whom thou hast made.] This is an appeal to God's irresistible power as closing all questions, and is analogous to the lesson deduced from the potter and the clay (Jer. xix. 1–10). It must, however, be borne in mind that the argument is merely tyrannical and immoral unless it be assumed from the very idea of the nature of God, that *because* His power is Almighty, therefore also His mercy is infinite. The appeal, "Nay, but who art thou, O man, that disputest with God?" (Rom. ix. 20,) is valid as an appeal to *trustful submission* in those who know God's goodness to be unbounded, but could never be a defence for arbitrary tyranny. Here the appeal is somewhat harshly emphasised, but in the next verse the writer shews that he desires to form a real *Theodicaea*, and not merely to silence inquiry.

to stand against thee.] This (and not the marginal "in thy presence;" Vulg., *in tuo conspectu*) is the correct rendering of εἰς κατάστασίν σοι.

13. *For neither is there any God but thou.*] There is no other God to be an avenger of the unrighteous whom Thou destroyest; and man has no power to intervene.

to whom thou mightest shew.] Rather, "*so that* (in the later *consecutive* force of ἵνα) thou mightest shew." Were there any other God in existence, Thou mightest then have proved to such a god the righteousness of Thy dealings.

14. *to set his face against thee.*] Lit., "to look thee in the face" (comp. Acts xxvii. 15), and so "to resist." Ecclus. xix. 5, ἀντοφθαλμῶν ἡδοναῖς.

thou hast punished.] The Vulg. has *perdidisti;* and that the writer would not have shrunk from ἀπωλέσας is shewn by the ἀπολωλότων of *v.* 12.

15. *not agreeable with thy power.*] Injustice is a thing alien from God's sway (δυνάμεως), because His strength (ἰσχύς) is righteousness.

16. *For thy power.*] It is a pity that the A. V. here follows the Vulg. in using the same word, "power" (*virtus*), for δύναμις and ἰσχύς.

is the beginning of righteousness.] Rather, "the principle" or "ground" (ἀρχὴ) of righteousness. In xiv. 27, ἀρχὴ and αἰτία, "cause," are placed side by side. The writer says that God is righteous *because* He is strong. Josephus says ('Antt.' iv. 8, § 14) that God's strength *is* righteousness (τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχύς ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον). Comp. xi. 23. The thought that lies at the basis of such remarks may be that man's injustice is partly due to his feebleness and selfishness, and God being omnipotent has none of that bias to do wrong which springs from weakness.

because thou art the Lord of all.] This is expressed in the original with beautiful energy: "Thy lordship over all makes Thee spare all."

17. *when men will not believe.*] ἀπιστού-

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‖ Or, *perfect*

that thou art of a ‖ full power, thou shewest thy strength, and among them that know it thou makest their boldness manifest.

18 But thou, mastering thy power, judgest with equity, and orderest us with great favour: for thou mayest use power when thou wilt.

19 But by such works hast thou taught thy people that the just man should be merciful, and hast made thy children to be of a good hope that thou givest repentance for sins.

[i] Rom. 9. 22.

20 For if [i] thou didst punish the enemies of thy children, and the condemned to death, with such deliberation, giving them time and place, whereby they might be delivered from their malice:

21 With how great circumspection didst thou judge thine own sons, unto whose fathers thou hast sworn, and made covenants of good promises?

22 Therefore, whereas thou dost chasten us, thou scourgest our enemies a thousand times more, to the intent that, when we judge, we should carefully think of thy good-

μενος. Lit., "being disbelieved in." Ex. v. 2, Pharaoh said, "Who is the Lord?" Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 30–37.

among them that know it.] ἐν τοῖς εἰδόσι. The Vulg. has οὐκ εἰδόσι (*qui te nesciunt*), following the Alexandrian MS. If with other MSS. and with St. Augustine (*qui sciunt*) we adopt the reading translated by the A. V., the allusion is to those who *know* God's will but do it not.

18. *But thou.*] The word "but" (which is omitted by some MSS.) points to the contrast between God's conduct and that of the bold tyrants to whom the writer has been alluding.

mastering thy power.] A fine epigrammatic expression. God is a δεσπότης (*v.* 16, xi. 26), but He "despotises over His own strength," so that it shall never be exercised unjustly. The Vulg., followed by St. Augustine, takes δεσπόζων as a substantive, and renders the words by *Dominator virtutis;* but this is a much inferior sense.

with equity.] ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ, in mildness and reasonableness.

19. *that the just man should be merciful.*] Rather, "a lover of mankind." The lesson of mercy is in this chapter historically based on the single circumstance that the plague of hornets was sent on the Canaanites before they fell victims to the exterminating wars of Israel. The writer seems to intimate a justification of the relentless severity practised by the Hebrews (*v.* 3), on the ground that the milder *initial* judgments of God produced no repentance. The word φιλάνθρωπον (see i. 6) implies cosmopolitan love for the race of man, and Grätz supposes (but with little probability) that it was meant as a defence against the charge that Jews hated all nations but themselves (Matt. v. 43; "odium generis humani," Tac. 'Hist.' v. 5).

thy children.] The writer constantly seems to fall back into the self-satisfied prejudice (see Lk. iii. 8) which made the Jews speak as if all mankind were created for their sake. Thus in Midrash 'Rabbah Esther' we read that nine-tenths of Wisdom and the Law are in Israel; and passages of extravagant self-exaltation may be found in 'Bava Bathra,' f. 10. 2. Not only are Israelites regarded as "the dearly beloved" (Jer. xii. 7), but all Gentiles are no better than "asses" ('Berachoth,' f. 25. 2). But perhaps this chapter in its wordiness, its particularism, its antinomies, and its indistinctness, is—in spite of some beautiful thoughts and fine expressions—one of the least satisfactory parts of the book.

20. *condemned to death.*] ὀφειλομένους θανάτῳ. Vulg., *debitos morti*, to whom death was due.

with such deliberation.] The A.V., like the Vulg., takes no notice of the words καὶ δεήσεως, which are omitted in the Alex. and other MSS. Some MSS. have καὶ διέσωσας, and some MSS. of the Vulg. *et liberasti;* but this reading is against the context. Δεήσεως gives no tolerable sense, for it cannot mean either "pity" or "condescension." One MS. reads διέσεως, "letting through" or "forbearance," and this is very probably the true reading. If so, the rarity of the word, especially in this sense, may have led to its alteration and omission.

and place.] *I.e.* opportunity.

21. *covenants of good promises.*] Comp. 2 Pet. i. 4, "greatest and precious promises."

22. *thou scourgest.*] The contrast of μαστιγοῖς with παιδεύων (comp. Prov. iii. 11), when *nationally* applied, can only be regarded as a misapprehension of God's impartial love for all whom He has made.

a thousand times more.] ἐν μυριότητι, "in myriadness." This expression does not occur elsewhere.

when we judge.] Viz., our fellow-men.

ness, and when we ourselves are judged, we should look for mercy.

23 Wherefore, whereas men have lived dissolutely and unrighteously, [k]thou hast tormented them with their own [||]abominations.

24 [l]For they went astray very far in the ways of error, and held them for gods, which even among the beasts of their enemies were despised, being deceived, as children of no understanding.

25 Therefore unto them, as to children without the use of reason, thou didst send a judgment to mock them.

26 But they that would not be reformed by that correction, wherein he dallied with them, shall feel a judgment worthy of God.

27 For, look, for what things they grudged, when they were punished, that is, for them whom they thought to be gods; [now] being punished in them, when they saw it, they acknowledged him to be the true God, whom before they denied to know; and therefore came extreme damnation upon them.

[k] ch. 11. 16. & 16. 1.
[||] Or, *abominable idols.*
[l] ch. 11. 15. Rom. 1. 23.

CHAPTER XIII.

2 *They were not excused that worshipped any of God's works.* 19 *But most wretched are they that worship the works of men's hands.*

when we . . . are judged.] Viz., by Thee.

23–27. A retrogression to the case of the Egyptians, and the reason why they were punished.

23. *Wherefore.*] Since our enemies are punished ten thousandfold more severely than we.

whereas men have lived.] Rather, "those unrighteous also who lived."

dissolutely.] Lit., "in folly of life." See i. 3, iii. 12, x. 8; Rom. i. 21.

with their own abominations.] "By means of the abhorred things which they worshipped." He is now referring to the Egyptian animal-worship. Βδελύγματα is one of the words used by the LXX. for גִּלּוּלִים and other terms of disgust which the Jews gave to heathen idols (1 Sam. xv. 2; 1 K. xxi. 26; Ezek. xxx. 13, &c.). "Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment" (Ex. xii. 12).

24. *very far in the ways of error.*] μακρότερον. Grimm considers this to be an hyperbole: "They wandered *farther* than the ways of error." Either rendering is tenable.

which even among the beasts of their enemies were despised.] Serpents, crocodiles, monkeys, beetles, &c. The 16th satire of Juvenal is one continuous strain of scorn against Egyptian worship.

being deceived, as children of no understanding.] Rom. i. 19–25. The adverb δίκην, "like," occurs here alone in the Bible or Apocrypha.

25. *to mock them.*] Childish follies were chastised with childish punishment. The words παισὶν—ἐμπαιγμὸν παιγνίοις are chosen for the sake of the paronomasia.

26. *by that correction, wherein he dallied with them.*] Two words in the original—παιγνίοις ἐπιτιμήσεως, "with sportive correction;" Vulg., *ludibriis et increpationibus.* The writer means that the first plagues of Egypt were but child's play compared with the later ones.

27. *they grudged.*] Rather, "they were indignant." The meaning of this somewhat awkwardly expressed sentence is, "For being punished in those things (wild beasts, &c.) which they deemed to be gods, in their case, wherein they were indignant while suffering, they recognised the true God, seeing Him of whom they used to deny that they knew Him." In other words, it was the punishment inflicted on their animal-gods which made them most indignant amid their sufferings, and yet it was that very punishment which forced on them the conviction of the true God.

acknowledged him to be the true God.] Ex. viii. 8, 28; ix. 27; x. 7, &c.

whom before they denied to know.] Comp. xvi. 16; Ex. v. 2.

extreme damnation.] Rather "the extreme of their condemnation," *i.e.* the last and severest plagues, and destruction of their king and host in the Red Sea (1 Thess. ii. 16, ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος).

came . . . upon them.] xvi. 4; Luke xxi. 26; Jas. v. 1, &c.

CHAPTER XIII.

The folly of idolatry; whether it consist in a worship of God's works (1–9), or of the works of men's hands (10–19).

The writer is not unnaturally led to this digression concerning idolatry, because he has touched on the revolting worship both of

SURELY vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and [a] could not out of the good things that are seen know him that is: neither by considering the works did they acknowledge the workmaster;

[a] Rom. 1. 19, 20.

2 [b] But deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world.

[b] Deut. 4. 19. & 17. 3.

3 With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods; let

the Canaanites (xii. 3–6) and of the Egyptians (xi. 15; xii. 27).

The Jews during the course of their history had been thrown into contact with various forms of idolatry. The noblest and most innocent form assumed by false worship was the Persian worship of the sun; the coarsest and most brutal was the demon-worship of the Canaanites. The Egyptians partly worshipped natural powers and partly images. The Greeks and Romans worshipped images, not as being divine things, but as the symbols of deities who were originally personifications of the forces of nature. The writer here divides idolaters into two classes: 1. Nature-worshippers; 2. Idol-worshippers; and, like Philo ('De decal.' §§ 12–15; 'De monarch.' i. §§ 1–3), he also alludes to animal-worship under a separate head (xii. 24; xv. 18, 19).

1. *vain.*] Rather, "foolish;" *ματαιόφρονες*, 3 Macc. vi. 11. The *folly* of idolatry is touched upon in 2 K. xvii. 15; Rom. i. 21. Comp. *θεὸν μάταιον*, xv. 8; *ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων*, Acts xiv. 15.

by nature.] Man's folly is not solely the result of bad teaching and extraneous *influences*. It is not only adventitious but innate. See note on xii. 10.

who are ignorant of God.] Lit., "to whom ignorance of God belonged." "The world even by its wisdom knew not God," 1 Cor. i. 21.

could not.] Lit., "had not strength."

out of the good things that are seen.] St. Paul argues that He who is invisible was yet seen by means of His works, and would have been seen by the heathen, but for a blindness partly voluntary and partly penal (Rom. i. 20–23; Acts xiv. 15–17).

him that is.] The Eternal "I am"—'Ο *ὤν* —the Absolute Being, who alone can say, "I am, and there is none besides me" (Ex. iii. 14).

neither . . . did they acknowledge.] *ἐπέγνωσαν*, "they did not *further* know." They did not look through nature up to nature's God.

the workmaster.] Heb. xi. 10, "the artificer." See note on vii. 21.

2. *either fire.*] The writer, if, as we have conjectured, he lived after the days of Caligula, is very probably thinking of passages in which Philo identifies Grecian worship with a worship of the four elements (earth, air, fire, water); the sun, moon, planets, and stars. Thus fire was worshipped under the name of Hephaestus; air under the names of Hera, Aeolus, &c.; water as Poseidon, &c.; the sun as Apollo; the moon as Artemis; the earth as Demeter, &c. The worship of the sun was prominent at On (Heliopolis) in Egypt, and in Palestine at Beth-shemesh (House of the Sun).

the swift air.] Like Spenser's "the flitting skies" (Deane).

the circle of the stars.] The starry vault of heaven which appears to revolve round the earth (Vulg., *gyrum stellarum*).

the violent water.] The stormy sea and rushing streams.

the lights of heaven.] Aeschylus (Agam. 6) calls them

λαμπρούς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι.

("Bright potentates set proudly in the sky.")

The words *φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, *luminaria coeli*, occur in LXX. Gen. i. 14 (comp. Phil. ii. 15, *ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ*).

to be the gods which govern the world.] The word *πρυτάνεις κόσμου* might be taken also in the sense of Gen. i. 16, "the sun *to rule* the day, and the lesser light *to rule* the night" (LXX. *εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας κ. τ. λ.*), but they are rightly regarded here as being in apposition to *θεούς*. The Greeks worshipped the sun and moon under the names of Apollo and Artemis; the Shemites under the names of Baal and Ashtoreth; the Egyptians as Isis and Osiris.

3. *With whose beauty.*] This reference to the beauty of the external world shews, as Gfrörer says (Philo, ii. 212), the trace of Hellenistic influences. The word *καλλονή* occurs in the LXX. (Ps. xlvi. 4; lxxviii. 7), but not in this sense or connexion. Neither *κάλλος* nor *καλλονή* occurs in the N. T. What impressed the Hebrew mind was not so much the beauty as the *wonder* and the *power* of creation (Job xxxvi.–xli.). It is only after contact with the Hellenic mind that we find in Jewish writers such passages as Ecclus. xliii. 9–11: "The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light . . . Look upon the rainbow . . . very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof."

Cyril ('Adv. Julian.') quotes Plato as saying

them know how much better the Lord of them is: for the first author of beauty hath created them.

4 But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them, how much mightier he is that made them.

5 For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the maker of them is seen. Rom. 1. 20.

6 But yet for this they are the less to be blamed: for they peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find him.

that we ought "from the beauty of things seen to mount up to the beauty of God;" and Plutarch ('Plac. Philos.' 3) tells us that from the beauty of the creature the Stoics inferred the moral beauty of the Divine character. Even among the Greeks, however, the sense of beauty in nature is rare and late. It appears markedly in the description of Colonos by Sophocles, but Plato has to apologise for the poetical description in 'Phaedrus' as due to the eccentric idiosyncrasy of Socrates. On this whole subject, see the admirable chapters in Humboldt's 'Cosmos.' In modern times few have developed the argument here touched upon, but it has been finely set forth by the late Canon Mozley in his Sermon on Nature ('Univ. Sermons,' p. 138). He says: "Nature has two great revelations,—that of use and that of beauty . . . The glory of nature in reality resides in the mind of man . . . It is obvious that the beauty of nature is necessary for the perfection of praise; and that the praise of the Creator must be essentially weakened without it." "But," he adds, "no man can get a religion out of the beauty of nature. The outer world, when idolised, spoiled men for the inward, and in anger they fell back upon a Manichean God who was lovely in nature and unjust in man."

them.] ταῦτα, "these things;" not without that shade of contempt or depreciation often involved in the use of this demonstrative. The writer would teach the heathen "to climb by these sunbeams to the Father of Lights."

the first author.] γενεσιάρχης (Vulg. *generator*). The word does not occur elsewhere in the LXX., the Apocrypha, or the N. T. Even in late Greek, the word used to express this meaning is γενάρχης, which is used by Philo and by Plutarch.

the first author of beauty hath created them.] "The cypher (of beauty in the universe)," says Canon Mozley, "is not unintelligible; it lets out something. The Great Spirit, speaking by dumb representation to other spirits, intimates and signifies to them something about Himself; for if nature is symbolical, what it is symbolical about must be its author."

4. *But if they were astonished.*] Lit. "being amazed" (understand "they thought them to be gods").

at their power and virtue.] Here the author reverts to the notion about the universe, which is mainly dwelt upon in the O. T. The word rendered "virtue" is ἐνέργειαν, "their active efficiency."

let them understand.] This verb (νοεῖν) is often used of the perception or apprehension of God: Rom. i. 20, τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου νοούμενα καθορᾶται. Comp. Heb. xi. 3.

how much mightier.] Lactantius ('Instt.' ii. 3, § 5) ends a similar argument with the words "quanto major quantoque mirabilior qui illa fecit ex nihilo."

5. *by the greatness and beauty of the creatures.*] This is the fundamental argument developed in Job xxxvii.–xli.

proportionably.] ἀναλόγως; Vulg., *cognoscibiliter*. The adverb does not occur in the Bible (though we have ἀναλογία, Rom. xii. 6). It means "conformably," "relatively," "according to a due ratio" (ἀνὰ λόγον).

the maker of them.] ὁ γενεσιουργός. The word is found once or twice in late Greek, but not in the LXX. or N. T.

is seen.] The verb θεωρέω is used especially of mental, spiritual, and adoring vision (Rom. i. 20). "*Theoria* is the worship of heaven" (Ruskin).

6. *But yet for this they are the less to be blamed.*] Although they ought to have looked from created things to the Creator, yet (ὅμως) with reference to these aberrations (the worship of the great forces of nature) the blame is small. Of all forms of idolatry that of the Persians—sun-worship and fire-worship—is the least reprehensible.

for this.] The words (ἐπὶ τούτοις) might also be rendered "in the case of these worshippers."

they peradventure err.] An excuse may, perhaps (τάχα, Rom. v. 7; Philem. 15), be made for their error. The "perhaps" implies a charitable doubt: if it be admissible to suppose that any can go astray who really are "seekers after God," then a charitable allowance may be made for these.

seeking God.] In their search for God, even in their wish to find Him, perhaps they themselves follow some mistaken path. It is possible to translate the whole clause in a very

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[d] Rom. 1. 21.
[‖] Or, *seek.*

7 For being [d] conversant in his works they [‖] search *him* diligently, and believe their sight: because the things are beautiful that are seen.

8 Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned.

9 For if they were able to know so much, that they could aim at the world; how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof?

10 But miserable are they, and in [e] dead things is their hope, who called them gods, [f] which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver, to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts, or

[e] ver. 18. ch. 15. 17.
[f] Ps. 115. 4. & 135. 15.

different sense, by making ὀλίγη μέμψις refer "to the case of the nature-worshippers," and αὐτοὶ to the seekers of true wisdom. The rendering would then be, "But yet for this (or, in their case) there is little blame to them, for even they perchance err who (really) seek God, and wish to find Him." If this had been the author's meaning, he could hardly have failed to write οἱ ζητοῦντες. Almost every commentator (except Grimm and De Wette) has followed the Vulg. and the A. V. in understanding the passage as I have explained it. It may well be doubted whether the writer would have admitted that the lovers of true wisdom were liable to error in matters so important: on the other hand, the search of the heathen after God was a blind and groping search which often failed (Acts xvii. 27, ζητεῖν τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν).

7. *being conversant in his works.*] They *confine* their attention *too much* to the things seen; but while they are thorough (διερευνῶσι) in their physical researches, they content themselves with external phenomena instead of looking beyond them (Heb. xi. 3).

8. *Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned.*] Lit., "Yet again" (in spite of the excuses which may be made for them) "not even these" (much less the grosser idolaters of whom he proceeds to speak) "are pardonable." Even these milder offenders are still, as St. Paul says, ἀναπολόγητοι (Rom. i. 20). For πάλιν δέ, see xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xii. 21.

9. *that they could aim at the world.*] This rendering hardly explains itself. The "that" (ἵνα) is here not telic ("in order that"), but consecutive ("so as to"). The verb "to aim at" (στοχάζεσθαι), which in classical Greek always takes a genitive, is here followed by an accusative, and means "to explain," "successfully to guess at." Αἰῶνα means the created world regarded in its temporal duration (Vulg., *saeculum*). The meaning then is that "if they possessed sufficient intellectual power to enable them to infer the meaning of phenomena, how was it that they failed yet more speedily to draw the final inference?"

sooner.] The deduction of the final inference—that God is greater than all His works—required no such lengthened toil as the study of science. He implies, therefore, that theirs was a *moral* failure or deficiency.

10. *But miserable are they.*] He now turns from the folly of nature-worship to the deeper baseness and wretchedness of image-worship. The line of thought followed in this passage (xiii. 10–xiv. 8) is found in many passages of Scripture (Deut. iv. 28; Ps. cxv. 4–8, cxxxv. 15–18; Jer. ii. 26–28). It is this form of idolatry which is overwhelmed with so fierce a storm of sarcasm and indignation in the later chapters of Isaiah (xl.–xlvi.). See, too, Jer. ii. x.; Ps. cxv. cxxxv., &c. The writer, in spite of the literary elaboration of his style, is incomparably less eloquent and forcible than the older prophet. When the same theme was handled by the Christian Apologists, as by Arnobius ('Adv. Gentes'), it was necessary to deal with the defence of images, which consisted in regarding them as mere visible symbols of deities, and not as being themselves divine.

in dead things.] Comp. xv. 17. The Jews had many terms of contempt for heathen idols. They called them "filth" (*shikkuts*), "shame" (*bosheth*), "horrors" (*miphetseth*), but especially "nothing" (*aven*) and "lies" (*elilim*).

the works of men's hands.] LXX. Ps. cxiii. 12, cxxxv. 15.

to shew art in.] Lit., "an elaboration of art." The word ἐμμελέτημα is only found once, in the Anthology. Acts xvii. 29, "graven by art (χαράγματι τέχνης) and man's device."

resemblances.] The word (ἀπεικάσματα) occurs in Plato, 'Crat.' 402 D, but not in the Bible.

of beasts.] ζώων, "of animals" or "living creatures." This was the original meaning of the word "beast," as in Gower—

> "That ilke ymage bare liknesse
> Of man and of none other *beste*."
> *Confess. Amant.* i.

Beast-worship was specially prevalent in Egypt.

> "The brutish gods of Nile as fast—
> Isis, and Orus, and the dog Anubis—haste."
> MILTON, *Ode on Christ's Nativity.*

a stone good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand.

f Isai. 44. 13, &c. Jer. 10. 3, &c.

11 f Now a ‖ carpenter that felleth timber, after he hath sawn down a tree meet for the purpose, and taken off all the bark skilfully round about, and hath wrought it handsomely, and made a vessel thereof fit for the service of man's life;

‖ Or, *timber-wright.*

12 And after spending the ‖ refuse of his work to dress his meat, hath filled himself;

‖ Or, *chips.*

13 And taking the very refuse among those which served to no use, being a crooked piece of wood, and full of knots, hath carved it diligently, when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man;

a stone good for nothing.] Several such "useless stones," like the διοπετὲς ἄγαλμα of Ephesus (Acts xix. 35), the fabled Ancile of Numa, the Trojan Palladium, the Tauric Artemis, the Pessinuntian Cybele, &c., were widely worshipped by the ancients. The stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, probably an ancient aërolite, has been an immemorial object of worship in Arabia.

the work of an ancient hand.] It is not impossible that the "hand" of ancient sculptors may have been used to give even to aërolites some nearer semblance of the human form. The more hideous and antique an image was, the more highly was it venerated, just as in the Church of Rome the miracle-working Madonnas were rarely, if ever, fine works of art, but usually brown and ugly Byzantine pictures. But even to "the work of an ancient hand," such as a statue of Phidias or Praxiteles, a theocratic Jew would have given the name of "a useless stone." When Pope Adrian VI. was shewn the glorious sculptures in the Vatican, he sternly remarked, *Sunt idola antiquorum.*

11. *Now a carpenter that felleth timber.*] Lit., "But even if some wood-cutting artisan." The τις is scornful—any common workman. So Archias makes Priapus say that he was

οἷόν κεν ἐρημαίῃσιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς
ξέσσειαν μογερῶν νίέες ἰχθυβόλων.

The heathen not only worshipped idols of gold, silver, and stone, but even paltry wooden images made of odd pieces of timber. In this and the following verses (11–16) the writer follows Isaiah (xliv. 9–20), skilfully indeed, but in very inferior style, and with none of the prophet's white heat of passionate scorn.

after he hath sawn down.] ἐκπρίσας, "after sawing down one tree out of a number."

a tree meet for the purpose.] Lit., "a swiftly-moved" (vii. 22), *i.e.* a handy, serviceable tree.

a vessel . . . fit for the service of man's life.] Lit., "a useful vessel for the service of life." The emphatic position of χρήσιμον shews that he is contrasting the *useful* article of furniture with the worse than useless idol.

12. *the refuse.*] ἀποβλήματα, "the chips and shavings."

hath filled himself.] See chap. v. 7. The carpenter leisurely eats his dinner before setting about making his idols. The whole picture is borrowed from Is. xliv. 14–17, to which nothing is added but sonorous language.

13. *the very refuse among those.*] Not content with choosing as the material for his god the refuse of his fuel, he picks out the most refuse piece of that refuse.

which served to no use.] The "which" agrees with "refuse." The irony is here exaggerated, and weakened by exaggeration.

full of knots.] With the knots *grown into it*, i.e. a gnarled lump. No possible reason can be assigned why the artisan should purposely choose the most refuse and amorphous fragments to make into idols. They might do for the coarse garden scarecrows—Priapus, &c.—but not for divinities which were treated with any real veneration. There may, however, be an allusion to such objects of worship as the famous image (Acts xix. 35) of Artemis at Ephesus, which, according to Pausanias and later authorities, was of olive-wood painted vermilion.

when he had nothing else to do.] Lit., "in the diligence of his idleness;" a contemptuous oxymoron.

"Stipes acernus eram *properanti* falce dolatus."
PROPERT. iv. 2. 59.

by the skill of his understanding.] For συνέσεως some MSS. read ἀνέσεως, "by the skill of his relaxation." He only gives his idle moments to so trivial a task as the carving of a god. Compare the well-known lines of Horace—

"Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum
Maluit esse Deum: Deus inde ego."
HOR. *Sat.* i. 8. 1.

14. *like some vile beast.*] So Seneca says, "Numina vocant, quae si spiritu accepto

14 Or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermilion, and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot therein ;

[h] Isai. 46. 7.

15 And [h] when he had made a convenient room for it, set it in a wall, and made it fast with iron :

16 For he provided for it that it might not fall, knowing that it was unable to help itself; for it is an image, and hath need of help :

[i] Isai. 44. 17, 19.

17 [i] Then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life.

[k] ver. 10.

18 For health he calleth upon that which is weak : for life prayeth to that [k] which is dead : for aid humbly beseecheth [‖] that which hath least means to help : and for a good journey he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forward :

[‖] Gr. *that hath no experience at all.*

19 And for gaining and getting, and for good success of his hands, asketh ability to do of him, that is most unable to do any thing.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *Though men do not pray to their ships,* 5 *yet are they saved rather by them than by their idols.* 8 *Idols are accursed, and so are the makers of them.* 14 *The beginning of idolatry,* 23 *and the effects thereof.* 30 *God will punish them that swear falsely by their idols.*

AGAIN, one preparing himself to sail, and about to pass through the raging waves, calleth upon a piece of wood more rotten than the [‖] vessel that carrieth him.

[‖] Or, *ship.*

subito occurrerent, monstra haberentur" (ap. August. 'Civ. Dei,' vi. 10). Εὐτελεῖ, "cheap" (x. 4, xi. 15).

laying it over.] Lit., "smearing it."

with vermilion.] Bacchus, Hermes, and Pan were sometimes painted red. So Virgil describes Pan as

"Sanguineis ebuli guttis minioque rubentem."
Ecl. x. 26.

"At *ruber* hortorum decus et tutela Priapus."
OVID, *Fast.* i. 415.

Comp. Sil. Ital. xiii. 332. See note on *v.* 13.

15. *a convenient room for it.*] Rather, "a hut worthy of itself." The οἴκημα was an *aedicula*, or little shrine.

"Stabat *in exiguâ* ligneus *aede* Deus."
TIBULL. i. 10. 19.

16. *that it might not fall.*] Even the trembling of images was deemed ominous. It was regarded as portentous when they fell, as Dagon did, "and shamed his worshippers." The famous Artemis of Ephesus had artificial arms added to it in later times, which were supported by golden rods.

hath need of help.] The idea of the verse is borrowed from the mention of "silver chains" in Is. xl. 19, and the expression "he fasteneth it with nails, so that it shall not be moved" (Is. xli. 7). During the siege of Tyre by Alexander, the Tyrians bound their image of Melcarth to the altar by chains of gold.

18. *For health.*] This and the next verse are a continuous contrast of opposite expressions. They furnish a fine specimen of rhetorical oxymoron. See Hooker, 'Eccl. Pol.' i. viii. 11.

that which cannot set a foot forward.] "Feet have they, but they walk not" (Ps. cxv. 7). The word βάσει is used contemptuously—"that which cannot even use its pedestal!" Compare the scorn expressed by Elijah against Baal, "Cry aloud, for he is a god; either . . . he is pursuing, or he is on a journey" (1 K. xviii. 27).

19. *ability to do.*] The adjective εὐδρανὴς (from δραίνω) is only found in grammarians. The substantive εὐδράνεια, "furtherance," occurs nowhere else.

The Jews themselves fell more or less into all the kinds of idolatry mentioned in this chapter—namely, nature-worship (Baalim, Asherah, Ashteroth); beast-worship (the calves, &c.); and image-worship (2 K. xviii. 4, &c.).

CHAPTER XIV.

Proof of the folly of worshipping idols continued, and illustrated by the idolatry of seafarers (1, 2). Digression on God's providence as shewn in the care of righteous voyagers (3–7). Idols and idolaters are cursed, and shall be punished (8–10). The mischief of idolatry (12–14), which originated (i.) in grief for the dead (15); (ii.) in flattery towards rulers (16, 17); and (iii.) in the complaisance of artists (18–21). And this idolatry led to ruinous immorality (21–31).

1. *raging waves.*] So Jude 13, κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης. The proper meaning of ἄγριος is "rustic," "wild," and so "fierce."

a piece of wood.] An idol either at the prow or at the stern of vessels. This παράση-

2 For verily desire of gain devised
‖ Or, *vessel*, or, *ship*. ‖ that, and the workman built it by his skill.

3 But thy providence, O Father,
[a] Exod. 14. 22. governeth it: for thou [a] hast made a way in the sea, and a safe path in the waves;

4 Shewing that thou canst save from all danger: yea, though a man went to sea without art.

5 Nevertheless thou wouldest not that the works of thy wisdom should be idle, and therefore do men commit their lives to a small piece of wood, and passing the rough sea in a weak vessel are saved.

μον often represented the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux (Acts xxviii. 11). Thus the Phoenicians placed on the prows of their triremes the pigmy images of the Pataeci (Herod. iii. 37). The custom of ancient sailors to fly to the images of their gods in a storm is mentioned both in the Bible (Jon. i. 5, "Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god") and in classical writers. Compare Shakspeare's

"All lost! to prayers, to prayers! All lost!"
The Tempest, i. 5.

more rotten.] σαθρότερον. The word is used in the secondary sense of "more worthless," as is clear from the explanation in the next verse.

2. *devised that.*] *I.e.* the vessel. It can at least be said of the ship (i.) that it was invented in the interests of commerce; (ii.) that it is a work of "wisdom;" and (iii.) that the fact of its safe use illustrates the providence of God. For the idol, on the other hand, not a word can be said.

by his skill.] Lit., "by his wisdom." Wisdom is here used in its lowest sense of human art and intelligence. For "Wisdom" in its highest sense is identified with the Spirit of God; and artists like Bezaleel are said in Scripture to be inspired (Ex. xxxi. 1–6; xxxv. 31). The artist Hiram is described as being "filled with *wisdom* and understanding" (1 K. vii. 14). Some good MSS. read τεχνῖτις σοφία, as in vii. 22; but the expression would be less suitable to a work of human skill. The shipbuilder, working for laudable objects, is guided by σοφία; but the idol-maker has nothing better than ἐμπειρία, "experience," "practice," or "empiric skill" (xiii. 13).

3. *But thy providence, O Father, governeth it.*] The δέ involves a contrast. The ship is a work of consummate human skill, yet it would be useless without the care of God's providence. The word πρόνοια, in this sense, is borrowed from the Stoic philosophers, and this verse is interesting as marking its first appearance in Jewish literature (see xvii. 2). In the New Testament it is only used in the sense of forethought, purpose, intention (Acts xxiv. 2; Rom. xiii. 14). Plato first used the word to express what the Latins meant by "Providentia," and our "Divine Providence," though it is used *almost* in this technical meaning by Herodotus (iii. 108). We find it again in xvii. 2, and frequently in Philo, who wrote three books on Providence, now only extant in an Armenian translation (Euseb. 'H. E.' ii. 18; Dähne, 'Alex. Rel. Ph.' i. 385). Josephus also often uses the word ('B. J.' iii. 8, § 7, &c.). But though the *word* is borrowed from philosophy, the *thought* is common in the O. T. (Ps. cxlv. 9), and even with express reference to "those who go down to the sea in ships" (Ps. cvii. 23–31). From the expression here used comes the beginning of our collect, "O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth."

in the sea.] Rather, "even in the sea." Since God "turned the sea into dry land, to make a way for the children of Israel to pass over" (Ps. lxxvi. 20, &c.), He could clearly save those who sailed in deep waters.

4. *yea, though a man.*] The word ἵνα should be supplied from the best MSS.: "*in order that*, even without skilled knowledge, one may embark." The reference is to Noah, who was saved without any knowledge of navigation. Ἐπιβαίνειν is the technical word for "to go on board a ship," as in Acts xxi. 2. Some MSS. of the Vulg. read *sine rate*, "without a ship;" and Coverdale has "Yee though a man went to the see without shippe." But "sine *rate*" seems to be a mere clerical error for "sine *arte*," though it might seem to be sanctioned both by the allusion to the passage of the Red Sea in *v.* 3 and by *v.* 5. Possibly the translators took τέχνη as abstract for concrete, to mean "a work of art," *i.e.* a vessel.

5. *that the works of thy wisdom should be idle.*] The oxymoron ἀργὰ . . . ἔργα is quite in accordance with the taste of the writer. The reference must be to the desirability of commerce as diffusing the works of God.

their lives.] ψυχάς. Comp. xii. 6.

to a small piece of wood.] Chap. x. 4. Diogenes Laertius records the well-known remark of Anacharsis, that men on board ship were only four fingers' breadth removed from death. Comp. Hor. 'Od.' i. 2, 9:

[b] Gen. 6. 4. & 7. 18, 21, 22.

6 [b] For in the old time also, when the proud giants perished, the hope of the world governed by thy hand escaped in a weak vessel, and left to all ages a seed of generation.

7 For blessed is the wood whereby righteousness cometh.

[c] Ps. 115. 8. Bar. 6. 4.

8 But [c] that which is made with hands is cursed, as well it, as he that made it: he, because he made it; and it, because, being corruptible, it was called god.

[d] Ps. 5. 5.

9 [d] For the ungodly and his ungodliness are both alike hateful unto God.

10 For that which is made shall be punished together with him that made it.

"Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui *fragilem truci*
Commisit pelago ratem."

The prayer of the Breton mariners is, "Save us, O God! Thine ocean is so large, and our little boats so small."

in a weak vessel.] Σχεδία properly means "a raft."

are saved.] Lit., "were saved." A gnomic aorist, expressive of a normal result, but here appropriate as referring to the first discoverers of navigation.

6. *in the old time also.*] Lit., "from" (or "in") "the beginning." The temporal gen. ἀρχῆς is used absolutely, as in νυκτός, ἡμέρας, &c. Vulg., *ab initio.*

when the proud giants perished.] Gen. vi. 4, 17. Comp. 3 Macc. ii. 4, "Thou didst destroy in former times those who did iniquity, among whom were also giants, who trusted in their strength and boldness, bringing upon them a measureless flood." As the genealogy of nations in Gen. x. gives no account of the origin of the Rephaim and other primeval races of Palestine, the Rabbis invented the story that Og had saved himself from the Deluge by wading beside the ark.

the hope of the world.] Noah and his family; the abstract for the concrete, as in Virg. 'Aen.' xii. 168, "Ascanius, magnae *spes altera* Romae."

governed.] Lit., "steered." Our "govern" is derived from the Latin *guberno* (κυβερνάω), "I steer."

to all ages.] αἰῶνι; Vulg., *saeculo.* To the world of mankind.

7. *the wood whereby righteousness cometh.*] It was most natural that the Fathers should apply this verse directly or mystically to the cross, which is often called ξύλον in the N. T. (Acts v. 30; Gal. iii. 13; 1 Pet. ii. 24, &c. Comp. עץ, Esther v. 14). The reference was more likely to strike them from the fact that they read ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου in Ps. xcvi. 10, and quoted the words as a prophecy of the Cross (Justin Mart. 'Dial. c. Tryph.' p. 298; Aug. 'Enarrat.' in loc.; Tert. 'c. Marc.' iii. 19). Grätz ('Gesch. d. Juden,' iii. 495), following this view, looks on the verse as a Christian interpolation. There is, however, no proof that the writer was thinking specifically of anything but the ark, in which was saved "Noah, a preacher of righteousness" (2 Pet. ii. 5).

8. *that which is made with hands is cursed.*] The expression is not very accurate, for a ship is as much "made with hands" as an idol. The writer here uses it exclusively of an idol (Vulg., *per manus autem, quod fit idolum*), because in the LXX. the word χειροποιητὰ is used for Gentile gods (Elohim, Is. xxi. 9; and Elilim, Is. ii. 18). Comp. Judith viii. 17, οἱ προσκυνοῦσι θεοῖς χειροποιητοῖς. The curious dislike to any inanimate thing because it has been sometimes abused to bad purposes, is common in all ages. One court of the Ephetae at Athens (τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ), "by a strange custom, somewhat analogous to the imposition of a deodand," passed sentence on the *instruments* of a murder when the perpetrator was undiscovered. John Knox, when a slave in the galleys, contemptuously flung an image of the Virgin into the sea, and called it a "pented bredd." The feeling of the ancient Greeks and of enlightened Christians does not approve of *wanton* insults to idols so long as they are objects of sincere reverence; but the feeling of the Jews on the subject after the Exile became almost fanatically intense, and they would scarcely ever name a heathen deity without some title of scorn.

being corruptible, it was called god.] Comp. vi. 19, 20. God is ἄφθαρτος: Rom. i. 23; 1 Tim. i. 17.

9. *his ungodliness.*] The idol is therefore hateful to God as the concrete result of man's impiety, as well as the idolater (Deut. xxvii. 15).

10. *shall be punished.*] The writer, in regarding the *material* idols as capable of "punishment," only follows the views of the Pagans, who sometimes scourged their idols or bound them with chains. The images of the saints have often been similarly treated by offended worshippers in Roman Catholic countries. M. Renan in his 'Souvenirs' tells us with what unceremonious rudeness, and

[e] See Isai. 46. 1. Jer. 46. 25. & 49. 3.
[‖] Or, *to*, or, *by*.
[f] Jer. 10. 8. Hab. 2. 18.
[‖] Gr. *scandals*.
[‖] Or, *trap*.
[g] ver. 27.

11 Therefore [e] even [‖] upon the idols of the Gentiles shall there be a visitation: because in the creature of God they are become an abomination, and [f] [‖] stumblingblocks to the souls of men, and a [‖] snare to the feet of the unwise.

12 For [g] the devising of idols was the beginning of *spiritual* fornication, and the invention of them the corruption of life.

13 For neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever.

14 For by the vain glory of men they entered into the world, and therefore shall they come shortly to an end.

15 For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.

even threats, the Bretons treat their saints in remote country districts.

11. *even upon the idols.*] Jer. x. 15, "They are vanity, and the work of errors; in the time of their visitation they shall perish;" xlvi. 25, "Behold, I will punish the Amon of No [Thebes], and Pharaoh, and Egypt, *with their gods.*" Is. xxx. 32; xxxi. 7; xlvi. 1, 2. Ex. xii. 12, "Against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment." To a certain extent the idol is identified with the demon whom it was held to represent (Ps. xcvi. 5; 1 Cor. x. 20).

a visitation.] See note on ii. 20.

in the creature of God.] Their worship involved the perverted use of created things.

an abomination.] Comp. xii. 23. As the strongest word of disgust which they could find in Greek, the LXX. use the word βδέλυγμα to render the insulting terms which the Jews applied to idols, such as גִּלּוּלִים, *Dî stercoracei.*

stumbling-blocks . . . a snare.] Comp. Josh. xxiii. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 7, &c.

12. *of spiritual fornication.*] This metaphor for idolatry is universal in Scripture: Deut. xxxi. 16; Hos. ii. 3–5, v. 3. Suidas, πορνεία, ἡ εἰδωλολατρεία.

the corruption of life.] Spiritually and even physically: 2 Pet. i. 4; ii. 19. See Is. ii. 18; Jer. l. 2.

13. *were they.*] The nominative to ἦν is τὰ χειροποίητα understood.

14. *by the vain-glory of men.*] He illustrates this verse in the following passage (15–21), and shews that this human vain-glory exhibited itself in extravagant estimation of the dead (15); in the ambition of kings and the flattery of subjects (16, 17); and in the interested skill of artists (18–21). The word κενοδοξία occurs in the Apocrypha (4 Macc. ii. 15) and N. T. (Phil. ii. 3), but not in the LXX. "Vain-glorious" (κενόδοξοι) is found in Gal. v. 26.

they entered.] The nominative "idols" is understood. The Alex. MS. by a mistake reads θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν, which is a reminiscence of ii. 24, and does not agree with the following αὐτῶν.

shall they come shortly to an end.] Lit., "a swift end was devised for them" (by God). The word ἐπενοήθη is a reference to God's devising in contrast to the vain ἐπίνοια of man (*v.* 12). The exact meaning of σύντομον is not clear. It might imply the shortness of all human history compared with the Divine Eternity; or the writer may have thought that the Messianic kingdom was close at hand, and that then all idols would be abolished.

15. *with untimely mourning.*] Vulg., *acerbo luctu.* The *grief* may by hypallage be called "untimely" because the *child's* death is premature; or because the grief is unseasonably prolonged.

when he hath made an image of his child.] The Pagans themselves admitted to a certain extent that the views of Euhemerus—who tried to shew that the gods were deified kings and heroes—were true. Cicero ('De Nat. Deor.' i. 42), Justin Martyr, Lactantius, and other Fathers develop the same thought. There can be but little doubt that the Teraphim of Laban were images of deceased ancestors; and a great part of Confucianism consists in reverence for dead forefathers.

honoured him as a god.] According to Jewish tradition, Serug (Gen. xi. 20) was the first of his line who fell into this kind of idolatry. The Lares of the Romans also were departed ancestors. The worship of *children* was rarer, but it is recorded of a certain Spartan named Diophantus; and even Cicero planned a temple to his daughter Tullia. Nero claimed divine honours for the child who had been born to him by Poppaea. Egypt at a later epoch grew familiar with the worship of the youth Antinous, which was introduced by Hadrian.

ceremonies.] Lit., "mysteries."

sacrifices.] τελετάς, as in xii. 4.

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‖ Gr. *in time.*

16 Thus ‖ in process of time an ungodly custom grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandments of

‖ Or, *tyrants.*

‖ kings.

‖ Or, *in sight.*

17 Whom men could not honour ‖ in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he were present.

18 Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition.

19 For he, peradventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance ‖ of the best fashion.

‖ Gr. *to the better*

20 And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, which a little before was but honoured as a man.

21 And this was an occasion to deceive the world: for men, serving

16. *Thus.*] Rather, *Then.*

graven images.] τὰ γλυπτά. See xv. 13. It is a frequent rendering of Hebrew words for "idols" in the LXX.: Deut. vii. 5; Ps. cv. 34, 36; Is. xlvi. 1, &c.

were worshipped.] Lit., "were continuously worshipped"—an imperfect, in contrast with the general establishment of a custom referred to by the previous aorist.

by the commandments of kings.] Bauermeister and others refer this clause to the next verse. But the next verse refers to *voluntary* flattery, not to image-worship enjoined as a tyrannous command. The mention of "tyrants" serves, however, as a skilful introduction to the subject of the following paragraph. The apotheosis of Roman Emperors became almost a matter of course, and Augustus was scarcely able to prevent the worship of himself while living. He could only insist that temples to himself should always be associated also with temples to the goddess Roma. For full information on this subject see Boissier, 'La Religion Romaine,' i. 122–209. The example of worshipping kings was set in Egypt in the days of the Pharaohs, and was largely adopted by the Ptolemies. A sketch of the origin of hero-worship and emperor-worship is given by Canon Westcott in his edition of the Epistles of St. John, pp. 255–267.

17. *in presence.*] Since men who lived at a distance could not actually *see* their kings, they were induced by flattery to make images of them. There is a play of words between ἐν ὄψει, "visibly," and ὄψιν, "visage."

18. *singular diligence.*] Vulg., *eximia diligentia.* φιλοτιμία means rather "the eager ambition."

the ignorant.] Rather, "*even* the ignorant," *i.e.* even those who did not know whom the statues represented, or how they originally came to be worshipped. He is here passing from flattery to *admiration of artistic skill* as another source of idolatry.

to more superstition.] Rather, "to intensified service" of the image. Θρησκεία means "outward service;" "religion" in the old sense of the word, as in Col. ii. 18, Jas. i. 27, and in Milton's

"Gay *religions*, full of pomp and gold."

19. *peradventure.*] The word (τάχα) is omitted by the Vulg. Grimm prefers to render it "quickly," but it seems to mean that the artist toiled *on the chance* of pleasing the tyrant, or at any rate that this may have been *one* of his motives.

forced all his skill . . .] Lit., "By his skill forced the resemblance to something more beautiful;" *i.e.* did his utmost skilfully to flatter and idealise the likeness. The idols to which the writer is now alluding are not cheap wooden idols carved out of refuse clumps, but marble or chryselephantine statues, like the Zeus and Athena of Phidias, and the huge statues of deified Roman emperors. Philo also ('De Monarch.' i. 3) dwells on the abuse of art to furnish an additional incentive to idolatry.

20. *took him now for a god.*] Σέβασμα means "an object of worship" (Acts xvii. 25; 2 Thess. ii. 4). If the writer is thinking of any of the colossal statues of emperors, like that of Augustus at Ancyra, the word σέβασμα would recall the name "Augustus,"—a name of religious veneration (ὄνομα βλασφημίας, Rev. xiii. 1), which was peculiarly displeasing to Jewish ears. It was to avert the very danger here alluded to—the danger of aesthetic admiration passing into idolatry—that all sculpture (except that of the fourfold cherubic symbol, which was tacitly excepted) was forbidden to the Israelites.

21. *And this.*] In classic Greek τοῦτο means "the *following* fact;" ἐκεῖνο, "the fact just mentioned." In later Greek the distinction is often neglected. It is therefore uncertain whether the writer means the τοῦτο to be defined by the following clause—"This, namely: the fact that men, &c.;" or whether

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either calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable ‖ name.

‖ Or, *of God.*

22 Moreover this was not enough for them, that they erred in the knowledge of God; but whereas they lived in the great war of ignorance, those so great plagues called they peace.

23 For whilst they [h] slew their children in sacrifices, or used secret ceremonies, or made revellings of strange rites;

[h] Deut. 18. 10. Jer. 7. 9. & 19. 4. ch. 12. 5, 6.

24 They kept neither lives nor marriages any longer undefiled: but either one slew another traitorously, or grieved him by adultery.

25 [i] So that there reigned in all

[i] Rom. 1. 29, &c.

he means τοῦτο to mean "this thing," *i.e.* the idolatry of which he has been speaking. In that case the following ὅτι means "because" or "for," as in the A. V.

was an occasion to aeceive the world.] Lit., "became to the world (τῷ βίῳ, Vulg. *mundo*; lit. "to life," comp. x. 8) for an ambush." That heathenism in its popular forms exercised a deadly and polluting influence cannot be questioned, since it is an inevitable inference from the actual condition of heathen society as preserved and portrayed for us in literature and the remains of art. See Neander, 'Church History,' Introd. i. pp. 6–47; Gieseler, 'Church History,' Introd. i. §§ 9–14; and above all Döllinger, 'The Jew and the Gentile,' which serves as an overwhelmingly powerful demonstration that there is nothing exaggerated in the awful indictment brought by St. Paul (Rom. i. 21–32) against the heathendom of his own day. The Apostle paints the evils here alluded to with yet more terrible vividness. Even the heathen, from Plato downwards, deplored the corrupting influence of the popular mythologies. Many of the Fathers (Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c.) dilate on this topic with crushing force.

serving either calamity or tyranny.] The participle δουλεύοντες is joined by syllepsis both to συμφορᾷ and τυραννίδι—"*being slaves* either of accident or of tyranny." The "accident" means an early bereavement, like that mentioned in *v.* 15; the "tyranny" alludes to *v.* 16.

the incommunicable name.] The name "Jehovah," which most Jews did not even know how to utter, either substituting for it the name "Elohim," or pronouncing it "Jehovah" with the vowel-points of *Adonai* or *Elohim.* Hence the true pronunciation of Jehovah (perhaps Yahveh) is to this day uncertain. It is the name called *Shem Hammephorash*, "the Ineffable Tetragrammaton." Even the Jews only heard it pronounced by the High Priest once in the year, in his final benediction on the day of Atonement. The sin of the heathen consisted in giving the name of the ONE God to many gods. "I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images" (Is. xlii. 8).

22. *war of ignorance.*] All the miserable struggles and conflicts, arising from ignorance of God, which are described in the next verses.

plagues.] Lit., "evils."

called they peace.] They said, "Peace, Peace, when there was no peace" (Jer. vi. 14). Compare the celebrated remark of Tacitus, 'Agric.' xxx., "*Solitudinem* faciunt, *pacem* appellant."

23. *slew their children in sacrifices.*] This applied to Baal-worship and Moloch-worship. See xii. 5. Τεκνοφόνος is like νηπιοκτόνος, a word found in this book alone.

secret ceremonies.] These, like the Bacchanalia and Thesmophoria, and the orgiastic cults of the priests of Cybele, Isis, &c., were often mysteries of wickedness, belonging to "the crypts of shame."

or made revellings of strange rites.] Rather, "frantic revels of alien institutions." Perhaps "*made*" in the A. V. is a misprint for "mad," as (I see) has also occurred to Arnald. Ἐξάλλων is best taken as one word. Ἔξαλλος occurs in the LXX. 2 Sam. vi. 14; Esth. iii. 8. The wild mantic character of many of the Asiatic and African cults formed their most powerful element of attraction. St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 13) and St. Peter (1 Pet. iv. 3) join κώμοι (Lat. *comessationes*) with other abominations; and in 2 Macc. vi. 4, "riot and revelling" are accompanied with horrible acts of sacrilege.

24. *slew another traitorously.*] The best commentary on the whole verse is the account of the Bacchanalian mysteries introduced into Rome (Liv. xxxix. 8). The pretence of mystic rites was mixed up with the infamous designs of secret societies, in which not only "*stupra*," but also "*venena intestinaeque caedes*" played a large part, while amid the roar of drums and timbrels detection was rendered difficult.

25, 26. The catalogue of crimes here alluded to is also found in Rom. i. 21–31; Gal. v. 19–21; 1 Tim. i. 9, &c. It needs no special

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men ‖ without exception blood, manslaughter, theft, and dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury,

‖ r, *confusedly.*

26 Disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, changing of ‖ kind, disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness.

‖ Or, *sex.*

27 [k] For the worshipping of idols ‖ not to be named is the beginning, the cause, and the end, of all evil.

[k] Rom. 1. 25, 26.
‖ Gr. *nameless.*
Exod. 23. 13.

28 For either they are mad when they be merry, or prophesy lies, or live unjustly, or else lightly forswear themselves.

29 For insomuch as their trust is in idols, which have no life; though they swear falsely, yet they look not to be hurt.

30 Howbeit for both causes shall they be justly punished: both because they thought not well of God, ‖ giving heed unto idols, and also unjustly swore in deceit, despising holiness.

‖ Or, *devoted.*

31 For it is not the power of them by whom they swear: but it is the just vengeance of sinners, that punisheth always the offence of the ungodly.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *We do acknowledge the true God.* 7 *The folly of idolmakers,* 14 *and of the enemies of God's people;* 15 *because, besides the idols of the Gentiles,* 18 *they worshipped vile beasts.*

comment, because the facts are notorious to all readers of classical literature.

"Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa."

25. *in all men.*] This would not have been a true charge, and the best reading is not *πάντας* but *πάντα* (Vulg., *omnia*). Blood and murder, theft and treachery, &c., confusedly prevailed in all things.

blood, manslaughter.] Lit., "blood and murder." Either the latter word is taken generally to mean any kind of murder, or the two words are an hendiadys for "murderous bloodshed."

26. *Disquieting of good men.*] This is described in ii. 10–20.

disorder in marriages.] The prevalence of divorce was specially shameful in the Imperial epoch, so that women, says Seneca, reckoned their years by their discarded husbands.

27. *of idols not to be named.*] Marg., "nameless." Vulg., *infandorum.* Many of the Jews, taking Ex. xxiii. 13, Deut. xii. 3, literally, held it to be a crime *even to mention* the name of idols (Ps. xvi. 4), and therefore spoke of them by all sorts of insulting paronomasiae and other terms of derision (Beelzebub, &c.). This seems to be a better way of understanding the word than Grimm's "*unreal* gods." The phrases about idols which are "nothing in the world" (1 Cor. viii. 4), and "which by nature are no gods" (Gal. iv. 8) and "men of no name" (Job xxx. 8), are different.

28. *For either.*] The following clauses are an attempt to prove the somewhat too sweeping assertion of the last verse. He says that frantic revelry, falsity, injustice, and perjury spring directly from idolatry. It would be more true to say that they spring from the degeneracy of human nature, which was not only unchecked by idolatry, but moulded it into subservience with depraved instincts.

they are mad when they be merry.] Comp. Eccles. ii. 2; Job i. 5. The allusion is to the wild, dissolute abandonment of due self-control in the religious banquets or ordinary carousals of the heathen.

prophesy lies.] An allusion to the oracles.

> "The oracles are dumb:
> No voice or hideous hum
> Runs through the arched roof *in words deceiving.*"—MILTON.

"Oracula, *partim falsa*" (Cic. 'De Div.' ii. 56).

29. *For.*] He offers an explanation of his remark that idolatry fosters perjury. Idols inspired no fear. Martial alludes to the notion that Jews were careless of perjuring themselves if they only swore by an idol. The Jews regarded the punishment of perjury as being inevitable if they swore falsely by the name of God (Ezek. xvii. 18, 19).

to be hurt.] Lit., "to be injured;" but *ἀδικέω* in later Greek acquires the sense of *βλάπτω* (Lk. x. 19). The ancients regarded an unpunished perjury as a reflection against the justice of the gods. (See Aristoph. 'Nub.' 399, *εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους πῶς οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν;*)

30. *shall they be justly punished.*] Lit., "just things shall come upon them." Their idolatry leads them to expect impunity in perjury, but they shall be punished for the idolatry *as well as* for the false oaths. Instead of impunity they shall have *double* vengeance.

31. *the just vengeance.*] God's justice shall punish, not their dead idols, but *themselves.*

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BUT thou, O God, art gracious and true, longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things.

2 For if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy power: but we will not sin, knowing that we are counted thine.

3 For to know thee is perfect righteousness: yea, to know thy power is the root of immortality.

4 For neither did the mischievous invention of men deceive us, nor an image spotted with divers colours, the painter's fruitless labour;

CHAPTER XV.

God's goodness to the Hebrews because of their exemption from idolatry (1–5). The folly and wickedness of idolatry (6). Special denunciation of those who made gods of clay (7–13), and of the eclectic idolatry of the enemies of Israel who tolerated the worship of dead things (14–17). The consummate shamefulness of beast-worship (18, 19).

1. *But thou, O God.*] Rather, "But thou, *our* God." The A. V. omits the ἡμων on which depends the main emphasis of the verse. God's vengeance on heathen sinners (xiv. 30, 31) is contrasted with His love for Israel.

gracious.] The same adjective, χρηστὸς, "kind," is applied in the N. T. to God (Lk. vi. 35; Rom. ii. 4) and to Christ (χρηστότης, Eph. ii. 7). In Rom. xi. 22, the χρηστότης of God towards the righteous is contrasted with His severity (ἀποτομία, comp. v. 11) towards sinners. The same word is used of God's goodness by the LXX. in Ps. xxiv. 9, xxxiii. 8, &c. See Ex. xxxiv. 6.

true.] ἀληθὴς, a *very* God; real; not merely *verax*, but *veritas*. (Vulg., *verus*.)

ordering.] διοικῶν. See viii. 1, 14; xii. 18. The word is not common in the LXX. (Lam. iv. 4), and does not occur in the N. T.

2. *For if we sin.*] Rather, "For even if we sin." For the thought, see xii. 21, 22; Rom. iii. 3. The "faithfulness" of God to His people remains unshaken by the faithlessness of some of them. 1 John ii. 2: "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins."

we are thine.] σοί ἐσμεν. A similar dependence on God is expressed by ἔν σοι. Comp. Acts xvii. 28.

knowing thy power.] This is a somewhat Oriental way of expressing the reason for obedience to God. Taken alone, it might seem to imply that might is right, and that fear is the basis of obedience. It is clear, however, from the following verse that the writer did not mean his words to be understood in this sense, but that he saw in God's omnipotence a pledge of His absolute righteousness.

that we are counted thine.] Lit., "We have been reckoned to thee." We have been set down as Thy possessions.

3. *For to know thee is perfect righteousness.*] Comp. John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." It is, of course, assumed that this *knowledge* of God carries with it the desire for and effort after holiness. The writer at the very outset has stated (i. 1–11) that wisdom is incompatible with moral vileness. The word for "perfect" is ὁλόκληρος; Vulg., *consummata*. Comp. Jas. i. 4; 1 Thess. v. 23.

the root of immortality.] Death comes from sin (i. 12–16); a holy fear, by restraining us from sin, makes us capable of wisdom (i. 4, 5); and wisdom is immortality (i. 15; iii. 4; iv. 1; viii. 18). Neither ἀθάνατος nor ἀθανασία occur in the LXX., though the substantive is used by Aquila in Ps. xlviii. 15 (see Schleusner, *s. v.*). In the Apocrypha the words only occur in this book and in Ecclus. xvii. 24; xix. 17. In the N. T. ἀθάνατος does not occur, but St. Paul uses ἀθανασία in 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54; 1 Tim. vi. 16: and ἀφθαρσία expresses the same conception in 1 Cor. xv.; Eph. vi. 24; 2 Tim. i. 10, &c. For the metaphor, "*root of* immortality," see 1 Tim. vi. 10; Ecclus. i. 20, "The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord."

4. *mischievous.*] κακότεχνος. See i. 4.

deceive us.] Art did not lead us astray into idolatry. The assertion is contrary to the entire tenor of Old Test. history, but probably the writer is only thinking of the era after the return from the Exile, or of those faithful and ideal Israelites who never bowed the knee to Baal. During the Babylonish Captivity the Jews were cured of material idolatry, but they rapidly fell into the idolatry of formalism and letter-worship.

nor.] Rather, "nor even" (οὐδέ). The writer implies that there was a special and subtle charm in *coloured* idols.

an image.] Not εἰκὼν, but εἶδος (Lat. *species*), perhaps implying the beauty of the idol.

spotted.] Vulg., *sculpta*. The word σπιλωθὲν cannot properly bear either of these meanings. Idols were not "spotted," but "painted." The word refers to the *various* colours employed. The verbs μολύνω, μιαίνω,

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)r, rneth a broach the)lish.

5 The sight whereof ‖enticeth fools to lust after it, and so they desire the form of a dead image, that hath no breath.

6 Both they that make them, they that desire them, and they that worship them, are lovers of evil things, and are worthy to have such things to trust upon.

7 For the [a] potter, tempering soft earth, fashioneth every vessel with much labour for our service: yea, of [a] Rom. 9. 21.

and here apparently σπιλόω, are used like the Latin *maculo* and our "*stain*," in the sense of "smear" or "paint." Comp. Jas. iii. 6. The expression is here contemptuous. The verb belongs to later Greek, and the Attic word for a "stain" is not σπῖλος, but κηλίς. (Comp. xiii. 14; Lobeck, 'Phrynichus,' p. 28.)

the painter's fruitless labour.] The painting of idols was an art more highly developed in Egypt than in any other country. Σκιαγράφος, here used generally, properly means "a perspective painter," "one who paints lights and shadows"—an art first practised by the painter Apollodorus. The painter's skill is "fruitless," because it is, in the writer's view, cursed and doomed to destruction. His feelings towards the most incomparable statue of Pagan worship would have been like those of Pope Adrian VI. He regarded them solely as *idola*. We find throughout the passage the Jewish hatred of heathen σεβάσματα (Acts xvii. 23) transferred to the arts of painting and sculpture, which were chiefly devoted to their production. It is in this matter that we see the most marked contrast between Hebraism and Hellenism. The antithesis is sharply seen in M. Renan's remarks on the preaching of St. Paul at Athens.

5. *whereof.*] *I.e.*, of these painted images.

enticeth fools to lust after it.] Marg., "turneth a reproach (reading ὄνειδος) to the foolish." Vulg., *insensato dat concupiscentiam.* Lit., "comes to longing to a fool," *i.e.* when an infatuated worshipper gazes on a beautiful statue, his admiration ends in (comes to, *cedit in*) a *desire* after it. The meaning is defined in the next clause, "and he yearns for the unbreathing beauty of a dead image." Ὄρεξις means "appetency" or "vehement desire" (xiv. 2; Ecclus. xix. 20). In the N. T. it occurs only (and exactly in this sense) in Rom. i. 27. The writer is alluding to the insensate passion of such ἄφρονες as Pygmalion, who fell in love with the statue of the Cyprian Venus, and the youth mentioned by Posidippus, who insanely loved the statue of the Cnidian Venus (Arnob. 'adv. Natt.' vi. 22). Lucian alludes to similar aberrations, and the like story is told of a French maiden who pined away for the Apollo Belvedere, as being

"Too fair to worship, too divine to love."

The elaboration of the writer's style here betrays itself by such (imperfect) iambic rhythms as

ὧν ὕψις ἄφρονι εἰς ὄρεξιν ἔρχεται,

and

ποθεῖ τε νεκρᾶς εἰκόνος,

and

κακῶν ἐράσται.

We find a similar phenomenon in Heb. xii. 13, 14; Jas. i. 17.

6. *Both they that make them.*] The instance of guilty infatuation mentioned in the last verse prepares the way for this denunciation.

lovers of evil things.] The word ἐραστὴς is here used in its worst sense. The same reproach is more mildly indicated in the ἀφιλάγαθοι (Theophylact, ἐχθροὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ) of 2 Tim. iii. 3. The thought is also expressed by St. Paul in Rom. i. 32.

worthy to have such things to trust upon.] They are worthy of such vain and vile hopes as those inspired by a passion for dead statues.

7. *For the potter.*] Rather, "For, indeed, a potter" (καὶ γάρ, *etenim*). The "potter"—here contemptuously used to include a sculptor in clay—is chosen as a special illustration of the vanity and vileness of the makers and worshippers of idols. In xiii. 10–16 he has spoken of gods of gold, silver, and wood, and has held up the carpenter to contempt who fashions a gnarled and refuse clump of wood into a god. His denunciation of the "potter" and his clay goods in this and the following verses (7–13) is far more fierce, and there is something curious in the vehemence with which the makers of these particular images are overwhelmed with scorn and abhorrence. They are charged with peculiar futility (8), with dishonesty (9), with worthlessness (10), with godlessness (11), with folly and greed (12), and with conscious hypocrisy (13). This concentration of hatred against this class of idol-makers perhaps arises from their being a large community in Egypt; from the seductive beauty which could be given by their skill to dead images; and from the writer's strange assumption that the makers of painted clay idols must be more consciously insincere than the makers of wooden idols.

tempering soft earth.] The choice of words, "kneading friable clay," seems to be intended to excite contempt from the first.

with much labour.] Vulg., *laboriose*, re-

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the same clay he maketh both the vessels that serve for clean uses, and likewise also all such as serve to the contrary: but what is the use of either sort, the potter himself is the judge.

8 And employing his labours lewdly, he maketh a vain god of the same clay, even he which a little before was made of earth himself, and within a little while after returneth to the same, out of the which he was taken, when his [b] life which was lent him shall be demanded.

9 Notwithstanding his care is, not that he shall [‖] have much labour, nor that his life is short: but striveth to excel goldsmiths and silversmiths, and endeavoureth to do like the workers in brass, and counteth it his glory to make counterfeit things.

10 His heart is ashes, his hope is more vile than earth, and his life of less value than clay:

11 Forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and him that inspired into him an active soul, and [c] breathed in a living spirit.

[b] Luke 12. 20.

[‖] Or, *be sick*, or, *die*.

[c] Gen. 2. 7.

garding ἐπίμοχθον as an adverb. Another way of taking it is "working troublesome earth into softness," regarding ἀπαλήν as a proleptic adjective.

for clean uses.] Rom. ix. 21.

the potter.] Not, as before, κεραμεύς, but πηλουργός, "clay-worker."

8. *employing his labours lewdly.*] Rather, "with misdirected toil." The word κακόμοχθος, "ill-labouring," occurs here only.

was made of earth.] Gen. ii. 7.

returneth to the same.] Gen. iii. 19.

when his life which was lent him shall be demanded.] Lit., "on being demanded for the debt of his life." Life is a debt due to God: all men are, as it were, under short reprieve of a capital sentence passed upon our race.

"Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu."

The same verb (ἀπαιτηθείς) occurs in Luke xii. 20. "This night they require (ἀπαιτοῦσι) thy life of thee." "Repetitur anima, non interimitur" (Ambros. 'De bono mortis,' 10). Plutarch also calls life "a debt" (χρέος).

9. *his care is, not that he shall have much labour.*] Rather, "it is an anxiety to him, not that he is about to die." Κάμνειν means first "to be weary;" then "to fall sick," "to die." (Καμών, "dead," iv. 16.)

short.] βραχυτελής, "swiftly-ending," formed on the analogy of εὐτελής, occurs here only.

striveth to excel.] The potter emulates or matches his art against goldsmiths, &c., by gilding his clay idols, when he ought to be bearing in mind that he shall himself soon return to the clay of which he is made.

endeavoureth to do like.] "Imitates."

counterfeit things.] In the Egyptian tombs have been found many scarabaei and idols made of clay, but gilded, bronzed, and covered with a vitrified coating. Images of this kind excited the anger of the writer from their attempt to deceive the eye. They are not only idols, but base shams, and yet the artist of them glories in the things for which he ought to blush. The writer seems to assume that the idol-maker is, in every sense of the word, a cheat, who laughs in his sleeve at his own dupes. We can, however, hardly suppose that these imitations were sold as genuine. See Wilkinson, 'Anc. Egypt.' ii. 148.

10. *His heart is ashes.*] This fine expression is borrowed from the LXX. Is. xliv. 20, "He feedeth on (Heb. *followeth after*) ashes" (LXX. γνῶθι ὅτι σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν), because "there is a lie in his right hand." This quotation proves that the Book of Wisdom is later than the LXX. Compare—

> "No heart have you, or such
> As fancies, like to vermin in the nut,
> *Have fretted all to dust* and bitterness."
> TENNYSON, *The Princess.*

> "There's many a white hand holds an urn
> With lovers' hearts *to dust consumed*."
> ANON.

his hope is more vile than earth.] Such a man "has no hope," since he is "without God in the world" (Eph. ii. 12). St. Paul says of the heathen generally that "they have no hope." "More vile;" lit., "cheaper."

of less value.] Lit., "more dishonoured;" but as τιμὴ sometimes means "price," so ἄτιμος may mean "valueless."

11. *Forasmuch as he knew not.*] It is assumed that the ignorance is wilful; that "they *would* not have God in their knowledge," Rom. i. 28.

inspired into him.] Gen. ii. 7, LXX.

a living spirit.] The term is a mere variation for "active soul." The writer only recognises a twofold, not a tripartite nature of man—namely, body and soul: see notes on

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12 But they counted our life a
Gr. *life.* pastime, and our ‖ time here a market
for gain: for, say they, we must be
getting every way, though it be by
evil means.

‖ Or, *so.* 13 ‖ For this man, that of earthly
matter maketh brickle vessels and
graven images, knoweth himself to
offend above all others.

14 And all the enemies of thy
people, that hold them in subjection,
are most foolish, and are more miser-
able than very babes.

15 For they counted all the idols
of the heathen to be gods: [d] which [d] Ps. 115
neither have the use of eyes to see, 5, 6, 7. & 135. 16, 17
nor noses to draw ‖ breath, nor ears ‖ Or, *air.*
to hear, nor fingers of hands to

i. 4; viii. 19; ix. 15. Here, and in xvi. 14, "soul" and "spirit" are used to express the same thing; as they also are in *vv.* 8, 16 of this chapter. The adj. *ζωτικὸν* is rare, but is used by Plato and by Philo ('Quod det. pot.' Opp. i. 207). The fact that the spirit is imbreathed by God (Gen. ii. 7) does not militate against the pre-existence of souls, which the writer has already implied. (See note on viii. 20.)

12. *they counted our life a pastime.*] The writer thinks that it is to treat life as a mere jest when a man made of clay by God, and by Him inspired with the breath of life, makes his own gods out of dead clay, which cannot breathe. A fine old gem represents Prometheus making a man of clay, while Athena, who holds a butterfly over the skull, inspires it with life. Ζωὴ is the animal life—the "vita, *quâ* vivimus;" *βίος* is the character of our life—"vita, *quam* vivimus."

a pastime.] The serious Jew thought it disgraceful to treat life as a mere sport. What would he have said of the miserable epitaph selected by Gay for his tomb in Westminster Abbey?

"Life is a jest, and all things shew it;
I thought so once, and now I know it."

Παίγνιον. LXX. Hab. i. 10.

a market for gain.] Πανηγυρισμὸς means the celebration of a *πανήγυρις*, or public market. Lat., *mercatus*. Diogenes Laertius says that Pythagoras compared life to a Paneguris. Comp. Cic. 'Tusc. Disp.' v. 3.

"What is man
If the chief use and *market* of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more!"
SHAKSPEARE.

These idolaters, like the worldly men reproved by St. James (iv. 17), acted as though life were meant for no other purpose than to buy and sell and get gain.

every way.] *ὅθεν δή.* Vulg., *undecumque.* "From any source whatever."

though it be by evil means.] "Even should it be from crime."

"Lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet."
JUV. *Sat.* xiv. 204 (SUET. *Vesp.* 23).

"Non quare et unde; quid habeas tantum rogant."—SENEC. *Ep.* 115.

"Rem facias rem
Si possis recte; si non quocunque modo rem."
HOR. *Ep.* i. 65.

The "potter," apart from his greed and cheating, is supposed to be well aware that his gods are shams, really as well as commercially. He does not himself believe in them (xiv. 29), but knows them to be vanities (Acts xiv. 15).

13. *For.*] The verse gives the reason for charging the potter with avaricious hypocrisy.

brickle.] *εὔθραυστα*, a late Greek word. "Brickle" is the older form of "brittle."

"The altar on the which this image staid,
Was, oh great pity! built of brickle clay."
SPENSER, *Ruins of Time.*

graven images.] Vulg., *sculptilia.* "Idols" in general. See note on xiv. 15.

14. *And all.*] Rather, "but all." The hypocritical and dishonest potter is the worst, but all the idolatrous enemies of God's people are utterly foolish.

that hold them in subjection.] The special reference may be to the Egyptians or Romans. The writer is never particularly careful about the verisimilitude of his pseudonymic style. No enemies lorded it over Israel in Solomon's day.

15. *all.*] Rather, "even all." Not content with their own national idols, they were eclectic, and tolerated the cult of all other idols. The remark especially applies to the Romans of the imperial epoch, who made room for all kinds of foreign idolatries—even for *semi-deos canes*, like Anubis—in Rome (Lucan, 'Pharsal.' viii. 83). The allusion cannot, however, be regarded as decisive, for Alexander the Great was no less tolerant, and, according to Arrian ('Exped. Alex.' iii. 1), built temples to the gods of Egypt. Paganism has often been praised, and favourably contrasted with Christianity, because of its tolerance; but this tolerance rose only from politic limitations, and the lack of depth and intensity among Polytheists. Wherever a new religion clashed with popular custom or

handle; and as for their feet, they are slow to go.

16 For man made them, and he that borrowed his own spirit fashioned them: but no man can make a god like unto himself.

17 For being mortal, he worketh
e ch. 13. 10, 18. e a dead thing with wicked hands: for he himself is better than the things which he worshippeth: whereas he lived *once*, but they never.

18 Yea, they worshipped those beasts also that are most hateful: for being compared together, some are worse than others.

19 Neither are they beautiful, so much as to be desired in respect of beasts: but they went without the praise of God and his blessing.

CHAPTER XVI.

2 *God gave strange meat to his people, to stir up their appetite, and vile beasts to their enemies, to take it from them.* 5 *He stung with his serpents,* 12 *but soon healed them by his word only.* 17 *The creatures altered their nature to pleasure God's people, and to offend their enemies.*

civil order, Pagans became the most ruthless persecutors.

the use of eyes, &c.] Ps. cxv. 4-7; cxxxv. 15–17.

16. *he that borrowed his own spirit.*] He whose own life is, as has been already said, *in debt* (*v.* 8). Eccles. viii. 8, "There is no man that hath power over the Spirit to retain the Spirit."

but no man.] Rather, "for no man." A second reason is here given for the worthlessness of idols. 1. Man seeing that his own life is "borrowed," cannot give them life. 2. He cannot even make them like himself, seeing that he is alive and they are dead: much less can he make them like God. The living workman is incomparably superior to his own dead work: how much superior must God be who gave the workman life! It will be seen that the writer does not even deign to notice the plea for idolatry founded on the purely symbolic character of the idols. See Philo, 'De Decal.' 14.

18. *they worshipped.*] Rather, "they worship." In these two verses he again touches on animal-worship, which serves as a transition to the concluding section of the book.

that are most hateful.] Such as serpents, crocodiles, reptiles, which the Egyptians worshipped (xii. 24), as well as the lion, the kite, the ibis (Philo, 'De Vit. contempl.' i.; Opp. ii. 472).

some are worse than others.] The A. V. here adopts the reading ἔνια, "some," which has no MS. authority, but is a conjecture of Junius. The reading ἄνοια gives no sense. By reading ἀνοίᾳ we might render it, "For *in senselessness*, being compared together, they (these beasts) are worse than others." Grimm, arguing that the serpent cannot be called "senseless" (Gen. iii. 1), suggests the reading ἀνίᾳ, "in malignity," unless ἀνοίᾳ be taken in something of the same sense, "in fury" (comp. Luke vi. 11).

19. *so much as to be desired in respect of beasts.*] This rendering is somewhat obscure. The meaning is, "Nor do these (most hateful creatures) chance to be beautiful, so that, in comparison even with other animals, men should yearn towards them." Their hideousness extinguishes the excuse that there is in them any special charm which might have led to idolatry. For the meaning of ἐν ὄψει, comp. vii. 9, ἐν ὄψει αὐτῆς, "in respect of her." The meaning of ὡς ἐν ζώων ὄψει might, however, be "as far as the appearance of animals is concerned."

they went without the praise of God and his blessing.] An allusion to God's pronouncing all things very good (Gen. i. 21, 22, 25), a blessing from which the writer supposes the serpent and reptiles in general to be exempted (Gen. iii. 14), though in reality the serpent was only cursed *after* the Fall.

XVI.–XIX. — Contrast between the Fortunes of the Israelites and Egyptians in the Days of the Exodus.

The animal-worshippers were punished by means of animals, which paralysed even the sense of hunger, while quails were granted to the Israelites (1–4). The Israelites were indeed bitten by serpents, but only for a short time, and were speedily saved,—partly as a warning to themselves, and partly to convince the Egyptians, who perished by the bites of contemptible insects (5–14). The Egyptians were punished by fire, which prevailed over water to destroy their food, and yet did not burn up the creatures which plagued them (15–20); whereas for the Israelites the ice-like manna resisted flame, and, when melted by the morning sunbeam, only served to remind them of the care of Providence and the duty of prayer (21–29).

In these chapters the writer reverts to thoughts on which he has touched in xi. 5–16, but from which he diverged to speak of the punishment of the Canaanites (xii.), and of the guilt and folly of idolatry (xiii., xiv.,

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[a] ch. 12. 23.

[b] Numb. 21. 6. ch. 11. 15, 16.

THEREFORE [a] by the like were they punished worthily, and by the multitude of beasts [b] tormented.

2 Instead of which punishment, dealing graciously with thine own people, thou preparedst for them meat of a strange taste, even [c] quails to stir up their appetite: [c] Numb. 11. 31.

3 To the end that they, desiring food, might for the ugly sight of the beasts sent among them loathe even that, which they must needs desire; but these, suffering penury for a short

xv.). In the three elaborate chapters which follow, he mainly aims at the illustration of two religious lessons which he deduces from Scripture-history: viz. 1. That the Israelites were blessed by the same things wherewith their enemies were punished (xi. 5; xviii. 8); and 2. That "wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished" (xi. 16). Both principles, as treated by the writer, have only a partial and one-sided truth. The first is supported, not by Scripture, but only by distorted and exaggerated inferences from special passages of Scripture, which must be counterbalanced by other passages of a different tone; the second, though only cursorily noticed in Scripture, rests indeed on a basis of experience, but is illustrated by the most fantastic analogies. In the method of treatment we at once feel that we are in the region of fancy, of Jewish particularism, and of Rabbinic Hagadoth. In these chapters, in spite of a certain kind of eloquence, the writer is, on the whole, at his worst. He has flashes of lofty thought, and a copious outpouring of eloquent verbiage; but, here more than ever, we realise the depth of the chasm which separates the canonical books of Scripture from even the best of the Apocryphal writings.

CHAPTER XVI.

1–14. The worshippers of beasts and the children of God; their contrasted fortunes—as regards hunger and thirst.

1. *Therefore.*] Because of this worship of hateful animals (xv. 18, 19).

by the like.] See notes on xi. 5, 15, 16.

worthily.] As they deserved.

by the multitude.] Rather, "by *a* multitude."

of beasts.] κνωδάλων (not, as before, θηρίων). Κνώδαλον was properly used of a "sea monster." See xi. 16.

2. *dealing graciously with thine own people.*] This is a direct contradiction of Scripture, which always represents the giving of the quails as a *punishment* sent in anger (Ex. xvi. 1–13; Num. xi. 10–35), and issuing in the great plague of Kibroth Hattaavah (Deut. ix. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 27–31).

meat of a strange taste.] xix. 12. The writer is either giving the reins to his fancy, or following some Jewish legend.

even quails.] The word used for "quails" is ὀρτυγομήτρα, as in the LXX. (Heb. שְׂלָו; Ex. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 31, &c.) The Latins used the name King-quail (*Roi des Cailles, Re di Quaghe, Wachtel-König*) for the larger and darker species, which is supposed to be indicated (Plin. 'H. N.' x. 23; Arist. 'Hist. Animal.' viii. 12. See Rosenmüller, 'Schol.' on Ex. *l. c.*, and Bochart, 'Hierozoicon,' P. II., lib. i. c. 14). Properly speaking, the *ortygometra* seems to mean the land-rail (*Crex Rallus*), which precedes the quail in its migrations. Hesychius says, Ὀρτυγομήτρα, ὄρτυξ ὑπερμεγέθης.

to stir up their appetite.] This would have been a motive most unworthy to be ascribed to God, and as alien from anything in Scripture as the Rabbinic notion of the Messianic Age in which Jews are to be fed with the flesh of Leviathan and the bird Bar Juchne. The translation, however, is not quite correct. The words mean "to content (εἰς) the eagerness of their appetency," *i.e.* to furnish them with delicacies, while the Egyptians were forced to loathe their food even amid the cravings of hunger (*v.* 3).

3. *they.*] The Egyptians. God gives quails to the Israelites to meet the desire (ἐπιθυμία) of their daintiness; but when the Egyptians desire (ἐπιθυμοῦντες) even ordinary food, their necessary craving is robbed of gratification by their disgust at the loathsome creatures which were sent to punish them.

the ugly sight.] εἰδέχθειαν. The substantive is peculiar to this author, though εἰδεχθής, "hideous," is found in Polybius, and later Greek writers.

of the beasts sent among them.] Lit., "of things sent against them."

loathe even that which they must needs desire.] Lit., "turn away from even the necessary craving;" *i.e.* forego the satisfaction of their hunger out of sheer disgust. An exaggerated allusion to the fact that the plague of frogs invaded even the ovens and kneading-troughs of the Egyptians (Ex. viii. 3).

suffering penury.] Rather, "lacking" (food).

space, might be made partakers of a strange taste.

4 For it was requisite, that upon them exercising tyranny should come penury, which they could not avoid: but to these it should only be shewed how their enemies were tormented.

5 For when the horrible fierceness of beasts came upon ‖ these, and they perished with the [d] stings of crooked serpents, thy wrath endured not for ever:

6 But they were troubled for a small season, that they might be admonished, having [e] a sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law.

7 For he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all.

8 And in this thou madest thine enemies confess, that it is thou who deliverest from all evil:

9 For [f] them the bitings of grasshoppers and flies killed, neither was

‖ Or, *thy people.*
[d] Numb. 21. 6. 1 Cor. 10. 9.
[e] Numb. 21. 9.
[f] Exod. 8. 24. & 10. 4. Rev. 9. 3 &c.

of a strange taste.] As far as the writer's language is concerned, he seems to imply that the hunger of the Israelites in the desert was mainly intended to enhance their enjoyment of the quails. Even if we make allowance for incautious expressions, behind which probably lay a worthier meaning, all that he says about the quails is very different from what is said in the Pentateuch.

4. *penury which they could not avoid.*] "Inexorable want."

but to these.] The Israelites.

it should only be shewed how their enemies were tormented.] Their hunger in the desert, so soon removed and so exquisitely gratified, only served (the writer says) to shew them how severe were the torments of their enemies. Ἐβασανίζοντο; lit., "were being tormented." This might imply that the two events were contemporaneous, but the writer rather seems to mean that the Plagues of Egypt had not been entirely removed, and were still tormenting the Egyptians after the Exodus. Nothing but the pride and ruthlessness which so often mark the allusions of Jews to their enemies, can explain the unworthy conception that God meant to teach the Israelites to congratulate themselves by gloating over the agony of their former oppressors. The author is here at his worst and lowest point of crude particularism. "Ici," says Reuss, "la chose est positivement travestie."

5–14. The different objects with which God sent the fiery serpents against the Israelites, and the insect-plagues upon the Egyptians.

5. *of beasts.*] The fiery serpents. Num. xxi. 6.

upon these.] The Israelites.

they perished.] "They were being destroyed."

crooked serpents.] A phrase borrowed from the LXX. Is. xxvii. 1.

for ever.] Lit., "to the end." This accounts for the previous imperfect, διεφθείροντο. Comp. xviii. 21, "but the wrath endured not long" (ἐπὶ πολύ); and xix. 1, where it is said that wrath did come on the ungodly unto the end (μεχρὶ τέλους). In 1 Thess. ii. 16, St. Paul says that the wrath had come (ἔφθασεν) on the Jews to the uttermost (εἰς τέλος).

6. *that they might be admonished.*] xi. 10. It is assumed throughout that the *Egyptians* were too far gone for admonition, and needed unmitigated punishment.

a sign of salvation.] The brazen serpent, Num. xxi. 8.

to put them in remembrance.] That this was the object of the brazen serpent is not stated by Moses; but the author means the εἰς ἀνάμνησιν to apply to the whole event, and not only to the means by which the Israelites were saved (see *v.* 11). Philo, as usual, allegorises, and treats the brazen serpent as an image of sober-mindedness (σωφροσύνη) and endurance (καρτερία). 'De agric.' § 22; 'Legg. Allegg.' ii. 20.

7. *was not saved by the thing that he saw.*] The writer wished to obviate the error of supposing that the brazen serpent had any *magical* influence, or that it had any of the intrinsic power which had led the Jews to offer incense to it in the days of Hezekiah. To Pseudo-Solomon as to Hezekiah, it was in itself merely Nehushtan, "a piece of brass."

the Saviour of all.] Without the most absolute self-contradiction, the writer cannot mean to express any final triumph of Universal Mercy. The phrase must mean "the source of all salvation."

8. *madest . . . confess.*] Lit., "didst persuade." Here, as in xi. 13, he assumes that the Egyptians were aware of all that happened to the Israelites. Scripture makes no allusion to the subject, unless we can stretch Num. xiv. 13 to imply something of the kind.

9. *For them.*] The Egyptians.

the bitings of grasshoppers and flies killed.

there found any remedy for their life: for they were worthy to be punished by such.

10 But thy sons not the very teeth of venomous dragons overcame: for thy mercy was *ever* by them, and healed them.

‖ Gr. *stung.*

11 For they were ‖pricked, that they should remember thy words; and were quickly saved, that not falling into deep forgetfulness, they might be ‖continually mindful of thy goodness.

‖ Or, *never drawn from.*

12 For it was neither herb, nor mollifying plaister, that restored them to health: but thy word, O Lord, which healeth all things.

13 For thou hast power of life and death: thou [g] leadest to the gates of hell, and bringest up again.

[g] Deut. 32. 39. 1 Sam. 2. 6. Ps. 105. Tobit 13. 2.

14 A man indeed killeth through his malice: and the spirit, when it is gone forth, returneth not; neither the soul received up cometh again.

15 But it is not possible to escape thine hand.

16 [h] For the ungodly, [i] that denied to know thee, were scourged by the strength of thine arm: with strange rains, hails, and showers, were they persecuted, that they could not avoid, and through fire were they consumed.

[h] Exod. 9 23. [i] Exod. 5 2.

17 For, which is most to be won-

This is an exaggerated inference from "this death" in Ex. x. 17. Comp. Jos. 'Antt.' II. xiv. § 3; Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' i. 19.

they were worthy.] They deserved to be so punished. It may be so; but this language of exultation over the torments of enemies does not waken our sympathy.

by such.] The word "such things" is often contemptuous. Comp. John viii. 5, "Moses commanded in the law that *such*" (τὰς τοιαύτας, "such as she") "should be stoned." "*Such*" (lit. "these things," ταῦτα) "were some of you," 1 Cor. vi. 11.

> "And never shall in friendship's grasp
> The hand of *such* as Marmion clasp."
> SCOTT.

10. *was ever by them.*] Rather, "came forth to meet them" (ἀντιπαρῆλθε).

11. *they were pricked.*] By the poison-fangs of the fiery serpents. The verb ἐγκεντρίζειν properly means "to engraft" (Rom. xi. 17, &c.), and is here used incorrectly for ἐγκεντροῦν.

thy words.] Rather, "thy oracles" (λογίων). The diminutive perhaps came, as Grimm suggests, from the brevity of the ancient oracles. The term is applied to Scripture in Acts viii. 38.

quickly.] ὀξέως has this meaning at iii. 18; or we might suppose that it here meant "sharply," "by a sharp remedy."

forgetfulness.] Namely, of God's law.

continually mindful of.] Lit., "undistracted from," *i.e.* indissolubly attached to. Compare the use of ἀπερισπάστως, 1 Cor. vii. 35; περιεσπᾶτο, Lk. x. 40.

12. *thy word.*] To give Logos the Philonian and semi-personal sense here is a perversion against which warning has to be given almost as often as the word Logos occurs. Compare *vv.* 7, 10, 26.

13. *For thou hast power.*] This is the reason why nothing but God's word could have healed them.

thou leadest to the gates of hell.] That is, to the verge of death (Ps. xlix. 16). Comp. 3 Macc. v. 51.

bringest up again.] God can both slay and restore to life; whereas, as the next verse says, man can only kill.

14. *the spirit.*] The meaning is much the same whether the writer here means "the breath" or "the living principle." But that the latter is here meant is shewn by the contrast with ψυχὴ as in xv. 11.

neither the soul received up cometh again.] The true reading is ψυχὴν παραληφθεῖσαν, "nor does he deliver the soul received (into the unseen world)."

15–29. The different ways in which the element of fire was employed by God in the case of the Egyptians and of the Israelites.

15. *But . . . thine hand.*] The substance of this and the previous verse is repeated in Tobit xiii. i. 2: "Blessed be God . . . for he leads down to Hades . . . and he brings up from the great destruction, and there is nothing which shall escape his hand."

16. *that denied to know thee.*] The Egyptians (xii. 27).

with strange rains, hails, and showers.] "Strange" (as in *v.* 3) because they were abnormal in character and violence. Ὑετὸς is more continuous rain than ὄμβρος. In these verses (16–19) the Mosaic narrative of Ex. ix. 22–25 is almost grotesquely distorted and exaggerated.

that they could not avoid.] Lit., "inexorable," *i.e.* inevitable, as in *v.* 4.

dered at, [k] the fire had more force in the water, that quencheth all things: for the world [l] fighteth for the righteous.

18 For some time the flame was mitigated, that it might not burn up the beasts that were sent against the ungodly; but themselves might see and perceive that they were persecuted with the judgment of God.

19 And at another time it burneth even in the midst of water above the power of fire, that it might destroy the fruits of an unjust land.

20 [m] Instead whereof thou feddest thine own people with angels' food, and didst send them from heaven bread prepared without their labour, able to content every man's delight, and agreeing to every taste.

[k] ch. 19. 20.

[l] Judg. 5. 20. See ver. 24.

[m] Exod. 16. 14. Numb. 11. 7. Ps. 78. 25. John 6. 31

17. *For which is most to be wondered at.*] These three verses are an expansion of "fire mingled with the hail" in Ex. ix. 24, which is rendered in the LXX. ἦν . . . τὸ πῦρ φλογίζον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ. The phenomenon intended to be described by the Hebrew expression (which literally means "there was fire taking-hold-of-itself — conglomerated — in the midst of the hail") is the electric phenomenon known as St. Elmo's fire — balls of fire which, as sometimes happens in violent storms, fell amid the hailstorm. Such, at least, is the explanation of אֵשׁ מִתְלַקַּחַת given by Gesenius and De Wette. In itself the phenomenon is natural, not miraculous; *i.e.* it must be reckoned among normal and recurrent phenomena, since the mixture of hail and lightning is one of the commonest results of electrical disturbance. God made use of the ordinary laws of nature in a special manner. Moses gives no sanction for the comments of the writer, which are more than mere poetic expressions, like those of Aeschylus (Ag. 631):

> *συνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν*
> *πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην.*

Or Milton's:

> "The clouds
> From many a horrid rift abortive poured
> Fierce rain with lightning mixed, water with fire
> In ruin reconciled."—*Par. Reg.* iv. 410.

the world fighteth for the righteous.] See *v.* 24 and v. 17.

18. *that it might not burn up the beasts.*] The writer speaks as though the plagues of locusts, flies, lice, and storm were all contemporaneous. There is no scriptural warrant for his remarks. In Ex. viii. 13, 31, we are expressly told that the frogs and flies had died before the hail came. Yet the meaning of the writer is clear, for in xix. 21 he grotesquely asserts that the frogs, flies, &c., lived and walked uninjured in the flames. He cannot therefore be here referring to the frogs being found in the Egyptian ovens (Ex. viii. 3).

might see and perceive.] βλέποντες ἴδωσιν. When used together, βλέπω refers to physical sight, and ὁρῶ to mental insight.

they were persecuted.] Lit., "they are being driven" (ἐλαύνονται). The word is often used of divine judgments.

19. *in the midst of water.*] The writer heaps miracles on miracles: the rain did not quench the fire, the fire did not burn the insect-swarms. "*Miracula non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem.*"

above the power of fire.] It is supposed to be supernatural fire, as in xix. 20. Philo has the same notion in 'Vit. Mos.' i. 20. Both writers are following the Jewish Hagadists; but what Pseudo-Solomon here says does not well accord with the wiser remarks which he has made in xi. 17–26.

the fruits.] γεννήματα, all the products of the soil. Comp. *v.* 22 and Ps. cv. 35.

20. *Instead whereof.*] Instead of this destruction of food by hail and fire.

thou feddest.] ἐψωμίσας. The verb here governs two accusatives. It properly means "I dole" (1 Cor. xiii. 3), but is used by the LXX. in Num. xi. 4, 18; Deut. viii. 3, &c., to describe the supply of manna. It is applicable to the gift of manna, which was small, like grains of coriander seed (Num. xi. 16); "a small round thing, as small as the hoar-frost on the ground" (Ex. xvi. 14).

angels' food.] Comp. LXX. Ps. lxxviii. 25. In the Hebrew the phrase thus rendered is לֶחֶם אַבִּירִים, "bread of the mighty," *i.e.* of "angels, that excel in strength" (Ps. ciii. 20). Being "bread from heaven" (Ps. cv. 40; Ex. xvi. 4), it is called "ambrosial food" in xix. 21, and "spiritual food" in 1 Cor. x. 3.

prepared without their labour.] It is better to join the adverb ἀκοπιάτως with the verb, "Thou sentest them unweariedly." The manna does not seem to have been eaten as it was found, but was baked and made into cakes (Num. xi. 8).

able to content every man's delight.] Vulg., *omne delectamentum in se habentem* (perhaps reading ἴσχοντα). If ἰσχύοντα πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν means "mastering every pleasure," the

21 For thy [n] ‖ sustenance declared thy sweetness unto thy children, and serving to the appetite of the eater, ‖ tempered itself to every man's liking.

22 [o] But snow and ice endured the fire, and melted not, that they might know that fire burning in the hail, and sparkling in the rain, did destroy the fruits of the enemies.

23 But this again did even forget his own strength, that the righteous might be nourished.

24 For [p] the creature that serveth thee, who art the Maker, increaseth his strength against the unrighteous

[n] Judg. 6. 4.
‖ Or, *manna.*
‖ Or, *was tempered.*
[o] ch. 19. 21.
[p] ch. 19. 6

construction is very unusual; for when ἰσχύω is used in this active sense, it is generally followed by πρός, ἐπί, or ὑπέρ (LXX. Ps. xii. 5; 1 Macc. x. 49, &c.). But it is harsh to make πᾶσαν ἡδονήν an "accusative of the nearer meaning," and to render the words "strong as regards every pleasure."

agreeing to every taste.] The Mosaic narrative says that the manna tasted like honey-cakes (Ex. xvi. 31), or like fresh oil (Num. xi. 8). Here and in the next verse the writer follows the Jewish legends, which said that the manna tasted to each eater like grapes, or figs, or whatever else he desired. The later Jewish Rabbis said similarly that the flesh of leviathan in the days of the Messiah would suit every palate.

21. *For thy sustenance.*] The manna is here called "God's *hypostasis*;" for the conjectures ὑπόσταξις, "gently-dropping dew" (Naunius), or ἀπόσταξις, "dropping from heaven" (Grabe),—though they might be supposed to refer to Ex. xvi. 4, Num. xi. 9, where the manna is said to have fallen with the dew,—are untenable. What then is the meaning of the ambiguous word ὑπόστασις in this passage? Luther and others make it mean "confidence;" but though the word has the meaning of "confidence" in 2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17, Heb. xi. 1, yet ὑπόστασίς σου could hardly mean "trust in thee." Grimm makes it mean "thy substance," not as equivalent to "thou" or to "God," but to the power of God working in the manna. It is more simple and natural to follow the A.V. in giving to the word its ordinary sense of substance, and explaining it to mean "the thing sent by thee."

thy sweetness.] The metaphor is the same as in 1 Pet. ii. 3, "if ye *tasted* that the Lord is gracious;" Ps. xxxiv. 8, "O *taste* and see that the Lord is good."

serving.] The participle is masculine, because it refers back to ἄρτος, not to ὑπόστασις.

of the eater.] τοῦ προσφερομένου. In later Greek, προσφέρεσθαι, like the vulgar term "to set to," means "to take food" (Judith xii. 9). The Vulg. renders it *uniuscujusque*, which would rather be the classic τοῦ τυχόντος.

22. *But snow and ice endured the fire.*] The expression is fantastic. By "snow and ice" are meant nothing but the manna, which Moses only *compares to* the hoar-frost (LXX., πάγος; Ex. xvi. 14), from its size and colour. In Num. xi. 7 we are told that "the colour thereof was as the colour of bdellium," which the LXX. render by εἶδος κρυστάλλου. On this very slender and insecure foundation the writer assumes in this verse, not that the manna *glittered* like snow, but that it was a kind of ice or snow. This perversion enables him to contrast the ice and snow which was delicious food to the Israelites with the hail which plagued the Egyptians. It also gives him an excuse for introducing several more miraculous elements into the narrative of the Pentateuch. Except in a certain mastery of sonorous and effective language, the writer does not appear at his best in this passage.

melted not.] With the exception noted at *v.* 27. The "fire" here alluded to is not, however, the sunlight, but the fire which the Israelites used for cooking. Out of the fact that the manna looked like hoar-frost, and was baked by the Israelites into cakes (Ex. xvi. 23; Num. xi. 8), the writer gets the miracle that ice did not melt in the fire, and that this was intended to teach the people that the fire which was miraculously ruinous to the Egyptians was miraculously beneficent to themselves.

"Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."

burning in the hail.] See *v.* 17. "Cette antithèse résume toute la tirade, et renchérit encore sur ses paradoxes" (Reuss).

23. *But this again.*] The A. V. refers τοῦτο to πῦρ. It is, however, better to put only a comma at the end of the last verse, and render "and (that they might know) this further fact, that the fire had even forgotten its proper power in order that the just might be nourished." The γνῶσιν is followed first by ὅτι (*v.* 22), and then by the acc. and infinitive.

24. *For the creature.*] That is, "the created thing," as in v. 17.

the Maker.] ὁ ποιήσας is not "the Creator"

for their punishment, and abateth his strength for the benefit of such as put their trust in thee.

25 Therefore even then was it altered into all ‖ fashions, and was obedient to thy grace, that nourisheth all things, according to the desire ‖ of them that had need:

26 That thy children, O Lord, whom thou lovest, might know, that [q] it is not the growing of fruits that nourisheth man: but that it is thy word, which preserveth them that put their trust in thee.

27 For that which was not destroyed of the fire, [r] being warmed with a little sunbeam, soon melted away:

28 That it might be known, that [s] we must prevent the sun to give thee thanks, and at the dayspring pray unto thee.

29 For the hope of the unthankful shall melt away as the winter's hoar frost, and shall run away as unprofitable water.

‖ Or, *things.*

‖ Or, *of them that prayed.*

[q] Deut. 8. 3. Matt. 4. 4.

[r] Exod. 16. 21.

[s] Ps. 88. 13.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *Why the Egyptians were punished with darkness.* 4 *The terrors of that darkness.* 11 *The terrors of an ill conscience.*

absolutely. The clause means "the created thing, serving Thee, who didst create it."

25. *Therefore.*] In accordance with the law just mentioned, viz. that created things increase and relax their force as they are needed to perform God's behests.

even then.] Then, as at other times.

was it altered.] μεταλλενομένη. There is the same apparent mistake as to the proper meaning of the word (which is "being dug"), as we have already observed at iv. 12. The writer seems to have confused μεταλλεύω, "I mine," with μεταλλάσσω, "I change."

26. *not.*] "Not so much." It is a Hebrew idiom to negative altogether the inferior alternative, so that often in Scripture οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ mean *non tam . . . quam.*

the growing of fruits.] Rather, "the kinds of fruits," i. 14.

thy word.] Deut. viii. 3: "He . . . fed thee with manna, that thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." Comp. Matt. iv. 4. In the N. T. the truth is deepened and spiritualised. The manna provided for the Israelites was a proof that God can support man by other than ordinary methods, by the utterance of His word; but for the children of the New Dispensation it symbolises the truth that the physical life is but a passing shadow in comparison with that eternal life, that life of the soul, which only comes from Him who is the Word of God.

27. *For.*] This is the proof that it is not the nature of things which supports man, but God's work which modifies their nature to His purpose.

that which was not destroyed of the fire.] The manna, *v.* 22. The force of the fire was weakened; the force of the sunbeam increased, as is indicated in *v.* 24.

melted away.] Ex. xvi. 21.

28. *must prevent the sun.*] "Prevent" is used in its old sense of "anticipate" (*prévenir*), as in Ps. cxix. 147; 1 Thess. iv. 15.

to give thee thanks.] A beautiful precept, founded on somewhat precarious exegesis. Had this been the intention of the facts mentioned by Moses, he would have hardly failed to point the lesson.

at the dayspring.] This is almost certainly the right rendering of πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φωτός. The words might of course mean "*towards the* dawn;" but to give them this meaning here would be entirely to dissever them from the context, which has no special reference. The vanishing of the manna at daybreak could not conceivably point the lesson that people ought *to face the sun* when they make their morning prayer. Hence it is a most unwarrantable inference of Eichhorn, Gfrörer, Zeller, &c., that this verse shews the writer to have been one of the Therapeutae, who adopted the Persian practice of praying towards the rising sun. (Philo, 'Vit. contempl.' Opp. ii. 475; Jos. 'B. J.' ii. 8, § 5.) All Jews regarded it as a duty to begin the day with prayer, and especially with the repeating of the *Shemâ:* "Hear, O Israel! the Lord our God is one God" (Ps. v. 3, lvii. 8; 'Berakhoth,' i. 2).

29. *the hope of the unthankful.*] Chap. v. 14, 15.

CHAPTER XVII.

The writer has contrasted the destinies of the Egyptians and Israelites, (i.) as regards hunger and thirst (xvi. 1–14); (ii.) as regards the element of fire. (iii.) He now draws out a third contrast—as regards light and darkness. (See Buddeus's 'Institt. theol. dogm.' v. 145.)

FOR great are thy judgments, and cannot be expressed: therefore ‖ unnurtured souls have erred.

2 For when unrighteous men thought to oppress the holy nation; [a] they being shut up ‖ in their houses, the prisoners of darkness, and fettered with the bonds of a long night, lay [there] ‖ exiled from the eternal providence.

3 For while they supposed to lie hid in their secret sins, they were scattered ‖ under a dark vail of forgetfulness, being horribly astonished, and troubled with [strange] ‖ apparitions.

4 For neither might the corner that held them keep them from fear: but noises [as of waters] falling down sounded about them, and sad visions

‖ Or, *souls that will not be reformed.*

[a] Exod. 10. 22.

‖ Or, *under their roofs.*

‖ Or. *fugitives.*

‖ Or, *in*

‖ Or, *sights.*

1. *great are thy judgments.*] The punishments inflicted by divine retribution (Ps. cxix. 75) are terrible.

cannot be expressed.] δυσδιήγητοι. The word, which does not occur elsewhere, means, not that they are "too great for utterance," but that they are mysterious, insoluble, difficult to explain. God's "thoughts are very deep" (Ps. xcii. 5); His "judgments unsearchable and past finding out" (Rom. xi. 33).

therefore.] From inability to unravel the secrets of the Divine Providence.

unnurtured souls.] Souls *that have not been trained* to recognise religious truths. Vulg., *indisciplinatae.*

have erred.] Rather, "erred." There is a specific allusion to the error of the Egyptians in persecuting the chosen people.

2. *unrighteous men.*] ἄνομοι. The Egyptians, who were "without the Law," and who acted in opposition to a law which they might have recognised.

the holy nation.] Rather, "*a* holy nation."

the prisoners of darkness.] Compare the almost Aeschylean expression of St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 14), σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας.

of a long night.] The plague of darkness lasted for three days.

lay.] An expression of helplessness, with an allusion to Ex. x. 23, "neither rose any from his place." Philo, no less than the writer, expands the narrative of Moses, and says that, "flung down in their beds, the Egyptians did not dare to rise, or, if forced to rise, could only grope their way along the walls like blind men" ('Vit. Mos.' i. 21).

exiled from the eternal providence.] Outlaws from God; fugitives (*i.e.* banished from the merciful care) of the eternal foresight. On the word πρόνοια, see xiv. 3. Tennyson has employed this very fine expression:

"She, mouldering with the dull earth's mouldering sod,
Inwrapt tenfold in slothful shame,
Lay there exiled from Eternal God,
Lost to her place and name."
Palace of Art.

3. *while they supposed to lie hid.*] Comp. Ps. x. 11; Is. xxix. 15; Job xxiv. 14. The darkness which they regarded as the veil of their secret orgies (xiv. 23) became their worst punishment. The English construction "supposed to lie hid" is rare. The Geneva version has, "while they thought to be hid."

they were scattered.] ἐσκορπίσθησαν. The expression is a strange one, and not very suitable to the Egyptians huddling in their own houses during the plague of darkness; but there is not sufficient authority for the reading ἐσκοτίσθησαν, "they were darkened."

of forgetfulness.] Being banished from God's care (*v.* 2), it seemed as though they were altogether obliterated from existence, and plunged already in the world of darkness and death.

with apparitions.] The reading of the Vatican MS. is φαντάσμασιν. The better-supported reading is ἰνδάλμασιν, a rare and late word, rendered "sights" in the margin. It is omitted altogether by the Vulgate (*cum admiratione nimiâ perturbati*). Ἴνδαλμα means much the same as εἴδωλον, "a shadowy image." See LXX. Jer. l. 39. The writer perhaps supposed that the "evil angels" whom God sent among the Egyptians (Ps. lxxviii. 49) assumed these spectral forms.

4. *the corner that held them.*] Kleuk and others interpret this to imply that the Egyptians hid themselves in their pyramids and catacombs; but μυχὸς clearly means the inner chambers of their own houses, from which they could not stir (*v.* 2).

noises [as of waters] falling down.] In all that follows the writer gives the reins to his own imagination. The phrase "*noises dashing down upon them*" (comp. *v.* 18) is a bold one, but there can be little doubt that καταράσσοντες, not ἐκταράσσοντες, is the true reading. It is possible the writer understood καταράσσω—which is used of the rush of water (comp. the name Araxes), and which occurs in LXX. Hos. vii. 6 (Ps. lxxxviii. 3; ci. 10)—in the sense of κατὰ τάρασσω. In several instances he uses words in strange, and sometimes apparently in mistaken senses.

sounded about them.] Literally, "boasted

appeared unto them with heavy countenances.

5 No power of the fire might give them light: neither could the bright flames of the stars endure to lighten that horrible night.

6 Only there appeared unto them a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful: for being much terrified, they thought the things which they saw to be worse than the sight they saw not.

7 [b] As for the illusions of art magick, they were put down, and

[b] Exod. 7. 12. & 8. 7. 19. & 9. 11.

round them" (*περιεκόμπουν*). The word does not occur elsewhere.

sad visions . . . with heavy countenances.] Lit., "phantoms downcast with unsmiling faces." The words *κατηφῆ* ("dejected," "gazing downwards") and *ἀμειδήτοις* ("unsmiling") are highly poetical. Neither word occurs in the LXX. or N. T. By these "phantoms" the writer probably meant that the terrors of the Egyptians took objective form in ghostly spectres which gleamed dimly through the darkness.

5. *No power of the fire might give them light.*] This notion seems to be borrowed from Philo, who, after attributing the darkness to some unnaturally complete eclipse, or some dense agglomeration of clouds, adds that "the light of necessary domestic fire was partly quenched by the dominant surge of storm, and partly obscured by the depth of the darkness" ('Vit. Mos.' i. 21). Abn Ezra also, commenting on the fact that it was "a darkness *that might be felt*," says that no flame or light would burn in it, and gives this as a reason why "they saw not one another," Ex. xi. 23. Josephus says that the darkness was so thick that men died from inability to breathe it, and "were afraid lest they should be swallowed up by the cloud."

neither could the bright flames of the stars endure.] The notion seems to be that the stars turned away from the sight, and could not tolerate it, as the sun was said to have turned in disgust from the feast of Thyestes; or else that the supernatural darkness "strangled" their light. Josephus also ('Antt.' ii. 14, § 5) calls the darkness *φέγγους ἄμοιρον*.

that horrible night.] *στυγνὴν*, properly "frowning," and then, metaphorically, gloomy and menacing. Comp. Matt. xvi. 3.

6. *Only there appeared unto them.*] The fire of earth and the stars of heaven gave no light; yet the Egyptians had a light which made the darkness visible, partly in the glimmering spectres which flitted around them (*v.* 4), and partly in a supernatural globe of flame, which "*kept gleaming through* the darkness" to them (*διεφαίνετο*).

a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful.] Lit., "a spontaneous pyre, full of dreadfulness." Πυρὰ properly means "a pyre," but in late Greek is sometimes used for "a flame," or "mass of fire" (2 Macc. i. 22; Judith vii. 5). It is called "spontaneous" or "self-kindled," because it had no ostensible cause.

being much terrified.] There are various ways of rendering and explaining this clause. The A. V. makes *τῆς . . . ὄψεως* a genitive governed by *χείρω*. It might also be taken as a genitive absolute (Grimm), or as a genitive governed by *ἐκδειματούμενοι*, as in the Vulgate version. The rhythm of the writer seems to point to the latter construction: "but being utterly terrified by the sight which they saw not." "The sight which they saw not" is a sort of oxymoron, and apparently means the wandering self-enkindled flame. It does not, however, mean that this flame-globe had no existence except in the terrified imaginations of the Egyptians, but that they only saw its flashes and coruscations here and there, not the fire itself. Throughout the chapter the writer becomes obscure from want of simplicity and over-elaboration of style. His literary effects are produced, not by the unifying touch of genuine imagination, which concentrates a living picture into one word or one line, but by aggregation of vague separate details. On the other hand, it may perhaps be said that there is a sense of horror inspired by the very vagueness of the things described.

they thought the things which they saw to be worse.] Either "worse than they really were;" or, "worse than they would have done if the vision of wandering flame could have been more distinctly gazed upon." The form of expression is too obscure to be understood with certainty. The meaning apparently is that the Egyptians were so affrighted that they took the gleams and flashes which they saw flitting about through the darkness to be more portentous because of their lurid indistinctness; and thus were utterly terrified by the flame from which those flashes proceeded, but which they could not see. Another explanation is, that in their terror at the invisible objects, they took *natural objects* (*τὰ βλεπόμενα*) to be worse than they were. Shakspeare says—

> "Or in the night, imagining some fear,
> How easy is a bush supposed a bear."

7. *As for the illusions of art magick, they were put down.*] The meaning is that the

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their vaunting in wisdom was reproved with disgrace.

8 For they, that promised to drive away terrors and troubles from a sick soul, were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at.

9 For though no terrible thing did fear them; yet being scared with beasts that passed by, and hissing of serpents,

10 They died for fear, ‖ denying that they saw the air, which could of no side be avoided.

‖ Or, refusing to look upon.

11 For wickedness, condemned by her own witness, is very timorous, and being pressed with con-

old "mockeries" and "lying miracles" were laid low by the failure of the Egyptian magicians either to produce or to get rid of these ghastly spectres. "And the magicians did so with their enchantments . . . but could not" (Ex. viii. 18).

was reproved.] Lit., "and ignominious was the rebuke of their vaunting about their science." The braggart science of the sorcerers shamefully failed to meet the test.

8. *they that promised.*] The names of two of the Egyptian sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres, are traditionally preserved in 2 Tim. iii. 8.

from a sick soul.] Comp. 1 Tim. vi. 4, "doting (lit. *sick*, νοσῶν) about questions."

"Canst thou not minister to *a mind diseased?*"

The total failure of the "magicians" to relieve the troubled spirit of an earlier Pharaoh is recorded in Gen. xli. 8.

were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at.] Ἐυλαβείαν ("anxiety," Heb. v. 7) is a cognate accusative after ἐνόσουν. The emphatically repeated οὗτοι is contemptuous. Since the magicians failed in the plague of lice, the writer naturally assumes that they failed still more hopelessly during the plague of darkness.

9. *though no terrible thing did fear them.*] "Fear" is here used in its earlier sense of "frighten," as in Shakspeare's

> "Tush! tush! fear boys with bugs."
> *Timon of Athens.*

yet.] Even if there was no perturbing sight to terrify them—*i.e.* even when no aërial spectre was shining luridly through the thick darkness—they were alarmed by deadly creatures.

being scared.] This seems to be a rendering of ἐκπεφοβημένοι. The more emphatic and unusual word ἐκσεσοβημένοι (which is probably the true reading) means "being harried, or *scared from place to place.*" Ἐκσοβέω means, "I scare away a bird by saying, σοῦ σοῦ (*shoo! shoo!*)." It is here highly picturesque, as representing the Egyptians rushing through the strange midnight from the serpents and other creatures that hissed around them.

with beasts that passed by.] Lit., "with the passing-by of monsters" (κνωδάλων; see xi. 15).

hissing of serpents.] The serpents that crawled about and hissed in the darkness are created solely by the writer's imagination.

10. *They died for fear.*] Lit., "They were perishing in tremor." The phrase must not be taken literally, but merely means that "their hearts failed them for fear" (Lk. xxi. 26).

denying that they saw.] This, in classical Greek, would be ἀρνούμενοι μὴ προσιδεῖν. The marginal rendering is "refusing (even) to look upon." For this sense of ἀρνεῖσθαι, see Heb. xi. 24.

the air, which could of no side be avoided.] They would not even lift their eyes to the all-surrounding, inevitable (μηδαμόθεν φευκτὸν, "ambient and inevitable") air. Ἀὴρ is used by Homer for dark mist; and might here be rendered "mirk," were it not that the accompanying epithet seems to imply "the common, universal air," as in vii. 3.

11. *For wickedness.*] In a brief digression (11–13) he touches upon the terrors which spring from a guilty conscience.

is very timorous.] If the reading δειλὸν γὰρ ἰδίως πονηρία μαρτυρεῖ καταδικαζομένη be correct, it can only mean, "For wickedness, a thing innately timorous, bears witness to its own condemnation." (Vulg., *Cum sit enim timida nequitia dat testimonium condemnationis.*) For the construction δειλὸν πονηρία, compare vii. 24, σοφία . . . κινητικώτερον. But the simpler reading, followed by the A. V. and fairly well supported, is ἰδίῳ . . . μάρτυρι: "For wickedness, being condemned by its own witness, is a timorous thing." In either case, the thought is the same as in Tennyson's lines—

> "He that wrongs his friend
> Wrongs himself more; and *ever bears about*
> *A silent court of justice in his breast,*
> *Himself the judge and jury, and himself*
> *The prisoner at the bar, ever condemned;*
> *And that drags down his life.*"
> *Sea Dreams.*

Quinctilian quotes the proverb *Conscientia mille testes.*

being pressed.] The verb συνέχεσθαι ex-

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science, always forecasteth grievous things.

12 For fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offereth.

13 And the expectation from within, being less, counteth the ignorance more than the cause which bringeth the torment.

14 But they sleeping the same

presses the strangling anguish of intense grief, or pain, or fear (Lk. viii. 27, xii. 50; Acts xviii. 5, xxviii. 8).

with conscience.] τῇ συνειδήσει. This verse is remarkable as the earliest passage in which the word συνείδησις (*conscientia*), which is found in Euripides, 'Orest.' 396, occurs in the cycle of sacred writings to express "the principle in man by which he approves or disapproves of his heart, temper, and actions" (Bp. Butler). The Hebrews knew the *thing* and expressed it by "heart" or "spirit" (comp. 1 John iii. 19–21); but it is the glory of Greek thought to have invented the word, which frequently occurs in the N. T. (John viii. 9; Acts xxvii. 1; 2 Cor. i. 12, &c.), but not in the LXX. except in Eccles. x. 20, and that in a different sense, to represent the Hebrew מְזִמָּה, "thought." The word first occurs in sayings attributed to Periander and Bias ('ap. Stob.' p. 192, 21). See Cremer, 'Lexicon,' p. 233 (E. Tr.), and Hofmann, 'Die Lehre vom Gewissen.'

always forecasteth grievous things.] Προσείληφε can hardly have this meaning (Vulg., *praesumit*), which belongs rather to προείληφε. Προσλαμβάνειν means "to assume besides," and the verb may here imply the *multiplied* and *exaggerated* terrors of a guilty conscience. "Wickedness . . . being pressed by conscience hath ever *added* to the sum of grievous miseries." In order to save souls from "the death that cannot die," they are often made to feel

> "A vague spiritual fear,
> Like to some doubtful noise of creaking doors,
> Heard by the watcher in a haunted house,
> That keeps the rust of murder on the walls."

12. *a betraying of the succours which reason offereth.*] This curious definition of fear is probably taken from some Greek philosopher. It belongs to the Stoic notion of "apathy" and "independence." The wise and good man, the writer implies, cannot fear, because he stands superior to the influences which cause fear. Reason dominates over the sources of terror. The philosophers, followed by Clemens of Alexandria, define fear as "an *unreasonable* avoidance of evils." So Lucretius says—

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
> Quique *metus omnes* et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."

The sentiment is common in Milton—

> "These thoughts may startle well, but not astound
> The virtuous mind, which ever walks attended
> By a strong siding champion, Conscience."
> *Comus.*

> "Tanto vogl' io che vi sia manifesto
> Pur che mia coscïenza non mi garra
> Che alla fortuna, come vuol, son presto."
> DANTE, *Inf.* xv. 93.

13. *the expectation from within.*] This verse in our A. V. is very obscure. The meaning is, "And (in the case of fearful and guilty men) the expectation from within (of the succours derived from reason) being worsted (ἥττων οὖσα), reckons the ignorance (of those succours) as worse than the cause which brings the torment;" or "makes the ignorance of the cause of the torment seem greater." In other words, "The loss of reasonable hope intensifies the dread of ill-understood calamities." After προσδοκία we must understand τῶν βοηθημάτων, and it must be closely joined with οὖσα ἥττων, so as to mean "the defeated expectation of the succours of reason," *i.e.* the fact that all hope of such succours has sunk into despair. Ἥττων often has this sense of "worsted in conflict," but it might also mean "*being less than it should be.*" Τῆς . . . αἰτίας may be governed either by πλείονα or by ἄγνοιαν. If it be governed by πλείονα, we must understand τῶν βοηθημάτων after ἄγνοιαν. In any case the sentence is deficient in clearness of expression, but means much the same as *omne ignotum pro magnifico.* Fear, when deprived of the aid of reason, reckons its ignorant helplessness to be a worse calamity than that which causes its immediate trouble. It is "over-exquisite to forecast the shadow of uncertain evils." "*Les malheurs des malheurs sont ceux qui n'arrivent jamais.*" The general meaning then is that *fear*, when abandoned by reason,

> "apprehends
> More than *cool reason* ever comprehends."

There is a *paronomasia* in the use of the words προδοσία, προσδοκία.

14. *sleeping the same sleep.*] Unless the word ὕπνον be here used metaphorically for a period of enforced rest and quiet, the meaning must be that they all slept during the three days' darkness, but it was a sleep disturbed by horrid dreams and portents and phantoms.

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sleep that night, ‖ which was indeed intolerable, and which came upon them out of the bottoms of inevitable hell,

‖ Or, *wherein they could do nothing.*

15 Were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions, and partly fainted, their heart failing them: for a sudden fear, and not looked for, came upon them.

16 So then whosoever there fell down was straitly kept, shut up in a prison without iron bars.

17 For whether he were husbandman, or shepherd, or a labourer in the ‖ field, he was overtaken, and endured that necessity, which could not be avoided: for they were all bound with one chain of darkness.

‖ Or, *desert.*

18 Whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, or a pleasing fall of water running violently,

19 Or a ‖ terrible sound of stones

‖ Or, *hideous.*

that night, which was indeed intolerable.] Lit., "during that really *impossible* (or powerless) night." Our A. V. understands ἀδύνατον to mean either "intolerable" (understanding the word τλῆναι, "impossible to endure"), or (marg.) "wherein they could do nothing." The Vulg. renders it "*impotentem*," and perhaps the word implies that the night was *in itself* powerless, but derived its terrors from the prodigies with which it was accompanied; and again, "that really impossible night" may mean that it was a night purely miraculous, and beyond the sphere of ordinary possibility.

out of the bottoms of inevitable hell.] The darkness was not natural; it was a hell-born darkness; it came from the abysses of the grave. The word rendered "inevitable" is again ἀδυνάτος. It is omitted by the Vulgate, and we cannot follow Grotius and others, who from a single MS. adopt the reading ἀδύτου, "from the inmost shrine of the recesses of Hades" (Vulg., *ab altissimis inferis*). We can only conjecture the exact meaning of the writer in calling Hades "impossible" as well as "the night." Grimm supposes that he is alluding to his former remark, οὔτε ᾄδου βασίλειον ἐπὶ γῆς (i. 14). Possibly he meant to imply that neither "night" nor "Hades" were real entities.

15. *Were vexed.*] Lit., "were driven;" but the verb has the same sense as in xvi. 18.

fainted, their heart failing them.] Lit., "were paralysed by the betrayal (or treachery) of their soul." The imperfects are due to the writer's desire to be graphic (πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν).

came upon them.] Lit., "was poured upon them."

16. *So then.*] The A. V. does not translate the word οὕτως "thus," *i.e.* in the consternation just described. Οὕτως, like the Latin *sic*, may also mean "just as they were" (John iv. 6).

whosoever there fell down . . .] Rather, "whosoever it was, there sinking to the earth, was kept under guard, shut up into an iron-less prison."

without iron bars.] "A prison, but not of iron." The expression resembles one of the numerous oxymora used by Aeschylus (ἄπτεροι πελειάδες, πέδαι ἀχάλκευτοι, &c.). The same figure of speech is found in Isaiah xxix. 9, "drunken, but not with wine." The reverse of the conception is that

> "Strong walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage."

The soul of a prisoner may be in perfect freedom; the soul of one who is free may be hopelessly imprisoned.

17. *labourer in the field.*] Lit., "labourer of the toils in the waste," *i.e.* labourer in lonely and open places.

which could not be avoided.] δυσάλυκτον, "*difficult* to avoid," used by *meiosis* for "*impossible* to avoid."

chain.] ἁλύσει, coupling-chain.

of darkness.] Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4, 17.

18. *a whistling wind.*] There was not a single sound of nature which did not increase their alarm, even if it were naturally pleasant (Lev. xxvi. 36; Ps. liii. 5).

melodious noise of birds.] It is difficult to say whether the writer supposes that these birds sang in the darkness, like the nightingales, or whether he regards the darkness as purely *subjective*. All was dark to the Egyptians, but to all others the darkness was as clear as the day, and the breeze blew and the birds sang. If this be his conception, it is an exaggeration of the remark that "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings" (Ex. x. 23).

spreading.] ἀμφιλαφεῖς, a highly poetic word, though also used in prose. (Herod. iv. 172; Plato, 'Phaedr.' 230 B.)

a pleasing fall.] Lit., "a rhythm."

19. *terrible.*] Ἀπηνὴς means properly "cruel."

cast down, or a running that could not be seen of skipping beasts, or a roaring voice of most savage wild beasts, or a rebounding echo from the hollow mountains; these things made them to swoon for fear.

20 For the whole world shined with clear light, and none were hindered in their labour:

21 Over them only was spread an heavy night, an image of [c] that darkness which should afterward receive them: but yet were they unto themselves more grievous than the darkness.

[c] Matt. 8. 12. & 22. 31. & 25. 30. 2 Pet. 2. 17. Jude 13.

CHAPTER XVIII.

4 *Why Egypt was punished with darkness,* 5 *and with the death of their children.* 18 *They themselves saw the cause thereof.* 20 *God also plagued his own people.* 21 *By what means that plague was stayed.*

NEVERTHELESS thy saints had a very great [a] light, whose voice they hearing, and not seeing their shape, because they also had not suffered the same things, they counted them happy.

[a] Exod. 10. 23.

2 But for that they did not hurt them *now,* of whom they had been wronged before, they thanked them,

that could not be seen.] They felt the motion of the beasts as they rushed by (*v.* 9), but could not see them (*v.* 6, *τῆς μὴ θεωρουμένης ὄψεως*).

a rebounding echo.] Lit., "an echo reverberating from the hollowness of the mountains." An echo *from the mountains* must have seemed an extraordinary thing in Egypt.

made them to swoon.] *παρέλυσε* (comp. *v.* 15).

20. *the whole world.*] The writer in his own fashion again expands Ex. x. 23. The elaboration of style is marked by the metrical forms *ἀνεμποδιστοῖς, συνείχετ' ἔργοις, λαμπρῷ κατελάμπετο φωτί.*

and none were hindered in their labour.] Lit., "and it (the whole world) was busily occupied in unimpeded works." For this meaning of *συνείχετο* see Acts xviii. 5.

21. *was spread.*] Lit., "had been spread" (*ἐπετέτατο*).

receive them.] Lit., "to receive in turn" or "in succession." The darkness alluded to is "the outer darkness" (Matt. viii. 12) which awaits guilty souls.

"Forth John's soul flared *into the dark.*"
BROWNING.

unto themselves more grievous than the darkness.] So Jeremiah threatens Pashur that his name should be no more Pashur, but Magor Missabib, "terror on every side." "Behold, I will make thee *a terror to thyself,* and to all thy friends" (Jer. xx. 3, 4).

CHAPTER XVIII.

The contrast between the Egyptians and Israelites as regards light and darkness continued (1–4). Fourth contrast between the two nations, as regards the life and death of children (5–19). The Israelites did indeed suffer from death in the desert, but were speedily delivered (20–25).

1. *thy saints.*] See note on x. 15.

had a very great light.] In the land of Goshen (Ex. x. 23).

whose voice.] The cheerful sounds of life going on among the Israelites.

they.] The Egyptians. The Vulgate here follows some other reading, or else goes strangely astray, and is followed by many commentators.

and.] Rather, "but."

not seeing their shape.] It seems clear from the general tenor of the contrast that the writer conceives of the Egyptian darkness *as affecting them only,* while in the very same regions which to the Egyptians were dark the Israelites moved in light (see xvii. 18, 20).

because they also had not suffered the same things, they counted them happy.] The clause conveys no clear meaning, and has consequently been interpreted in many different ways. If the reading *οὖν* be correct, it seems to mean that "the Egyptians congratulated the Israelites because they (the Israelites) had suffered." This gives no intelligible sense; nor is the sense improved by giving to *ὅτι* the sense of "whatever;" or by distorting *ἐμακάριζον* to mean "they deemed it a happy thing." The A.V. follows the reading of the Alexandrian MS., which has *οὐ* for *οὖν.* The clause may then be intended to express the thought that the Egyptians regarded the Israelites as blessed in their *exemption* from the plague of darkness—which is perhaps the best that we can make of it.

2. *of whom they had been wronged.*] Lit., "They (the Egyptians) thank the Israelites, because, having been previously injured (by them), they (the Israelites) do not hurt them." *Εὐχαριστοῦσι* and *βλάπτουσι* are historic pre-

and besought them pardon for that they had been enemies.

[b] Exod. 13. 21. & 14. 24. Ps. 78. 14. & 105. 39.

3 [b] Instead whereof thou gavest them a burning pillar of fire, both to be a guide of the unknown journey, and an harmless sun to entertain them honourably.

4 For they were worthy to be deprived of light, and imprisoned in darkness, who had kept thy sons shut up, by whom the ‖ uncorrupt light of the law was to be given unto the world.

‖ Or, *incorruptible.*

5 [c] And when they had determined to slay the babes of the saints, [d] one child being cast forth, and

[c] Exod. 1. 16.
[d] Exod. 2 3. 5.

sents, only used for past tenses to make the style more graphic; but perhaps *ηὐχαρίστουν*, the reading of the Alex. MS., may have been altered into the present tense because of the *βλάπτουσι*. The meaning is that the Egyptians thanked the Israelites for not avenging themselves for past injuries by taking advantage of the present helplessness of their enemies.

besought them pardon for that they had been enemies.] This is the correct rendering of a clause which has been misunderstood to mean "besought them the favour that they would depart" (as though it were a reference to Ex. x. 24. Comp. xix. 2).

3. *Instead whereof.*] In place of the horrible darkness and anguish which have been described.

thou gavest them.] "Thou didst provide for the Israelites."

an harmless sun to entertain them honourably.] Rather, "a harmless sun of their glorious pilgrimage" (Ex. xiii. 21, xiv. 24; Ps. lxxvii. 14). The *φιλοτίμου ξενιτείας* might also be taken as a genitive after *ἀβλαβῆ*, "a sun that harmed not their glorious pilgrimage;" but the other construction is simpler. *Φιλότιμος* is used in the sense of "honourable" in Aesch. 'Eum.' 98, where he speaks of the Erinyes as "great and glorious (*φιλότιμοι*) children of Night." *Ξενιτεία* is a rare word, and properly means "foreign service."

The fiery pillar is called "a *harmless* sun," because it was not a sun that "smote them by day" (Ps. cxxi. 6).

> "By day along the astonished lands
> The cloudy pillar glided slow;
> By night Arabia's crimson sands
> Returned the fiery column's glow."
>
> SCOTT.

4. *they.*] The Egyptians.

the uncorrupt light.] *ἄφθαρτον*, "immortal," "incorruptible." Tobit regards even the ceremonial law as "an everlasting decree" (Tob. i. 6). "This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever" (Baruch iv. 1). The metaphor of "light" is constantly applied in a spiritual sense: Is. ii. 5; Ps. cxix. 105; Eph. v. 8, &c.

of the law.] "The law" is used as in Ps. cxix. to express true religion, the revealed relation between God and man.

unto the world.] See note on iv. 2; xiv. 6. Natural light was given to the nation which was to be to the world the source of spiritual light; those who had striven to imprison that nation in darkness were punished with darkness. Thus the passage furnishes a fresh illustration of the writer's favourite thesis respecting the relation of "like to like," between sin and retribution (xi. 16). Here, as in the song of Simeon (Lk. ii. 32), we find the distinct conception that ultimately "the law" was not to be confined to the Jew only, but was to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles" (comp. xiv. 13). It is strange that the scribes of our Lord's day, and the people under their teaching, should so completely have lost sight of the old prophecies of the universal conversion of the heathen (Is. ii. 1–5, xxvii. 13; Micah iv. 1–13). Comp. Tobit xiii. 11, "A clear light shall shine to all the ends of the earth;" *id.* xiv. 6, "And *all the nations which are in the whole earth* will turn and fear God truly, and will forsake their idols." Probably these Apocryphal writers, no less than Philo, supposed, however, that the Jews would retain their theocratic supremacy (Philo, 'De Abraham.' 19), and that the whole world would adopt their ceremonial usages.

5. *to slay the babes.*] Ex. i. 15–22. At this point (to *v.* 19) begins the parallel between the fate of the children of the Egyptians and of the Israelites, which furnishes yet another illustration of the truth "that wherewithal a man sins, by the same also shall he be punished" (xi. 16).

one child.] Ex. ii. 9. The rescue of one babe of the Israelites involved the destruction of a multitude of the children of the Egyptians (Ex. xii. 29). Josephus mentions the legend that Pharaoh was induced to attempt the destruction of the children of the Israelites by a warning prophecy ('Antt.' ii. 9). Compare the policy and motives of Herod the Great (Matt. ii. 1–18). The Book of Exodus does not mention how many children of the Israelites perished by exposure or drowning, but hardly warrants the writer's

saved, to reprove them, [e] thou tookest away the multitude of their children, and [f] destroyedst them altogether in a mighty water.

6 [g] Of that night were our fathers certified afore, that assuredly knowing unto what oaths they had given credence, they might afterwards be of good cheer.

7 So of thy people was accepted both the salvation of the righteous, and destruction of the enemies.

8 For wherewith thou didst punish our adversaries, by the same thou didst glorify us, whom thou hadst called.

9 [h] For the righteous children of good men did sacrifice secretly, and with one consent made ‖ a holy law, that the saints should be like partakers of the same good and evil, the fathers now singing out the songs of praise.

10 But on the other side there

[e] Exod. 12. 29.
[f] Exod. 14. 24, &c.
[g] Exod. 11. 4.
[h] Exod. 12. 21—28.
‖ Or, *a covenant of God, or league: See* Ps. 50. 5.

implication that Moses was the only child in whose case Pharaoh's decree was carried out.

altogether.] ὁμοθυμαδόν. The proper meaning of the word is "unanimously," but it is used in the sense "one and all:" *v.* 12; Job xvi. 10 (LXX.); 3 Macc. iv. 4, &c.

in a mighty water.] σφοδρῷ, "violent," "rushing." The water of the Nile, in which they strove to drown the children of the Israelites, had been the instrument of their sin; and the water of the Red Sea, as well as the blood-corrupted water of the Nile (xi. 6), was the instrument of their punishment (x. 19; xix. 4–7).

6. *that night.*] In which the Egyptian firstborn were slain.

certified afore.] Ex. xi. 4–11; xii. 21–29.

they might afterwards be of good cheer.] These seven words represent the one word ἐπευθυμήσωσι, "they might be gladdened thereby," *i.e.* by the oaths on which it was thus shewn that they might rely. The "oaths" were those which promised to them the inheritance of Canaan: Ex. xiii. 5–16; xxxii. 13; xxxiii. 1, &c.

7. *was accepted.*] The A.V. follows the Vulg. "*suscepta est*;" but προσεδέχθη rather means "was *expected*." They had been forewarned respecting it.

8. *wherewith.*] ᾧ. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., and is an obvious correction of ὡς, the reading of the Sinaitic and Alexandrine MSS. By the slaying of the firstborn God freed the Israelites and summoned them to be His own people.

whom thou hadst called.] Lit., "calling us to thyself." This call is illustrated in *v.* 9, and the punishment of the Egyptians in *v.* 10.

9. *the righteous children of good men.*] Rather, "the holy (ὅσιοι) sons of good things." The writer has often called the Israelites ὅσιοι (*vv.* 1, 5, 10, 17, &c.) and δίκαιοι (x. 20; xi. 14; xii. 9, &c.), but nowhere ἀγαθοί. It is better, therefore (with Grimm, Kleuk, &c.), to take ἀγαθῶν as neuter. Comp. "children of destruction," John xvii. 12. It is true that in this idiom τέκνα is generally used, not παῖδες; but perhaps the phrase παῖδες ἀγαθῶν might be used, just as we have υἱοὶ διαβόλου. Schleusner understands it to mean "the heirs of God's fatherly goodness."

did sacrifice secretly.] An allusion to the Passover, which is called θυσία in Ex. xii. 27. Comp. Heb. xi. 28. The expression "secretly" can only mean "in their own houses," Ex. xii. 46.

a holy law.] Lit., "the law of holiness" (ὁσιότητος), unless with the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. we read θειότητος, "the law of (*i.e.* which emanated from) Divinity." The law is that of the Passover, which established a new relation between God and His people.

that the saints.] It is better to take τοὺς ἁγίους with αἴνους. The subject of μεταλῆψεσθαι is involved in ὅσιοι παῖδες ἀγαθῶν.

partakers of the same good and evil.] That henceforth all the sons of Israel should be bound together in all prosperity and adversity. This solidarity in good and evil fortune was indicated by the sweet sauce (*caroseth*) and the bitter herbs at the Paschal feast.

the fathers now singing out the songs of praise.] The A.V. here follows the reading of ℵ B, προαναμελπόντων. The reading of A, προαναμέλποντες, yields a better sense—"singing beforehand" (*i.e.* before the Paschal feast), or perhaps merely "singing forth already the holy praises of the fathers." The word ἤδη refers to the notion that even at this first Passover the Israelites observed the custom which afterwards prevailed, of beginning the feast with songs of praise (the Hallel), 2 Chron. xxx. 21; xxxv. 15. Πατέρων αἴνους may mean either "praises of the fathers," *i.e.* songs in honour of the Patriarchs, or "songs of praise of the fathers," *i.e.* songs which had come down from the days of the fathers. The statement is en-

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sounded an ill according cry of the enemies, and a lamentable noise was carried abroad for children that were bewailed.

[f] Exod. 11. 5. & 12. 29.

11 [f] The master and the servant were punished after one manner; and like as the king, so suffered the common person.

12 So they all together had innumerable dead with one kind of death; neither were the living sufficient to bury them: for in one moment the noblest offspring of them was destroyed.

13 For whereas they would not believe any thing by reason of the enchantments; upon the destruction of the firstborn, they acknowledged this people to be the sons of God.

14 For while all things were in quiet silence, and that night was in the midst of her swift course,

15 Thine Almighty word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war into the midst of a land of destruction,

tirely devoid of historical, and perhaps even of traditional, foundation. It is meant to provide a strong antithesis to the wail of the Egyptians described in the next verse, by contrasting "praises of fathers" with "wails for children."

10. *ill-according.*] ἀσύμφωνος. The wail of the bereaved (Ex. xi. 6) mingled discordantly with the songs of the triumphant.

11. *The master and the servant.*] Ex. xii. 29. The Targum of Jonathan explains "the captive in the dungeon" to mean subject kings, kept in prison by Pharaoh, who were punished by God for rejoicing over the miseries of the Israelites.

12. *all together.*] As in *v.* 5.

with one kind of death.] Lit., "in one name of death."

sufficient to bury them.] An exaggeration for which there is no authority, but the writer may mean to imply that the occurrence of so many deaths at once rendered impossible the pompous ceremonies involved in the Egyptian notion of "burying" (comp. xix. 3). There is probably an allusion to the fact that the Egyptians had their thoughts turned from the pursuit of the Israelites because they "were burying their firstborn" (Num. xxxiii. 4). Similar Hagadistic additions are found in Philo ('Vit. Mos.' i. 24) and in the Targum of Jonathan.

in one moment.] πρὸς μίαν ῥοπήν, "at one trembling of the scale."

the noblest offspring.] Lit., "the more honourable birth," *i.e.* the firstborn; "the chief of all their strength" (Ps. cv. 36).

13. *they would not believe anything.*] This, again, goes beyond, and even contradicts, the statement of Moses (Ex. viii. 19).

enchantments.] Φαρμακία properly means magic wrought by means of drugs, roots, &c., but became a general word for all sorceries (Rev. ix. 21).

to be the sons of God.] Rather, if the reading be correct, "to be a son of God," which is an exaggerated reference to Ex. xii. 31. God had said to Moses, "Israel is my son, even my firstborn" (Ex. iv. 22; comp. Hos. xi. 1; *supra*, ii. 13), but the Egyptians had never acknowledged this. The Venetian MS. omits υἱὸν altogether, and the Vulg. has *spoponderunt populum Dei esse.*

14. *in the midst of her swift course.*] Lit., "was midway in her own swiftness" (Ex. xii. 29).

15. *Thine Almighty word.*] This is one of the passages (comp. ix. 1; xvi. 12) in which the writer approaches most nearly to the all but personal Logos which plays so prominent a part in the writings of Philo. Yet, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author of this book never definitely and demonstrably adopts (or anticipates, as the case may be) Philo's views about the Logos. Here the Word delivers the Israelites, as Wisdom is said to do in x. 15; but the delivery is wrought by the infliction of vengeance. Indeed the language of these verses seems to be suggested by 1 Chron. xxi. 16, "David . . . saw *the Angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand.*" It need hardly be said that the Angel of the Plague has no affinity with the Philonian Logos, but rather with "the punisher" (*v.* 22) and the destroyer (*v.* 25). It seems probable therefore that the expressions of the writer are mainly founded upon scriptural passages, such as Hos. vi. 5 (LXX.), ἀπέκτεινα αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥήματι στόματός μου (comp. Rev. i. 16). Jer. xxiii. 29, "Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" Ps. cxlvii. 15, "His word runneth very swiftly;" *v.* 18, "He sendeth out his word and melteth them," &c.

16 And brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death; and it touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.

‖ Or, *imaginations.*

17 Then suddenly ‖ visions of horrible dreams troubled them sore, and terrors came upon them unlooked for.

18 And one thrown here, and another there, half dead, shewed the cause of his death.

19 For the dreams that troubled them did foreshew this, lest they should perish, and not know why they were afflicted.

20 Yea, the tasting of death touched the righteous also, and there was a destruction of the [k] multitude in the wilderness: but the wrath endured not long.

[k] Numb 16. 46, &c.

21 For then the blameless man made haste, and stood forth to defend them; and bringing the shield of his

out of thy royal throne.] Chap. ix. 4. Lit., "out of thy royal thrones." The plural, as in Dan. vii. 9, is only the *pluralis excellentiae*, though Christians in their early controversies with the Jews sometimes argued from the term as an indication of a Trinity in the Unity.

fierce.] *v.* 20.

as a fierce man of war.] Lit., "a fierce warrior." The A.V. has changed the metaphor into a simile. "The Lord is a man of war" (Ex. xv. 3).

of a land of destruction.] "Of the doomed land." Comp. ἄνδρα ὀλέθριον, "a doomed man" (1 K. xx. 42).

16. *as a sharp sword.*] Lit., "bearing a sharp sword, Thine unfeigned commandment." ἀνυπόκριτον (*v.* 18). This is one of the passages in which the Epistle to the Hebrews resembles this book (Heb. iv. 12).

standing up.] Taking its stand on earth.

all things.] τὰ πάντα. "The length and breadth of Egypt."

it touched the heaven.] So Homer says of Discord:

οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.
Il. iv. 443.

and Virgil of Fame:

"Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit."—*Æn.* iv. 177.

it stood.] Βεβήκει (for ἐβεβ.) is used in the sense of an imperfect.

upon the earth.] Those commentators who take "the all-sovereign word" in this passage for the hypostatised Logos, see in this verse a sort of unconscious prophecy of the Incarnate Christ. But the purpose of Christ's Incarnation was mercy, not vengeance.

17. *suddenly.*] Lit., "immediately." As soon as God's Almighty word leapt to earth.

visions.] "Phantasies."

18. *thrown.*] Flung down and half-slain by terror.

shewed.] Lit., "was manifesting," *i.e.* told to others.

the cause of his death.] Lit., "on what account he was dying."

19. *did foreshew this.*] Their dreams were meant to reveal to them the reason why they were thus suffered to perish.

20. *the tasting of death.*] Lit., "the experience of death;" comp. *v.* 25. This and the following verses (20–25) are meant to obviate the objection that in the wilderness, and on more than one occasion, the Israelites perished by thousands. The writer has already been compelled to allude to this in speaking of the fiery serpents (xvi. 6; comp. xii. 21). The entire insufficiency of his answer to the objection, not to say the positively sophistical manipulation of the history, might have led him to more just views as to the impartial goodness and justice of God. There was historically *no* generic difference between the retributive disasters which fell on Israel and in Egypt; nor was there historically any difference in their duration. Indeed, the Egyptian plagues only occupied a few months, whereas the miserable and penal wanderings in the wilderness continued for forty years, until the whole generation of these "righteous" had perished.

a destruction.] θραῦσις, "a breaking." The word is borrowed from the LXX. Num. xvi. 49.

endured not long.] Nevertheless, 14,700 perished in this single plague; more probably, by far, than died in all the Egyptian plagues put together. It is impossible not to see that the writer, from his national narrowness, is distorting sacred history to illustrate his own foregone conclusions.

21. *the blameless man.*] Aaron (Num. xvi. 46–50). It is not meant that Aaron was "blameless" altogether, which would be a flagrant contradiction of the Mosaic narrative, but only that he was guiltless of the sin for which the plague was the retribution,

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proper ministry, even prayer, and the propitiation of incense, set himself against the wrath, and so brought the calamity to an end, declaring that he was thy servant.

22 So he overcame the destroyer, not with strength of body, nor force of arms, but with a word subdued he him that punished, alleging the oaths and covenants made with the fathers.

23 For when the dead were now fallen down by heaps one upon another, standing between, he stayed the wrath, and ‖ parted the way to the living.

‖ Or, *cut off*.

24 [l] For in the long garment was the whole world, and in the four rows of the stones was the glory of the fathers graven, and thy Majesty upon the diadem of his head.

[l] Exod. 28. 6, 9, 36.

25 Unto these the destroyer gave

and was therefore enabled to fulfil towards the sufferers his high-priestly functions.

stood forth to defend them.] Lit., "*fought* for them." So prayer is represented as a wrestling (Gen. xxxii. 24; Rom. xv. 30).

the shield.] Rather, "the weapon." Comp. 2 Cor. x. 4.

the propitiation of incense.] An atoning efficacy was always attached by the Jews to the burning of incense (Lev. xvi. 12, 13; Ex. xxx. 1–10). The Rabbis said that the smoke of incense atoned for slanders spoken in secret.

against the wrath.] τῷ θυμῷ. Θυμὸς is inward anger; ὀργὴ its outward expression.

thy servant.] Θεράπων is a far more respectful term than δοῦλος, and is specially applied to Moses (Heb. iii. 5).

22. *overcame the destroyer.*] The A. V. follows the weakly-supported reading ὀλοθρεύοντα (*v.* 25). The reading of the MSS. is is ὄχλον (Vulg., *Vicit autem turbas*). There may be an allusion to some Jewish tradition, or possibly only to the murmuring of the people before the plague broke out (Num. xvi. 41). The context, however, almost compels us either to give to ὄχλον some general sense like "confusion," "perturbation," "hanc tragicam calamitatem" (Strigel); or to suppose that ὄχλον is a clerical error for χόλον, "wrath" (comp. ἀντέστη τῷ θυμῷ, *v.* 21, and ἀνέκοψε τὴν ὀργήν, *v.* 23). In 4 Macc. vii. 11, we have a similar passage, "Our father Aaron, armed with the censer, running forward, prevailed over the fiery angel by means of the ἐθνοπλήκτου πυρός."

with a word.] Rather, "with word," by the power of his speech.

alleging.] Lit., "reminding of" (Ex. xxxii. 13).

the oaths.] See *v.* 6; xii. 21.

23. *by heaps.*] σωρηδὸν, a late word, used also by Philo ('Vit. Mos.' i. 17; 'De conf. ling.' 6).

standing between.] Num. xvi. 48.

stayed the wrath.] ἀνέκοψε. Lit., "struck back."

parted the way.] Cut off (διέσχισε) the path, so that the destroyer could not get at the living.

24. *For in the long garment was the whole world.*] The intervention of Aaron was more effectual because of the symbolic importance of his high-priestly robes. The πόδηρες ἔνδυμα was the High Priest's "robe of the ephod" (*meil*). It can only be so called on the assumption that it was a *vestis talaris*, which reached to the ankles. The word is used by the LXX. to describe the High Priest's robe in Ex. xxviii. 4; Zech. iii. 4 (comp. Rev. i. 13); and by Josephus ('B. J.' v. 5, § 7). But it seems much more likely that the word πόδηρες applies accurately not to the "robe of the ephod," but to the ephod itself, which was of white, and was seen coming below the blue *meil*, which only reached to the knees. It was of blue, and on its hem was a ring of golden bells, and of pomegranates woven in blue and purple and scarlet (Ex. xxviii. 31–35). The symbolic significance of the robe, as representing the whole universe, is also explained by Philo ('De Monarch.' ii. 5; 'Vit. Mos.' iii. 14; and in other treatises: 'De profug.' 20; 'De migr. Abraham.' 18, πεποικιλμένη ἔκ τε τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων). Josephus ('Antt.' iii. 7, § 7) repeats the same notions, as also does Clemens Alexandrinus ('Strom.' v. 6). It is very doubtful whether these explanations of the symbolism are correct.

in the four rows of the stones.] Lit., "and the glories of the fathers on the graving of the four-rowed stone." For λίθου we find λίθων in A and C. If that be the true reading, τὸ τετράστυχον must be regarded as a substantive—"the tetrastych," which the LXX. and Josephus call the oracle (τὸ λογεῖον, Ex. xxviii. 15; Jos. 'Antt.' iii. 7, § 5). Josephus regards it as an emblem of the four elements. The allusion is to the names of the Twelve Tribes carved on the precious stones of the High Priest's breastplate (*cosḥen*), which many precariously *identify* with the

place, and was afraid of them: for it was enough that they only tasted of the wrath.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *Why God shewed no mercy to the Egyptians,* 5 *and how wonderfully he dealt with his people.* 14 *The Egyptians were worse than the Sodomites.* 18 *The wonderful agreement of the creatures to serve God's people.*

AS for the ungodly, wrath came upon them without mercy unto the end: for he knew before what they would do;

2 How that having given them leave to depart, and sent them hastily away, [a] they would repent and pursue them.

[a] Exod. 14. 5, &c.

3 For whilst they were yet mourn-

Urim and Thummim (Ex. xxviii. 17–21; comp. Ecclus. xlv. 11).

the glory of the fathers.] The names of the Patriarchs which recalled their glories.

thy Majesty.] The words "Holy to Jehovah" (קדיש ליהוה) were engraved on the High Priest's golden frontlet (Ex. xxviii. 36), as a condensation of "the whole end and complete sum of revealed religion."

25. *Unto these.*] The writer seems to give to the "golden robes" of the High Priest—and especially to the robe of the ephod, the pectoral, and the mitre—the power of amulets. The cast-off garments of the High Priest were used by the Jews to cure various diseases. Probably, however, the real conception of the writer is deeper. He implies that by the robe as a symbol of the universe, and by His name on the mitre-plate, God, as the Lord of life and death, is reminded of His love to the creatures whom He has made (xvi. 13); and that the names of the fathers on the graven gems remind him of the oath which He sware unto Abraham, and the covenant which He made with Isaac (*v.* 22). And this is the meaning implied by Ex. xxviii. 38.

the destroyer.] The LXX. use this word, *ὁ ὀλοθρεύων*, to render the Hebrew מַשְׁחִית (Ex. xii. 23: comp. Heb. xi. 28; 1 Cor. x. 10). He is here the Angel of the Pestilence. But it is clear that he is meant to be an *evil* angel, or he would not have *feared* the holy garments.

for it was enough that they only tasted of the wrath.] Lit., "for the mere experience of the wrath was sufficient." Had it not been enough that they should merely have trial (as it were) of what the effects of God's wrath could be, the High Priest's robes would not have been sufficient to terrify the destroyer. In the narrative of Moses (Num. xvi. 46–50) not a word is said either of Aaron's apparel or of his prayer; but the incense in his censer was a type of prayer. It cannot, however, be denied that the writer sees the equal and impartial retributions of sacred history through the medium of a Jewish prejudice which leads him to give an unscriptural colouring to plain facts. For this plague was by no means an isolated punishment, and in point of fact the carcases of the whole generation of rescued Israelites fell in the wilderness because of their sins, the only survivors being Joshua and Caleb. The writer's residence in Egypt, his daily eye-witness of strange and degrading forms of idolatry, and the persecutions inflicted on his people by their Egyptian neighbours, made him delight to invent or to expand these contrasts of mercy and judgment.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIFTH CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FORTUNES OF THE ISRAELITES AND EGYPTIANS. THE LESSON TAUGHT BY THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

1. *As for the ungodly.*] The Egyptians.

came upon them.] *ἐπέστη.* The verb is used of violent and sudden calamities.

unto the end.] Involving their final overthrow. The punishments which chastised the Israelites in the wilderness were *οὐ μέχρι τέλους.* So note on xvi. 5.

he.] God. The nominative is involved in the word *θυμὸς*, which means the wrath of God.

what they would do.] Lit., "even their future things."

2. *having given them leave.*] This is a translation of *ἐπιτρέψαντες*, the reading of A. (Vulg., *quum ipsi permisissent.*) This verb, however, is usually followed by the infinitive in Hellenistic Greek. The reading of ℵ B, &c., is *ἐπιστρέψαντες*, which must then bear the sense of *ἐπιστρεψάμενοι*, "having thought of" or "provided for their absence."

to depart.] The best-supported reading is *ἀπεῖναι*, not *ἀπιέναι.* It means "that they should depart and be absent."

sent them . . . away.] Προπέμπειν means "to conduct honourably on a journey" (Tit. iii. 13; 3 John 6). The allusion may certainly be to the presents which the Egyptians pressed upon the acceptance of the Israelites at their departure (Ex. xi. 2, 3; xii. 35, 36). There is a similar passage in Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' i. 24.

ing and making lamentation at the graves of the dead, they added another foolish device, and pursued them as fugitives, whom they had ‖ intreated to be gone.

‖ Or, *cast out by intreaty.*

4 For the destiny, whereof they were worthy, drew them unto this end, and made them forget the things that had already happened, that they might fulfil the punishment which was wanting to their torments:

5 [b] And that thy people might pass a wonderful way: but they might find a strange death.

[b] Exod. 14. 28, 29.

6 For [c] the whole creature in his proper kind was fashioned again anew, serving the peculiar commandments that were given unto them, that thy children might be kept without hurt:

[c] See ch. 16. 24, 25.

7 *As namely*, a cloud shadowing the camp; and where water stood before, dry land appeared; and out

they would repent.] The αὐτοὶ is emphatic —they, the very same persons, would entirely change their minds.

3. *whilst they were yet mourning.*] The original is more emphatic, "For having their mourning still on hand;" *i.e.* before they had ceased to be occupied with the mourning for their lost firstborn.

they added another foolish device.] Lit., "they dragged down on themselves another device of madness." The sudden change of motive which induced the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites is only a matter of conjecture; but it is very probable that the early movements of the Israelites appeared to betray ignorance of the route (Ex. xiv. 3). The Targum of Jonathan says that Pharaoh relied on the aid of the idol Baal-Zephon (Ex. xiv. 2). More probably they thought that the nation had entered a sort of *cul de sac* between the mountains and the sea, where they could be overwhelmed with advantage.

whom they had intreated to be gone.] Lit., "whom, entreating, they cast forth" (Ex. xii. 33, 39—where the LXX. use the urgent word ἐκβάλλειν).

4. *the destiny whereof they were worthy.*] "The deserved necessity—a premerited destiny—was dragging them to this end." This is another way of expressing, in accordance with the phrases of Greek philosophy, the obstinate and penal blindness which Moses describes by saying that "the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart" (Gen. vii. 3, &c.). The writer makes no attempt to coordinate the conflicting truths of God's absolute foreknowledge and man's unfettered free will. The antinomies involved in such questions are insoluble, but happily they are of no practical importance for the guidance of human action. To the Jews, however, the problems of predestination and free will presented themselves more often in the national than in the individual aspect; and when the ruin of another nation tended to the blessing of Israel, the sense of national, and much more of individual pity, was modified, if not obliterated, by patriotic gratitude. The Jew had so intense a conviction that his people was the firstborn of Jehovah that it was hardly possible for him to keep steadily in view the impartial love of God (see *v.* 5).

which was wanting to their torments.] Comp. 2 Macc. vi. 14. Their guilt required a certain amount of retribution which had not yet been exhausted by their previous plagues.

5. *wonderful.*] παράδοξον, "contrary to expectation," *i.e.* abnormal.

a strange death.] ξένον, as in xvi. 2.

6. *For the whole creature.*] The verse is a comment on the epithets παράδοξον, ξένον. "Creature," rather "creation" (κτίσις). Comp. v. 17.

anew.] The word ἄνωθεν may also mean "from above" (John iii. 31; Jas. i. 17, &c.), but here the two meanings involve the same thing; for "the whole creation" could only have been "remoulded" by God's direct action. The pleonasm, "again anew," is frequent with πάλιν (comp. πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου, Matt. xxvi. 42).

the peculiar commandments.] For ἰδίαις we find σαῖς in ℵ A, but this is probably a correction of the *difficilior lectio*. The meaning is that in the passage of the Red Sea the elements obeyed "the special injunctions laid on them," instead of following their normal course. Some of their powers were intensified, and some reduced to abeyance.

7. *As namely, a cloud.*] These words are nominatives to the verb ἐθεωρήθη.

shadowing the camp.] LXX. Num. ix. 18, 22. "He spread a cloud for a covering" (Ps. cv. 39).

a green field.] This notion of "a grass-bearing plain" in the middle of the Red Sea was still further exaggerated in the legendary literature of the Jews. Gutmann quotes a Passover prayer which speaks of springs of sweet water, fruit-laden trees, and incense-breathing odours in the path through the

of the Red sea a way without impediment; and out of the violent stream a green field:

8 Wherethrough all the people went that were defended with thy hand, seeing thy marvellous strange wonders.

9 For they went at large like horses, and leaped like lambs, praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.

10 For they were yet mindful of the things that were done while they sojourned in the strange land, how ‖ Or, *lice.* the ground brought forth ‖ flies instead of cattle, and how the river cast up a multitude of frogs instead of fishes.

11 But [d] afterwards they saw a new generation of fowls, when, being led with their appetite, they asked delicate meats. [d] Exod. 16. 13. Numb. 11. 31.

12 For quails came up unto them from the sea for their ‖ contentment. ‖ Or, *comfort.*

13 And punishments came upon the sinners not without former signs by the force of thunders: for they suffered justly according to their own wickedness, insomuch as they used a more hard and hateful behaviour toward strangers.

14 For the *Sodomites* did not re-

divided waters. Philo and Josephus abstain from these exaggerations ('Vit. Mos.' iii. 34; Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 16).

9. *went at large.*] ἐνεμέθησαν, "they roamed the pastures." Some editors conjecture a reading ἐχρεμέτισαν, "they neighed." The metaphor is probably suggested by Is. lxiii. 13, "that led them through the deep as an horse in the wilderness."

leaped like lambs.] Ps. cxiv. 6; Mal. iv. 2.

who hadst delivered them.] Ex. xv. 1–19. The better reading is τὸν ῥύομενον (ℵ B) αὐτούς, "their deliverer" (not ῥυσάμενον, A, C).

10. *while they sojourned in the strange land.*] Ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ αὐτῶν, Acts xiii. 17.

flies.] In the LXX. Ex. viii. 18, σκνῖφα is an acc. singular. The word is here used generically, like ὁ βάτραχος, Ex. viii. 6; ἄκρις, Ex. x. 12. Σκνὶψ is any small biting insect, and represents the collective word כִּנִּם.

cast up.] ἐξηρεύξατο. Vulg., *eructavit*, "vomited forth."

instead of fishes.] Vulg., *pro piscibus.* But ἀντὶ ἐνύδρων means "instead of things which live in water;" and since frogs live in water, the antithesis of the writer is somewhat halting.

11. *a new generation of fowls.*] There was nothing "new" about the quails, which, to this day, may be killed by hundreds in their annual migrations.

they asked.] We have already seen that the writer takes a peculiar view of the sending of the quails (xvi. 1–3). He turns the sensual murmurings of the Israelites (Num. xi. 4–23) into a prayer (ᾐτήσαντο), and seems to represent the quails as a special luxury given to the people in sign of God's approval. The scriptural view of the incident is very widely different (Num. xi. 31–35; Ps. lxxviii. 26–28); but the writer, perhaps, relied on the brief allusion in Ps. cv. 40.

12. *from the sea.*] Num. xi. 31. If the writer interpreted the words "from the sea" as furnishing any support to his theory of the reversal of the ordinary course of nature for the sustenance of Israel, he was in error. The phrase merely points to the direction taken by the quails in their migration. Ὀρτυγομήτρα: see xvi. 1. This reversion to facts of which he has already explained the significance, shews that the writer has exhausted his originality, and has nothing left to say which he has not said already.

13. *And punishments came.*] The *vv.* 13–17 are a digression in which the writer compares the punishment of the Sodomites and the Egyptians. He quite unwarrantably represents the latter as much worse than the former.

the sinners.] The host of Pharaoh, which was overwhelmed in the Red Sea.

by the force of thunders.] This was the Jewish tradition: Ps. lxxvii. 15–20; Jos. 'Antt.' ii. 16, § 3. It is implied in Ex. xiv. 24.

a more hard and hateful behaviour toward strangers.] χαλεπωτέραν μισοξενίαν; Vulg., *detestabiliorum inhospitalitatem.* The comparative means "a harder exclusiveness" than that of the Sodomites or any previous offenders.

14. *For the Sodomites.*] Lit., "For they:" the writer in his usual euphuistic manner (comp. chap. x.) suppresses the name. Nothing is gained by this literary method, except that it proves to us that he is addressing Jews, who alone would have understood these anonymous allusions.

did not receive.] οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. Rejected from their hospitality; "were not for receiving."

ceive those, whom they knew not when they came: but these brought friends into bondage, that had well deserved of them.

15 And not only so, but peradventure some respect shall be had of those, because they used strangers not friendly:

16 But these very grievously afflicted them, whom they had received with feastings, and were already made partakers of the same laws with them.

17 Therefore even with blindness were these stricken, as [e] those were at the doors of the righteous man: when, being compassed about with horrible great darkness, every one sought the passage of his own doors.

18 For the elements were changed [‖] in themselves by a kind of harmony,

[e] Gen. 19. 11.

‖ Gr. *by themselves.*

whom they knew not.] The A. V. renders ἀγνοοῦντας as though it were ἀγνοουμένους or ἀγνῶτας (Vulg. *ignotos*). The word seems to mean "strangers, who knew not where they were." The allusion is to the Angels who came to Lot in human form.

friends . . . that had well deserved of them.] Lit., "stranger-benefactors." The Sodomites were less guilty in this respect than the Egyptians, who had received the greatest benefits from Joseph and the Israelites. It should be remembered that the dynasty which had first befriended the Patriarchs had been conquered and expelled.

15. *And not only so.*] They not only enslaved their strange benefactors, but (as he adds in the next verse), after having received them with feastings, they grievously afflicted them.

but.] The verse is strangely expressed, and has been explained in many different ways. It seems best to refer it in a quasi-parenthetical sense to the Sodomites.

some respect shall be had of those (of the men of Sodom).] If this view be correct, ἐπισκοπή, "visitation," is perhaps used in a good sense, as in ii. 20. The men of Sodom shall receive some consideration from the fact that those whom they rejected came to them as entire strangers, not as known benefactors. It is strange that he should not so much as touch on the horrible aggravation which made the sin of the Sodomites infinitely worse than mere want of hospitality.

because they used strangers not friendly.] Rather, "because they received unkindly the alien visitors." The emphasis is on ἀλλοτρίους. The men of Sodom did not add gross ingratitude to their inhospitality, but they added far deadlier crimes.

16. *whom they had received with feastings.*] Gen. xlvii. 1–12. The Egyptians "afflicted with terrible labours those who had already participated in the same rights as themselves." Both the men of Sodom and the Egyptians were punished with darkness, but the Egyptians much more severely, because of their worse guilt. The treatment of the historical circumstances is once more fanciful, not to say sophistical.

17. *with blindness.*] ἀορασίᾳ. The word is borrowed from the LXX. Gen. xix. 11; 2 Kings vi. 18.

at the doors of the righteous man.] Lot (x. 6; Gen. xix. 11).

with horrible darkness.] The strange epithet ἀχανεῖ is rendered by the Vulg. *subitaneis (tenebris)*. The word means "yawning" (the ἀ being intensive). Another meaning which has been assigned to it is "speechless," *i.e.* reducing to speechlessness; but these "factitive epithets" ("*Rugosum* piper et *pallentis* grana cuminis," Pers.) are chiefly confined to poetry.

18. *For the elements.*] The writer here reverts from his digression to the thesis that the elements changed their usual nature at the Exodus (xix. 6)—a point which he has already illustrated. The meaning of this difficult verse seems to be: "For the elements being interchanged throughout themselves—as in a psaltery notes change the name of the measure—are always permanent in sound." The obscurity seems to arise from the confusion of the comparison with the thing to which it is compared. The last word ἤχῳ, "in sound," applies only to the notes of the psaltery, but is loosely attached to στοιχεῖα. The meaning then seems to be this—just as in a psaltery the notes may be various, and may change the name given to the tune, but still always remain notes, whether they be weak or strong, high or low, sudden or lingering; so the elements of creation may seem to change their normal action, but never change their essential nature. The writer is not thinking of a *harmony* unaffected by variations and discords, but of things which always retain their essence under all diversities of operation. Water and fire still continued to be water and fire, though they seemed to alter and almost interchange their natures. The phrase δι' ἑαυτῶν (A. V. "in themselves;" marg. "by themselves") cannot here mean "by their own action," but must mean "throughout themselves" (*durch einander*, Grimm), *i.e.* throughout their whole

like as in a psaltery notes change the name of the tune, and yet are always sounds; which may well be perceived by the sight of the things that have been done.

19 For earthly things were turned into watery, and the things, that before swam in the water, now went upon the ground.

20 *f* The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue: and the water forgat his own quenching nature.

21 On the other side, the flames wasted not the flesh of the corruptible living things, though they walked therein; *g* neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly meat, that was of nature apt to melt.

22 For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, neither didst thou lightly regard them: but didst assist them in every time and place.

f ch. 16. 17.

g ch. 16. 22.

extent they became for the time mutually interchangeable.

in a psaltery.] The word "psaltery" became known to the Jews in the Graeco-Syrian epoch (Dan. iii. 7).

yet are always sounds.] This rendering confuses everything, for *μένοντα* can only agree with *στοιχεῖα*, and yet is made to agree with *φθόγγοι*. The *ἤχῳ* is an awkward and needless addition of the writer. It has no meaning as referred to *στοιχεῖα*. What he means is that, in a psaltery, whatever the time or pitch, the *φθόγγοι* are always *φθόγγοι*; and in creation, however abnormal the special manifestation of the elements, they always remain elements. The ancients, like the moderns, were fond of these musical comparisons.

of the things that have been done.] The incidents of the Exodus.

19. *earthly things were turned into watery.*] It is hard to say what the writer specially meant by this remark. If he is alluding to the "frogs" (*v.* 10), they were rather water-creatures, which, as Philo says, became for the nonce land-creatures ('Vit. Mos.' i. 18). In these three verses (19–21) the writer does not even confine himself to Jewish legends, but lets his fancy run riot in the most arbitrary antitheses.

20. *The fire had power in the water.*] Chap. xvi. 17–25.

forgetting.] The reading of A, C is *ἐπιλελησμένον*, which may be a gloss. The meaning is that fire exceeded its own natural power in the midst of water.

21. *On the other side.*] *Ἀνάπαλιν.* Vulg., *e contrario.*

though they walked therein.] This transformation of the locusts, frogs, flies, &c., into creatures with the power of the fabled salamander seems to have pleased the writer, for he has already dwelt upon it (xvi. 18). It involves two perversions of history equally extravagant: one that all the plagues were simultaneously continued, the other that miracles were innumerably multiplied.

neither melted they.] The A. V. here follows the Vulg., *nec dissolvebant;* which seems to point (as Nannius conjectured) to an ancient reading, *οὐδὲ ἔτηκον.* If *τηκτὸν* be retained, we must understand *ἦν.* A substance which was icy, and so easily dissolvable, was undissolvable.

the icy kind of heavenly meat.] The manna. See on xvi. 22. *Heavenly;* lit., "ambrosial." By reverting to what he has already dwelt upon, the writer is able to illustrate his thesis that the elements changed their normal operations; and he thus ends in a blaze of futile paradoxes.

22. *in every time and place.*] The book appears to end abruptly, but doubtless this recognition of God's continual help was meant to close the whole subject. There is, therefore, no ground for regarding the book as a fragment. The writer has now fully developed the views which he most prominently desired to teach: the love of God for His people; the punishment of the wicked; the guilt and folly of idolatry; the analogy between sin and retribution; the nature of wisdom; the rewards and blessings of those who follow Wisdom, and the ruin of those who reject her. As he is writing in the person of Solomon, he might indeed have continued his historical illustrations through the period of the Judges and the early monarchy; but that epoch gave no such room for poetical and Hagadistic developments, and perhaps—being a period of almost continual backsliding—furnished problems with which it would have been difficult for the writer to deal in such a manner as to vaunt the supereminent "righteousness" of Israel.

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Bible. O.T. Apocrypha. English. Authorized. 1888

THE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611).

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY CLERGY OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

EDITED

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1888.

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§ I. Importance of the Book; its Author.

AMONG the Jewish sacred writings outside the Old Testament perhaps the most interesting, in many respects, is that commonly known as 'The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach,' or *Ecclesiasticus*.[1] It cannot indeed be ranked, like the books of the Maccabees, among the sources of history, though here also it contains indications too often overlooked. But its chief importance lies in this, that it exhibits Jewish thought and religion at a period otherwise almost unknown; that it connects the traditions of the past with questions of the future; and that, while embodying both, it marks the transition from the one to the other.

The permanent and almost universal interest of the book is to some extent indicated even by the circumstance that it has in a sense furnished the substratum as well as some of the verses for two of the best known hymns of the Church. The Jubilee-Rhythm of St. Bernard of Clairvaux[1] is, even in its wording, the Christian application to Personified Wisdom of part of Ecclus. xxiv. (see the notes). And the *Te Deum* of Rinckart[2] (about 1648), "Now thank we all our God," is taken from Ecclus. l. 22–24. But, far beyond this, the special claims of Ecclesiasticus may be thus briefly summed up: It is the oldest known Apocryphon;[3] it

[1] On these designations, see more in the quel.

[1] Partially translated in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' Nos. 178 (also partly 177): "Jesu, the very thought of Thee;" and in its entirety by the present writer, in a small collection chiefly of Ancient Latin Hymns.

[2] The well-known German hymn, "Nun danket alle Gott," translated in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' No. 379.

[3] On the contention that Ecclesiasticus is older than our canonical Daniel, so confidently made by many Jewish and Christian writers (down to Schürer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes,' vol. ii. p. 615), this is not the place to enter. Perhaps the note on Ecclus. xxi. 27 may here be helpful. Comp. (besides the foreign writers in defence of the canonicity of Daniel) Pusey, 'Lect. on Daniel,' pp. 303, &c.; and, for some aspects of the question, 'Prophecy and History' (the Warburton Lectures), pp. 291–296. But the date there assigned (p. 294) to the 'Book of Wisdom' is probably too early.

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unquestionably originated in Palestine, and was written in Hebrew;[1] and it presents a new phase of Judaism. Historically it may be regarded as a continuation and development of those parts of the Old Testament which are known as the "Wisdom-writings." And yet it represents a new stage. We miss the higher tone and the spiritual elements of the canonical "Wisdom-writings." On the other hand, we are in the presence of new questions originating from contact with a wider world; and we find them answered in a manner which in one direction would lead up to Jewish Alexandrian theology, while the book itself is still purely Palestinian. From one aspect therefore it may be described as Palestinian theosophy before Alexandrian Hellenism. From another aspect it represents an orthodox, but moderate and cold, Judaism—before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees; before these two directions assumed separate form under the combined influence of political circumstances and theological controversies. In short, it contains as yet undistinguished and mostly in germ all the elements developed in the later history of Jewish religious thinking. But beyond all this, the book throws welcome light on the period in which it was written. If we would know what a cultured, liberal, and yet genuine Jew had thought and felt in view of the great questions of the day; if we would gain insight into the state of public opinion, morals, society, and even of manners at that period—we find the materials for it in the book Ecclesiasticus. Lastly, the unique position among the Apocrypha which this book has always occupied, alike in the Synagogue and the Church, constitutes yet another of its distinguishing claims.

But for the critical student Ecclesiasticus must always possess a peculiar interest and importance. This, in the first place, because the Greek translation in which it has come down is both historically and in point of time connected with the LXX. Version of the Old Testament, and hence necessarily reflects light upon it. But, besides, the Greek is not the only direct translation of the work from its Hebrew original. As will be shewn in the sequel, the Syriac Version of Ecclesiasticus, as well as the Greek, was made directly from the Hebrew. Thus we possess two independent versions of the work, controlling each other, by comparison of which the real text of the Hebrew original can often be ascertained. For in many passages in which the two versions differ, we have only to retranslate into Hebrew to perceive how these differences arose by some simple and obvious misreading, or else misunderstanding of a Hebrew word by the one or the other translator. In such cases it is not difficult to judge which of them rightly apprehended the meaning of the original. In other cases the comparison suggests that there must have been intentional alterations: in the Greek probably chiefly due to the Hellenising spirit of the translator, and in the Syriac to later redactors. But the comparison also throws light on some points in regard to the letter of the text which are full of interest. Thus we conclude that a Greek variant represents the better, if indeed not the corrected, reading, when it accords not only with the other version, but with what we judge to have been the underlying Hebrew original. And this in turn reflects light on the various *Codices*. Lastly, as regards the wider general question of the variations which a Hebrew text may be supposed to have undergone, the student has in Ecclesiasticus the opportunity of comparing, so to speak, three different recensions of a Hebrew text, dating from widely different periods and coming from distant countries: in the Greek, the Syriac, and—including the Talmudic quotations from Sirach—the Aramaic versions of our book.

Concerning the AUTHOR of the work just described, we possess unfortunately only very scanty biographical details. In Ecclus. l. 27, when subscribing his name according to ancient custom, he designates himself as "Jesus the son of Sirach[1] [in the Vat., Seirach; in the Sin.,

[1] According to some (though erroneously), in Chaldee or Aramaic. We do not mean that this is the only apocryphal book which originated in Palestine or was written in Hebrew, but that in regard to Ecclesiasticus this has never been called in question.

[1] So not only the Alex., but the import MS. 248 [Fritzsche]. The Syr. omits what

Seirak'[1]], the Jerusalemite" [from Jerusalem]. The addition "Eleazar" [after "Sirach"] in the Alex., Vat., and Sin., and "of Eleazar" in some MSS., is spurious, and probably connected with the legend of his descent from the High-priest, to which reference will be immediately made. The Hebrew name of our writer was יֵשׁוּעַ (Jeshua — abbreviated from Jehoshua), בֶּן סִירָא (or בֵּר), "the son of Sira." It is by the latter designation (without the addition of "Jesus") that he is quoted in Talmudic writings.[2] In Walton's edition of the Syriac Version, the (evidently spurious) superscription to Ecclus. indeed runs: "The book of Jesus the son of Simeon Asiro: that book is called the Wisdom of the Son of Asiro." But the word "Asiro"—which has been generally rendered *vinctus*, "bound"—is probably only a corruption of *Sira* (the name of "Simeon" being introduced either as that of the High-priest of chapter l., or from the legend that our writer had been a High-priest). The Arabic Version, which commonly follows the Syr., has only the name: "Jesus the son of Sirach" (we take not any note of other additions in the Arab. superscription). And in Lagarde's 'Libri Vet. Test. Apocr. Syriace' (1861) the Syriac title as corrected from Cod. 12,142 in the Brit. Mus. (6th cent.) reads: 'Wisdom of the Son of Sira.' The Hebrew *Sira* is represented by the Greek form *Sirach* or *Seirach*, which corresponds (as to the χ) with the reading ἀκελδαμάχ for חֲקַל דְּמָא. The name itself (*Sira*) does not otherwise occur in Rabbinic literature. It is generally translated "a coat of mail" or "a cuirass." But it may have only a designative meaning, and in that case perhaps be best translated by "a thorn" or "hedge of thorns."[1]

Of the outward circumstances of Ben Sira little is known. Omitting entirely groundless speculations,[2] he has been identified by some with Jesus, or (as he Grecianised his name) Jason, the son of the High-priest Simon II., who by bribery displaced his brother Onias III. from the pontifical office. But evidently one of such infamous memory in Jewish annals could not have been the writer of our book. The notion that he was by descent a priest (Linde, Zunz) finds already expression in Cod. Sin[i]. Ecclus. l. 27. Such passages in regard to the priesthood as in Ecclus. vii. 29–31, and the not unfrequent allusions to sacrificial worship throughout the book, do not indeed seem sufficient to warrant such an inference. On the other hand, the disproportionate length at which he dilates in ch. xlv. on the high-priesthood of Aaron (and his descendants), while only a few verses are devoted to Moses, the great hero of Jewish tradition, seems of more significance in this respect than critics, from Eichhorn[3] downwards, have assigned to it.[4] Any definite conclusion on this point is, however, impossible. And the idea of the priestly descent of our author may have originated in the notions anciently entertained about the occupations and qualifications of the priesthood, and in ignorance of what

the Greek are clauses *b* and *c* of ch. l. 27 (viz.: "Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem . . . who out of his heart poured forth wisdom"); the Vet. Lat. has: *Jesus filius Sirach Jerosolymita*.

[1] Possibly to this may be due the later Rabbinic miswriting סירח or סירך (Wolfius, *u. s.*, p. 255) and סירוק (Jost, 'Gesch. d. Judenth.' i. p. 311).

[2] Later Jewish notices about Ben Sira are entirely without value. For particulars—most of them uncritical—the reader may refer to Wolfius, 'Bibl. Hebr.,' i. pp. 255–263. The story about Ben Sira being the son of Jeremiah occurs in the so-called 'Alphabet of Ben Sira'—of which more in the sequel. For the Constantinople edition of it (1519), see Buxtorf, 'Bibl. Rabb.' p. 324; other editions in Wolfius, *u. s.*, and Zunz, 'Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 105, note *b*. The reader who is curious to know the unsavoury story there related about the birth of Ben Sira will find it in Bartolocci, 'Biblioth. Rabb.' i. 684–687. But I cannot help suspecting that the writer of the story had somehow mixed up בן סירא with בן סטדא, and that it is only another edition of the blasphemous references to the mother of Jesus.

[1] Since the name does not otherwise occur, may it not be an allegorical designation rather than a proper name? From that point of view comp. Eccles. xii. 11 *a*.

[2] For some Jewish suggestions, see Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.' iii. p. 74. For the notion of the older writers (Corn. à Lapide, Calmet, Goldhagen) that Ben Sira was one of the seventy-two translators (LXX.), see Welte, 'Spez. Einl. in d. deuteronkan. B.' p. 225.

[3] Eichhorn, 'Einl. in d. apokr. Schr. d. A. T.' pp. 31, 32.

[4] It is surely a somewhat strong assertion by Schürer (*u. s.* p. 594) that this opinion is *völlig grundlos*.

constituted the learned and thinking class in Israel. In any case the assertion of Syncellus ('Chronogr.' ed. Dindorf, i. p. 525), that the Siracide succeeded Simon II. (as thirteenth High-priest) and held the pontificate for six years, is historically untenable. It may have arisen from a misunderstanding of a passage in the 'Chronicon' of Eusebius (Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 594). Not less groundless is the inference (by Grotius) from ch. xxxviii. 1–15, that Ben Sira was a physician (see special introd. to ch. xxxviii.). But whatever his occupation, it could not have been any handicraft nor yet agriculture (comp., for example, xxxviii. 25–30). On the other hand, it is certain that he was one of the Jewish sages of his time, and that his eminence and fame in this respect procured his advancement to the prominent public positions which he occupied (see, for example, xxxviii. 24, 33; xxxix. 1–5). Another and a very remarkable feature in his history is that he not only travelled much, but regarded this as part of the necessary education of a "sage," and that, while his views were enlarged, his religious convictions were only strengthened by what he learned and observed in foreign countries (xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 1–4). We mark in passing that foreign travel would scarcely have been the advice of a pious or even patriotic Jew in, or immediately before, the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (that is, during the pontificate of the sons of Simon II.). In any case it would be in direct opposition to the later exclusive views of the Pharisaic sages. All this seems to imply that our writer belonged to an earlier period in Jewish history. Indeed, we might almost doubt whether the younger Siracide would have reproduced these views if his translation had been made during the pontificate of the sons of Simon II.

It only remains to add that during these journeys Ben Sira appears to have incurred great personal danger (xxxiv. 12). It is probably to his deliverance from these perils that he refers in his hymn of praise (li. 1–12). In all likelihood his travels had extended both to Syria and to Egypt. In the latter country especially he would see and learn much that would leave its impress upon his mind. And the political relations of the two countries in regard to Palestine would account for the calumnies, intrigues, and perils to which a prominent and influential Jerusalemite might be exposed in those days.[1]

§ II. Date of the original Work and of its Translation into Greek.

Although the general spirit of Ecclesiasticus and some of the special views expressed in it form important elements in regard to the question of its date, it seems better to consider it in the first place on independent historical grounds. There are few subjects on which directly contrary opinions have been asserted with more confidence; few also on which (as it seems to us) absolute assurance on either side is less warranted.

The book itself furnishes two dates which might seem to fix the time both of its original composition and of its translation into Greek by the grandson of the author. The first of these is in Ecclus. l. 1, where the writer describes—apparently from personal observation—"Simon the high priest, the son of Onias;" leaving, however, the impression (lines *b* and *c*) that at the time of his writing Simon was no longer alive. The second date is in the Prologue to the translation by the younger Siracide, in which he states the time of his arrival in Egypt as "in the eight and thirtieth year under king Euergetes." But, as it happens, there were two High-priests, each of them "Simon, the son of Onias"—viz. Simon I., surnamed the Just, the son of Onias I., who according to the common reckoning flourished about 310–291 B.C.; and Simon II., son of Onias II., about 219–199 B.C.[2] And as there were

[1] See below, § II.

[2] These are the generally accepted dates. But considerable uncertainty prevails (see Ewald, 'Geseh. d. V. Isr.' iv. p. 351). Ewald's dates are: Onias I. died 310 B.C.; Simon I. died 291; Eleazar died 276; Manasseh died 250; Onias II. died 219; Simon II. died 199; Onias III. deposed in favour of his brother Jason, and he again in that of Menelaos. Herzfeld (*u. s.* pp. 185–189) gives the following dates:—Onias I. died 300; Simon I. died 287; Eleazar died 267; Manasseh died 240; Onias II. died

two High-priests of the name "Simon, son of Onias," so there were two Ptolemies who bore the epithet Euergetes, viz. Ptolemy III. or Euergetes I. (247–222 B.C.) and Ptolemy VII., Physkon, entitled Euergetes II.—but surnamed by his subjects Kakergetes—who, after having been co-regent with his brother for twenty-five years (from 170 to 145 B.C.), occupied the throne alone from 145 to 116 B.C. The question therefore is, which of these two Simons was the High-priest of Ecclus. l., and which of the two Euergetes is referred to in the Prologue of the Greek translator?[1]

At the outset we have to dismiss a consideration which, either avowedly[2] or perhaps unconsciously, has influenced critics. In the Prologue of the younger Siracide the usual arrangement of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa is supposed to be indicated in the expression "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of the fathers." It is argued that this implies the closing of the O. T. Canon and the completion of the LXX. Version, which again, according to certain critics, could not have been so early as in the reign of Euergetes I. Even if these premisses were correct, it would be vicious reasoning to determine an unknown quantity (who was the Euergetes of the Prologue?) by another equally unknown (the close of the Canon or the completion of the LXX.). But in our view the passage in the Prologue, above referred to, so far from presupposing an arrangement of the O. T. into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, really gave rise to this tripartition. Not only is there not any earlier indication of it, but it is not supported by the arrangement in the LXX. Besides, the Prologue gives not any indication what these "other books of the fathers" were, nor yet whether or not they included all our present *Hagiographa*. And Ecclesiasticus itself, while it makes reference to the Law and the Prophets (the historical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets), for reasons presumably good and valid (whatever they were) contains no mention of Mordecai or Daniel, nor even of Ezra. This, although there are unquestionable references not only to Nehemiah, but also in the text (see the notes, *passim*) to the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and probably Job. We dismiss therefore this preliminary *à priori* argument, and ask ourselves:

1. Was the Euergetes of the Prologue the first or second of that name? The arguments here turn on the meaning of the words used by the younger Siracide. Those who hold that Euergetes I. is referred to in the Prologue regard the Greek words ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου as meaning "in the eight and thirtieth year" of the writer, not of the reign of Euergetes. This necessarily, since Euergetes I. did not reign thirty-eight years. On the other hand, those who contend for Euergetes II. maintain that the expression can only mean the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Euergetes; and although Euergetes II. was not sole occupant of the throne for such a period of time, yet his reign must (according to Porphyrius in Euseb. Chron.) be reckoned from the time of his co-regency with his brother. As regards the true meaning of the Greek words quoted, writers are hopelessly at issue. So great an authority as Professor Westcott maintains that the meaning of the words "can only be, that the translator 'in his thirty-eighth year' came to Egypt during the reign of Euergetes," and he stigmatises the other translation as "absolutely at variance with the grammatical structure of the sentence" (Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' i. p. 479, note). On the other hand, those who contend for Euergetes II. equally strenuously maintain the

226—which makes the accession of Simon II. seven years earlier, or in 226. This is not the place to discuss these differences. Indeed, the exact chronology of the priestly succession offers no little difficulty. Happily it does not affect the present argument.

[1] We only note in passing the statement of Mr. Stanton ('The Jewish and the Christian Messiah,' p. 111), that Ecclesiasticus "may have been written any time between the High-priesthood of Simon son of Onias and the Maccabean rising." Is this really so? and to which of the two High-priests of the name of Simon does Mr. Stanton refer in this brief dismissal of a question of such importance?

[2] So, on the one side, Winer ('Bibl. Real-Wörterb.' i. p. 555) and others, even Fritzsche, p. xvi.; and, on the other side—we suspect—writers such as Böhl ('Forsch. n. e. Volksb.' pp. 35, &c.).

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other rendering.[1] But it must be admitted (Winer, *u. s.*) that the words mean in the first place something different from "in the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes." Similarly, Böhl (*u. s.*, p. 36) argues, adducing the testimony of Bernhardy ('Grundriss d. griech. Lit.' i. 502, 519) in favour of the structure of the sentences and generally of the style of the Prologue, that so able a writer would not have expressed such a meaning in so "ungreek" a manner. Winer holds that, according to common usage, he would have had to write: ἐν . . . ἔτει τῷ ἐπὶ τ. E. The defenders of the other translation point, indeed, to certain parallel or similar expressions — the latter in the Apocr. (1 Macc. xiii. 22; xiv. 27); the former in the LXX. (Hagg. i. 1, ii. 1; Zech. i. 7, vii. 1). But alike Winer and Böhl deny the conclusiveness even of the latter instances as at least admitting of exceptions. On the whole, therefore, the impartial student will probably judge that the argument i favour of either the one or the other translation cannot be considered conclusive.[2] In any case the main question as to the date of the original work is left open.

2. Of much greater importance than the other is the inquiry whether the Simon son of Onias of Ecclus. l. 1, and in the Syriac version also of l. 23, was Simon I. or Simon II. The Syriac presents in this chapter several important variants. Thus in *v.* 25—which, however, we regard as a later interpolation—instead of "mountain of Samaria" the Syr. rightly has גבל, which, just as גבלה in the Samarit. version of the Pent., is the rendering for *Seir* [Edom]. This the Vet. Lat. follows [against all the Greek MSS] by translating: *in monte Seir*. [For some other variants see the introd. to the ch. and the notes.] Again, while in *v.* 28 the Greek reminds us of the sentiment in Rev. i. 3, the Syr. translates: "Happy the man who meditates on these things, learns, knoweth, and doeth them." Lastly, *v.* 29 [30] is rendered in the Syr.: "Exaltedness is of the religion of God: it is exalted above all things. Behold it, my son, and do not forsake it." In all these instances we believe the Syriac to represent the Hebrew original more accurately than does the Greek text. This disposes us to receive favourably the Syriac version of *v.* 23: "And let there be peace among them, and let it be established with Simon the Just[1] and his seed, as the days of heaven." If this rendering be correct, it follows that the Hebrew original had expressly designated this High-priest Simon as the same who was surnamed "the Just."

But apart from this, there cannot, we believe, be any reasonable doubt that the Simon whom both tradition[2] and Josephus designate "the Just"[3] was Simon I. Josephus indeed twice expressly tells us that Simon I. "was called ὁ δίκαιος," and explains that this designation was given him "because both of his piety towards God and his kind disposition towards those of his own nation." And when Jewish tradition gives to a High-priest Simon exactly the same title—הַצַּדִּיק—and is never weary of speaking of his piety, glory, and miraculous Divine attestation[4]—it would seem a perversion of history not to identify the Simon I., the Just, of Josephus with the Simon, the *Tsaddiq*, of the Mishnah.[5] This con-

[1] Schürer (*u. s.* p. 595) puts it thus absolutely: "Mit dem 38. Jahre meint er natürlich nicht sein eigenes Lebensjahr."

[2] In view of this we have not thought it necessary to discuss at length the argument on which Böhl so strongly insists—but which seems very doubtful—that the reign of Euergetes II., having been marked by persecution and exile of the learned, would not have been a suitable period for the publication of the translation of the younger Siracide. But there is absolute evidence of literary activity among the Hellenists in that reign.

[1] Grätz ('Gesch. d. Juden,' ii. p. 235, note) ingeniously, and as I believe rightly, argues that the right reading in the Syr. must be שמעון חסיה, Simon the Just, and not חסדה.

[2] In Abh. i. 2; Par. iii. 5.

[3] 'Antiq.' xii. 2, 5; xii. 4, 1.

[4] The reader who is curious to know the Jewish traditions about Simon the Righteous is referred, among others, to Otto, 'Histor. doctor. Mishnic.;' Derenbourg, 'Hist. de la Palest.' pp. 47, &c.; and Grätz, *u. s.*, ii. pp. 255, &c.

[5] It was surely an ill-considered statement on the part of Dean Stanley ('Hist. of the Jewish Church,' iii. p. 247) that M. Derenbourg has conclusively established "that Simon the Just was Simon II." Derenbourg asserts it, but does not make any attempt to "establish" what it would be beyond the power of any man to prove. A late writer on the subject (Hamburger, 'Real-Encykl.' Abth. ii. p. 1116) cuts the knot

clusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the Mishnah describes this Simon as "of the remainders of the great synagogue," which had long passed away when Simon II. succeeded to the pontificate. In general, the terms in which tradition speaks of Simon the Just could not have been applied to Simon II., nor yet to the circumstances and relations of his time. They seem intended to convey that with Simon the Just one great period of Jewish history—that of spiritual glory, peace, and Divine attestation—had come to an end. All this could be said in regard to the pontificate of Simon I.; it would have no meaning in regard to that of Simon II.[1]

In these circumstances it would seem inexplicable that the writer of Ecclus. l. should have omitted from his catalogue of worthies Simon I.—the last of the great synagogue, the great priest-hero of Jewish tradition, "the Just" one of Josephus—and introduced in his stead such a figure as Simon II. Of the latter Jewish tradition does not say anything,[2] nor yet have we any other record of him—at least of a favourable character. For as the account in 3 Macc. ii. is universally admitted to be fabulous, the only references to Simon II. which we possess are those in Jos. 'Antt.' xii. 4, 10 and 11. These, as we shall immediately see, reflect anything but favourably on his political administration. Such a man could not have been described as in Ecclus. l. But this is not all. In Ecclus. l. 2–4 we have mention of certain great undertakings by Simon, notably of his restoration of the fortifications of Jerusalem. But for this there was absolutely no occasion during the pontificate of Simon II., the circumstances of the time rather implying the contrary. On the other hand, there was urgent need for it under the pontificate of Simon I., after the taking and dismantling by Ptolemy I. of the fortified cities of Palestine, inclusive no doubt of Jerusalem.[1]

It is indeed argued in favour of Simon II. that Ecclesiasticus contains not unfrequent allusions to sufferings and persecutions of Israel, and that it displays in this respect, rather than religiously, a feeling of great bitterness towards the Gentiles and their rulers (comp. chaps. xxxv., xxxvi.; see the special introductions to these chapters). And, since the time of Simon I. was one of peace to Israel—although in view of the wars of Ptolemy I. this is doubtful—while (which is also open to contention) the times were much more troubled during the administration of Simon II., it has been urged that these references point to the pontificate of the latter. But there is a twofold mistake here. The sufferings alluded to are apparently rather of the past and threatening the future, than in the present, which seems quiet and prosperous (comp. xlv. 26; l. 22–24). Further, it is apparently forgotten that although Ecclus. l. implies that the writer had himself seen Simon, it also conveys that he was no longer alive. Hence the references to the condition of Israel apply not to the time of Simon—be it the first, or the second—but to that of their successors. This opens a line of argument which has hitherto been overlooked. Before adverting to it, we must make a final reference to two points in Ecclus. l. which seem strongly in favour of its application to Simon I. The first is the manner in which the Samaritans are spoken of (l. 25, 26). This can easily be accounted for by events in the time of Simon I., but not in that of Simon II. Secondly, in Ecclus. l. 5, the High-priest is described in his "outgoing from the house of the Veil" [marg. A. V.—ἐν ἐξόδῳ οἴκου καταπετάσματος[2]],—unquestionably, the most Holy Place. But as the High-priest entered it only on the day of atonement, this part of the description must be of him on that most solemn festival. But it deserves special notice that the Jewish legends about

by the strange assertion that both Simon I. and Simon II. bore the designation "the Just." (See also the Jewish traditions about Simon the Just in Hamburger, *u. s.*)

[1] The Syr. Version has in l. 1: "Chief among his brethren and the crown of his people Simeon, the son of Nathanya."

[2] I am aware that those who plead for Simon II. invest him with a history, taken partly from Ecclus. l.—thereby begging the whole question—and partly from what tradition ascribes to Simon the Just, who, as we have shewn, was Simon I.

[1] See Grätz, *u. s.*, p. 230.

[2] The expression does not occur anywhere else, either in the LXX. or the Apocrypha.

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Simon I., the Just, are chiefly connected with the day of atonement. Thus we read that during the (forty) years of his pontificate the lot which designated the goat for Jehovah (Lev. xvi. 8, 9) always fell to his right hand; that during the same period the scarlet strip by which the goat for Azazel was designated always turned to white, indicating that Israel's sins were forgiven (Is. i. 18) [Jer. Yoma, 43*c*; Yom. 39*a*]; and lastly, that during his whole pontificate, as he entered and left the most Holy Place he was accompanied by a venerable figure arrayed in white, but that in the last year that figure had entered indeed with him but not accompanied him as he left the sanctuary (Jer. Yoma, 42*c*; Yom. 39*b*). Nor was that apparition ever seen before or afterwards.

Whatever value may be attached to this coincidence of Jewish legend concerning Simon I. with the description in Ecclus. of his appearance on the day of atonement, a historical line of argument, hitherto strangely overlooked, leads up to the same conclusion. As already stated, the exact date of the composition of Ecclesiasticus was not during the pontificate of Simon—whether I. or II.—but in that of one of his successors. But in Ecclus. xlv. 25 we find this curious notice, that the pontifical succession, like the royal, was to be from father to son. The notice is so abruptly introduced, and so uncalled for, that we regard it as an allusion to some historical occurrence in the near past. Now we know that while Simon II. was succeeded by his son Onias III., Simon I. was not followed by his son Onias II., but by his two brothers, Eleazar and Manasseh, and only after them by the already aged Onias II. We believe that the allusion in Ecclus. xlv. 22 is to this: that the older Siracide wrote at the accession of Onias II., and that he addressed to him the words of congratulation and hope that follow in Ecclus. xlv. 26. If this be so, and the older Siracide was a friend of Onias II. and supporter of his policy, it would also account for the great dangers to which, according to ch. li., he had been exposed from the calumnies of enemies. For at that time Palestine was divided between allegiance to the king of Egypt—the *de facto* suzerain—and intrigues with the ruler of Syria. We know that Onias II. refused to pay the yearly tribute to the king of Egypt. Josephus ('Ant.' xii. 4. 1) imputes this to avarice, but there can be little doubt that the High-priest was actuated by political motives. If the Siracide was an influential member of the same party, we can easily understand what dangers may have threatened him on his arrival in Egypt.

To these some subsidiary arguments may be added. As it seems to us, such language as in Ecclus. xlv. 26 might indeed be addressed to Onias II., the son of Simon I., who was the undisputed civil head of his people till the popular appointment of Joseph, the son of Tobias, in 230 B.C. ('Ant.' xii. 4. 2, 3).[1] But it would not have been suitable in regard to Onias III., the son of Simon II. Nor could sentiments such as those in that verse have been expressed in the time of Onias III., while they might have deep significance in regard to the political position and aims of Onias II. Lastly, the whole tone of the book is quite different from what we should have expected, if it had been written in the days of Onias III. For then the Grecian counter-Reformation had already made terrible progress in the land, assumed a hostile attitude, and led to the formation of the party of the *Chasidim*. In those circumstances the writer of Ecclesiasticus, who displays a spirit of liberal tolerance which seems in sympathy with much in foreign thought, while yet remaining faithful to Judaism, must have taken a more decided part with the one side or the other. At any rate he could not have absolutely ignored their existence. Thus the spirit and tone of the book also point to the period preceding the great struggle between Grecianism and Judaism as that of the composition of Ecclesiasticus—that is, to the time of Onias II., not that of Onias III.

For these reasons the probability in favour of the identity of the Simon of Ecclus. l. with Simon I., the Just, seems

[1] Although we found no argument upon it, it is significant that in Ecclus. xlv. 24 the High-priest is still described as προστάτης [in Sin.[2] we have λαοῦ instead of the common reading λαῷ]. But in 'Ant.' xiv. 4. 3 this is the very designation given to Joseph, the son of Tobias. Comp. the significant use of the term in 3 Esdras ii. 11.

to us so strong as almost to amount to a demonstration. In that case—if, what is not by any means certain, the Greek translator was the grandson of the older Siracide—it would follow that the Euergetes of the Prologue was the first, not the second, of that name. From the extracts preserved by Eusebius ('Praep. Evang.' ix.) from the Jewish historian Demetrius,[1] who flourished at that time, we infer that this period was one of considerable Jewish literary activity. Here we have to note what is at least a remarkable coincidence. If in the Prologue to his Greek translation the younger Siracide seems to refer to the interest in such studies which he found awakened in Hellenist, if not in wider circles, we have in the work of Demetrius evidence of its existence in the reign of Euergetes I.[2] On the other hand, if in the same Prologue the Siracide speaks of the difficulties of reproducing in a translation what was originally written in Hebrew, Josephus in referring to this very work of Demetrius excuses the occurrence of "lesser mistakes" in it on the ground of want of knowledge of Hebrew ('c. Ap.' i. 23). This twofold coincidence seems to throw some fresh light on the Prologue to our Greek Ecclesiasticus, and so far to confirm the view which, on the whole, we regard as the most likely—that the original work was translated into Greek in the reign of Euergetes I.

At the same time it is quite open to argue that, while the elder Siracide referred in ch. l. to Simon I., his younger descendant may have translated the work into Greek in the reign of Euergetes II. He speaks of the older Siracide as his πάππος; and although the term primarily means "grandfather," it is also used to denote a more remote ancestor (Arist. 'Pol.' iii. 2. 1; Dion. H. iv. 47—*apud* Liddell and Scott). At any rate, some writers of authority have adopted this view.[1]

§ III. Ecclesiasticus, the "Wisdom" Writings of the Old Testament, and Jewish Hellenistic Literature.

As previously stated, Ecclesiasticus affords glimpses of the intellectual history of a period over which otherwise profound darkness would rest. We might designate this as the formative stage in the history of a new period in Jewish religious thinking. The results of the past and the beginnings of a future development were still in juxtaposition—not amalgamated, but as yet not separated, nor were their further sequences in view. Alike the close of the old and the beginnings of the new are side by side in Ecclesiasticus. The former reaches back to the early times of Israel's glory; the latter points forward to that direction which was to find its home and centre, not in Palestine, but in Alexandria.

In the reign of king David, the Hebrew state had attained its definite and final stage. But with it also its exclusive national character may be said to have ceased. The outcome of the past period had been internal consolidation and external isolation. But under the rule of king Solomon, Israel for the first time came into close friendly contact with other nations, partly owing to the personal disposition of that monarch, partly from the new circumstances of the country, its growing wealth, and its commerce. But friendly intercourse between nations cannot be confined to the interchange of civilities or of wares: it means the interchange of ideas. There is not any barrier that can effectually arrest the progress of thinking, nor any quarantine that can prevent the spread of ideas. To encounter thought is to recognise it, and to recognise is at least partly to make it

[1] Eusebius has preserved five fragments of his work, extracted from a work 'On the Jews' by Alexander Polyhistor (a heathen). The longest of these excerpts is in 'Praep. Evang.' ix. 21, ed. Gaisford, ii. pp. 378, &c. Generally comp. Freudenthal, 'Hellenist. Studien.'

[2] The date of the work of Demetrius has, in our view, been conclusively established by Freudenthal (*u. s.*, pp. 57–63), and it is surprising that his arguments should have been ignored by Schürer ('Gesch. d. Jüd. V.' ii. p. 731).

[1] If we were asked to suggest a date for the composition of Ecclesiasticus, we might conjecture that the original work was written about 235 B.C., or earlier, but before the promotion of Joseph the son of Tobias in 230. If at that time the older Siracide was nearly 70 years old, his grandson, who translated it into Greek, might certainly have been in his thirty-eighth year under Euergetes I.

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our own. King Solomon completed indeed the work of David and the religious institutions of Israel by the building of the Temple. Yet by the side of this he had not only to tolerate, but to give facilities for foreign rites. This, not merely owing to external circumstances, but—so to speak—from an inward necessity. With Solomon began a new phase in Jewish thinking. It was still deeply religious—but it was thinking, in this sense that men were no longer content, nor even able, to settle the great problems of thought by merely external authority, but felt that they must grapple with them individually—nay, even with that fundamental question of all: that of external authority. This was the commencement of the so-called (*Chokhmah*) Wisdom-literature of Israel. The wisest of kings began it; he was himself the first Jewish *Chakham*, or sage. The Hebrew sage differs from the Gentile philosopher [1] in that he does not search out for himself the highest problems of thinking, nor yet seek to attain their solution by means of metaphysical speculation. These problems are already there, set before him; and they are solved in Divine Revelation. His object, therefore, is to verify rather than to discover—to conciliate the teachings of Divine Revelation, which he implicitly accepts, with the difficulties suggested either by his experience of life (empirical difficulties) or by his own thinking (speculative difficulties). And the conciliation of these difficulties with Revelation constitutes *Wisdom*. Thus (subjective) Wisdom in man busies itself with (objective) Wisdom in, or rather with, God, which is the mode of God's manifestation of Himself—perhaps, more correctly, the mode in which His self-manifestation presents itself to our thinking. That manifestation is twofold. As regards man, it is exhibited in God's dealings with him; and as regards the higher (abstract) problems, antecedent to and irrespective of man, it is connected with the ways of God. Thus the problems which engage Wisdom in man—those of human life and the higher abstract questions—correspond to the twofold aspect of Wisdom in God. Hence the topics which occupy Hebrew Wisdom-literature are both subjective and objective in their character. From the first of these aspects they are practical, and connected with the ordinary questions of human life; from the second of them, they are speculative, and consist in seeking to apprehend the ways of God. Thus the seeming confusion in the Wisdom-writings, due to the close juxtaposition and apparent mixture of precepts for the conduct of life with higher speculative questions, is only outward, and resolves itself into a higher unity. The two are only the different aspects, or the different kinds, of the great problem which Wisdom (in God) sets before us in His manifestations, and which Wisdom (in man) has to solve by faith and obedience. Closely connected with all this is the form and manner in which Hebrew Wisdom expresses itself. It speaks not in the language of metaphysical speculation, but in Proverbs, in Parables, and even by paradoxes. The latter, because absolute faith cares not to smooth away seeming contrarieties; nay, would rather encounter them directly. The former, because the Eastern mind delights in such form of expression. But this is not all. For to the devout Hebrew, whose God rules on earth as in heaven, things on earth are ever the counterpart of things in heaven. Heaven and earth are part of one kingdom. He sees God reflected in Nature and in all things around, and he hears His voice in the streets and in the busy commerce of men. But there may be a still deeper reason for it. To the believing Hebrew the final solution of all difficulties (whether empirical or speculative) is in Revelation, and "Wisdom" consists, not in the discovery of truth, but only in its vindication: on the one hand, in the conciliation of seeming difficulties; and, on the other, in the placing of man's life and thinking on a line with the Will and the Ways of God. In this view all is Parable and all Proverbs: the solution of every speculative difficulty is in a Parable (1 Cor. xiii. 12 *a*); while that of every practical difficulty becomes and ought to be a Proverb in the people's mouth.

Solomon was, so far as we know, the originator of this parabolic, proverbial philosophy of religion among the Hebrews

[1] Compare also generally J. Fr. Bruch, 'Die Weisheits-Lehre der Hebräer.'

—or, at any rate, it gathered around the name of the Wise King. Whatever portions of the Book of Proverbs may be of his personal authorship, even the fact that other or later sayings gathered around this nucleus and name is of deep significance. In this truest sense the whole book is Solomonic. The same may be said of Ecclesiastes—a work thoroughly one in plan and contents. Assuming at the outset the standpoint of seeming indifferentism and epicurean self-enjoyment, the writer proceeds to discuss the great theological problem how to conciliate what seems either chance or fate with the personal Rule of God, till he gradually rises to the consciousness of a personal moral responsibility as the practical, if not speculative, solution of all. Although the book is undoubtedly much later than Solomon, it is (for the reasons above stated) not only truly Solomonic, but perhaps it may even have been intended to present in a concrete form the problems presented by the life as well as in the thinking of the wise king. Nay, its opening text (*v.* 2), "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," may even be directly Solomonic, or else set forth a summary of what after-ages regarded as the Solomonic problem.

It will readily be perceived how closely the book Ecclesiasticus is connected with this ancient *Chokhmah*-literature, not only in form but in substance. In truth, it is a continuation of it: for, that road once entered, standstill or abandonment would be no longer possible. By the side of the purely legal and even of the prophetic teaching of Scripture, this would now become a distinctive phase in Hebrew religious thinking. Nor should we forget that alike the predictions of the final ingathering of all nations and the commencement of *Chokhmah*-literature were historically connected with a closer contact with the empires of the world. Even the prophetic comments on sacrificial worship—their protest against the merely *ex opere operato* view of it—might here acquire a new significance and meaning. As an illustration of the manner in which the later *Chakhamim* understood or developed such sayings, we would point to Ecclus. xxxiv. and xxxv., which gain in significance from their connexion with the reference in ch. xxxiv. 9–11 to what the writer had seen and learned in foreign countries. Similarly a special *Chokhmah* meaning might be attached not only to the numerous prophecies that foretold the conversion of the Gentiles, but even to the prophetic addresses to them and to the implied recognition that, despite the present state of rebellion, the earth and all nations were the Lord's. This may explain how, in the description of a sage (Ecclus. xxxix. 1–3), an understanding of prophecy is conjoined with knowledge of the wisdom of the ancients, of parables, and of proverbs; while, on the other hand, in Ecclus. xxiv. Zion and Israel are indeed stated to be the special dwelling-place of "Wisdom," where she has her fixed abode, but her presence is also recognised among all nations (*v.* 6).

It scarcely needs to be stated that the full and final development of this must be sought, not in Palestine, but among the Greek-thinking and Greek-speaking "dispersion" of the West, of which Alexdria was the intellectual capital. But in Ecclesiasticus we have, in a sense, a prehellenistic Grecianism. It is still strictly Palestinian, not Alexandrian, and it does not treat the simple language of Scripture as if it consisted of allegories, representing so many formulæ for abstract ideas. But for all this it is, if not Grecianised Judaism, yet a Judaism influenced by Grecian thought. Thus it appears that the first origin of what is called Jewish Hellenism has to be traced to Palestine, not to Alexandria, and was only fully developed there under favouring circumstances. And these circumstances were analogous to those which first called forth Hebrew *Chokhmah*-literature.

Considering the condition of the small, intellectually almost contemptible, remnant which returned from the Babylonian exile, and the state of those who remained behind, it seems a strange historical assumption to regard this age as one of the most fruitful thinking or of great literary activity. The awakening and new progress of thought are organically connected with the general life of a people: they are always in line with stirring events in the history of the world or of a nation. Such wakening came with the conquests

of Alexander the Great and the founding of the Macedonian world-empire. It was not only that Israel was now brought into direct contact with Grecianism, nor yet that it felt the electric shock which passed through the ancient world, nor even that from its subjection to the Macedonian conqueror and his successors it constantly experienced Grecian influences. But there was a chain of purely Greek cities within the land of Palestine itself, as well as around its borders. The constant and close intercourse resulting from it, must have led to the gradual introduction of Grecian ideas. These would appear in the first instance, so to speak, in a friendly form—and only afterwards become a hostile power with which war for life or death must be waged. In each case outward events must have corresponded with this state of feeling. The period of outward peace and of the friendly influence of Grecianism terminated soon after Simon I.—who is accordingly designated as the last link in the "great synagogue." The period of open and bitter hostility to Judaism, alike politically and religiously, began immediately after, if not under, Simon II. This brings us back to our former conclusions about the date of Ecclesiasticus. As the last outrunner of Palestinian *Chokhmah*-literature, it belongs to the former, not to the latter, period. It marks a time of transition when by the side of the old, as then understood, we discover all the germs of a future development. In respect of the latter we might almost characterise it as alike Pharisaic before the Pharisees, Sadducean before the Sadducees, and Hellenistic before Hellenism. And yet it is not eclectic—only preparatory. It could not have belonged to a period when Grecianism had become a hostile power in Church and State, and evoked a reaction that led to the formation of the nationalist party and finally issued in the Maccabean rising. The nationalist party was known by the title *Chasidim*, "the pious" (1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6). That name was undoubtedly derived from the description of the *Chasidim*, "the pious," in the Psalms (Ps. xxx. 4; xxxi. 23; xxxvii. 28). We conjecture that this movement included also a protest against and a separation from the whole *Chokhmah*-direction of the period immediately preceding, which might be regarded as having been fraught with terrible consequences to Israel. If the one party had spoken of *Chokhmah* and appealed to Solomon, the other party would now go a step further back and appeal to David and the Psalter, and to the *Chasidim* of which they wished and professed to be the representatives.

We cannot here follow the further development of their history. But we submit that what has been stated sufficiently answers the question, often and learnedly discussed, as to the relation between Ecclesiasticus and distinctively Alexandrian views. Gfrörer ('Philo u. d. Alex. Theos.' ii. pp. 21–52) calls our author an Eclectic, and supposes that certain parts of his book (notably ch. xxiv.) were derived from an Alexandrian work. That there is a close relationship between Ecclesiasticus and Alexandrianism cannot indeed be doubted—and this not only in ch. xxiv. but in some of the other instances adduced by Gfrörer (comp. the special introd. to ch. xliv.). But their relation is other than that scholar supposed. Ecclesiasticus is not dependent on Alexandrian teaching, but the latter had its roots in the direction represented by our book. On the other hand, Dähne ('Gesch. Darstell. d. jüd. Alex. Relig. Phil.' ii. pp. 144, &c.) rightly calls attention to the genuine Palestinian character of our book as a whole. But he is mistaken in attributing the Alexandrian elements in it entirely to alterations introduced in the Greek Version by the younger Siracide, and to interpolations. Such undoubtedly there are, and of a very marked character. But they are not of such wide sweep as is supposed by Dähne, and the hypothesis as a whole is forbidden by the Syriac Version, which was made directly from the Hebrew original.

§ IV. The Writer and his Book: its Philosophy, Theology, and Ethics; Comparison with the New Testament and with Philo.

Before making a closer survey of the book, it may be convenient to refer

to some of its general characteristics. We have already seen that the circumstances of the time and the religious standpoint occupied in Ecclesiasticus throw light on each other. The same may be said in regard to the social and moral relations reflected in Ecclesiasticus. If the allusions in it are sometimes coarse, if its tone is the reverse of high, and if the references to sexual and other excesses are both frequent and unpleasant, this is due to the state of matters at the time. Again, bearing in mind that the main subject of the book is *Wisdom*, the treatment may seem fitful, from the frequent and sudden transitions to apparently wholly different and even trivial topics connected with the rules of daily life. This has already been partly accounted for by the view which the writer took of "Wisdom." Besides, such transitions—often abrupt—from one subject to another are characteristic of Eastern writing. So to speak, they give emphasis to the discussion of the graver questions. Nor is the treatment of "Wisdom" so fitful as might seem at first sight. For "Wisdom" is the subject treated of in the beginning of the book (ch. i.), in the middle of it (ch. xxiv.), and especially at the close (chaps. xxxiii.–xliii.). Indeed, this latter portion reads almost like a separate treatise on the great problems of *Wisdom* (see the special introductions to these chapters). And even the abruptness of the transitions is more apparent than real. This also is characteristic of Eastern thinking, which moves in the succession of time, as one thing suggests another, rather than in that of logical order, where one topic is evolved from the other.[1]

That the writer of Ecclesiasticus was a man of high culture, fully acquainted with the sacred literature of Israel, is not only stated in the Prologue, but appears from almost every part of the book. Moreover, we infer even from such allusions as in xxiv. 28, xxxiii. 16, xxxix. 1, 2, that he was familiar with the thoughts—perhaps the writings—of others in Israel whose mental direction and studies were kindred to his own. And here we also recall that he had travelled abroad for the enlargement of his knowledge, and profited by what he had seen and learned (xxxiv. 10, 11; xxxix. 4). Again, although his dogmatic horizon was bounded, and his views defective, even erroneous, Ben Sira cannot be charged with scepticism. Thoroughly liberal in his conception of Judaism, he was yet an earnest believer in it. Deeply touching is the account which he gives (li. 15–22) of his inner experience. In early life he had in earnest prayer, both private and in the Temple, sought for that Wisdom which—like Solomon of old, or, to quote a lower instance, like Philo—he regarded as the highest aim of life. And he was resolved to pursue it to his last day. By the guidance of that Wisdom he had walked from his youth in the right way, ever following the good. In earnest moral observance of the Law he had stretched out his hands towards heaven, deeply mourning any aberrations due to ignorance, and ever aiming after purity. And even the success which had come to him in life he attributed to this pursuit, and thanked God not only for it, but still more for the gift of that Wisdom through which he had attained it, in a life not untroubled by sorrow and beset by dangers. Best of all, he had inward peace and joy. Higher experience than this we cannot expect on the part of the writer of Ecclesiasticus. He was not an inspired man, and, personally, he stands as far below the prophets of old as his own ideal standard falls short of that of the New Testament. Still on every page of his book God is first and foremost: His fear, His Law, and the right and true. Sometimes his praise of the great Creator is almost sublime (as in ch. xxxix. 13–25), while his prayers are fervent and lofty in tone. In general, the one great aim which he sets before himself in his book is to vindicate the ways of God with man. As a believing Israelite, he throughout recognises the leadings of God with His people of old; and he has unshaken faith in the fulfilment of the promises to Israel. Lastly, the main practical object of his work is to warn and instruct others (comp. the Prologue; xxxix. 32; l. 27, 28; li., closing stanza).

From another point of view—that of mental difficulties—we have to emphasise that the speculations of Ben Sira never

[1] Yet although this is prevalently, it is not uniformly, the case in our book.

issue in doubt. He seeks to answer questions, rather than to solve doubts (xxxix. 16–21). In truth, such do not exist for him. For in God is all Wisdom: and he sees it exhibited equally in creation, in Providence, in history, and in Revelation. Hence he severely condemns, as afterwards Philo, those Jews who, in their spurious enlightenment, would neglect the observance of the Mosaic Law or the ancestral rites. For in his view the Law is the highest exhibition of Wisdom (xxiv.); and its observance the first of duties (comp. i. 26; vi. 37; xiv. 11; xix. 20; xxxv. 1–11).

We proceed to give a brief summary of the philosophical and theological teaching in Ecclesiasticus.

1. The theme of the book is, as previously stated, Wisdom. For the fullest exposition of the writer's views, we here turn to chapters i., xxiv., and to the section beginning with chapter xxxiv. All wisdom comes from God, with Whom it ever is (see generally ch. i.). It transcends the comprehension of man. Wisdom is the firstborn of His creatures: rather, it is the mould and the archetype for all the works and ways of God. And yet in His goodness He has manifested His Wisdom — and that to all men. Understanding of Wisdom and the fear of the Lord coincide—the one is the speculative, the other the practical, aspect of Wisdom. Hence Wisdom is also true happiness. In ch. xxiv. Wisdom is represented as created "from the beginning," "before the world"—as coming forth "from the mouth of the Most High," and as the creative, or at least formative, agent. This seems to mean that Wisdom, immanent in God, became outwardly manifest when God created all things: that it was alike the creative word and the creative thought. It need scarcely be said that in all this there was not any idea of a hypostatisation of Wisdom or presenting it as a Person. The writer did not even think of it as separate from God. Ecclesiasticus marks indeed an advance in this respect on the teaching of the Book of Proverbs; but it still falls far short of that of Philo. The latter proceeded on the idea that God was an abstraction, and that He could not be in direct contact with anything concrete — least of all with matter.[1] Again, manifestly there is absolutely a gulf between such speculations—whether in Ecclesiasticus or of Philo—and the teaching of the New Testament. On another and kindred point we mark the same difference. According to Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, as the active principle in creation, was poured out upon the earth, and in measure imparted to all nations (i. 9, 10, 15; xxiv. 3–7). But it was concentrated in the revealed Law of God, and became permanently resident in Israel. Here we have the second fundamental principle afterwards developed by Philo. In the New Testament all this is quite otherwise set forth. There the Logos is shewn to be a Person, Who became Incarnate; and in the Logos God is the Father of all men, who are to attain to Him not through abstract Wisdom but through the mediation of the Personal Logos—that is, by grace. Lastly, in the final section of Ecclus., Wisdom, as previously presented, is vindicated against all speculative difficulties. Similarly, in the practical parts of the book, Wisdom is vindicated in its practical aspect, the object being to shew that the ordinances and directions of Wisdom are not only right, but good, and such as lead to prosperity.

2. We have seen that Wisdom is immanent in God. It is the sum of all His qualities, and hence of all His manifestations. It follows almost logically that in the strict sense God must be incomprehensible to man. In truth, this was a necessary position in the theology of Ecclesiasticus. Philo arrived at the same conclusion, though by a different process. In his system this was the outcome of philosophical ideas about the Being of God and His absolute separateness, as well as from his views concerning the material world. In Ecclesiasticus the incomprehensibleness of God is, more biblically, traced back to His *supremeness*.[2] The two ideas are presented

[1] See the article PHILO in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.' vol. iv.

[2] No doubt can attach to this that the Siracide firmly held the strict Personality of God. If in xliii. 27 God is thus described, "He is the All" (καὶ συντέλεια λόγων Τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός), we have no hesitation in regarding this as a bold later addition by the younger Siracide (see

in Ecclus. in a whole series of passages, notably in xviii. 2–7, xlii. 17, &c.; but especially in xxxix. 16–21, and in the last stanza of ch. xliii.[1] If God is incomprehensible and supreme, it also follows that He is *omniscient, almighty, and irresistible.* This brings us to the two great problems which our writer seeks to solve in the third section of his book. But the Son of Sirach only states the facts; he does little to explain them. How are we to account for the difference in the outward lot which, apparently without any cause, befalls men: nay, more, for the moral difference in their dispositions, the diverse shaping of their spiritual history, and their end? Ben Sira's answer is simply Predestinarianism. But in such case what may be distinguished as the natural and the moral qualities in the Deity are apparently in antagonism. The writer of Ecclesiastes had also faced this problem. But he turned from it, almost with a shrug of the shoulders, in view of the indifference and smallness of earthly things. But if he attempted not any solution of the difficulty from its objective aspect — rather admitted it — he sought to transfer the whole question into the region of personal moral responsibility. The writer of Ecclesiasticus seems disposed to follow his predecessor, but he attempts a little philosophy of his own on the subject—although with small success. St. Paul also had to face this great problem. He knew the awful facts, and perceived their "antinomies" of reason and theology. But he viewed them in the surrounding and transforming light of the infinite love of God in Christ. And in this solution the Christian heart can thankfully acquiesce (comp. Rom. xi. 32–36).

But the older Siracide was simply a Predestinarian (comp. here such statements as xvi. 26; xxiii. 20; xxxiii. 10–13; xxxix. 20, 21). The same may be said of Philo.[2] But Ben Sira laboriously tries to make a way through the maze to this as his final conclusion (in ch. xxxix., last stanza, *vv.* 32, &c.), that "all the works of the Lord are good." The reasoning by which this result is reached commences in ch. xxxiii., and is carried on to the end of chapter xliii., although with interruptions or rather intercalations caused by things suggested by the way. We add that here we catch glimpses of Aristotelian philosophy, and, for that matter, of Zoroastrianism,[1] in the idea, broached by our writer, of an essential Dualism of contraries: one thing being set against the other—good against evil, life against death, and so on (see ch. xxxiii. 7–15). Yet with all this he escapes falling into fatalism by emphasising (as in Ecclesiastes) the absolute freedom of the will and personal responsibility (comp. here especially xv. 14–20; and such sentences as xvii. 6).

The Son of Sirach seems to feel more certain and satisfied when he shifts the ground of his argument to the moral properties of God: His justice and mercy. God is not only the Maker of all things: He is also the Ruler. Hence ultimately good will certainly follow upon right-doing. And although the righteous may suffer—since suffering is the common lot—yet their sorrows are not like those of the wicked, and they have also both immediate and final consolation under them. We cannot here enter into further details, but we mark that our author traces this quality of *Justice* in God's dealings not only with individuals, but with nations, and especially in God's ways with Israel. Alike the fulfilment of the promises to them and the destruction of the heathen ultimately resolve themselves into the exercise of Justice. By the side of this quality—as its complement and, in a sense, its other aspect—Ben Sira places that of *Mercy*.[2] This mercy extends to

introd. to ch. xliii.). In the Syr. the whole section from *v.* 11 is wanting. The Vet. Lat. solves the difficulty by rendering: *ipse est in omnibus.*

[1] Ch. xvi. 20, 21 refers to something very different. See the notes. As to ch. xliii., see also the previous note.

[2] See the article in Smith and Wace's 'Dict.' previously referred to.

[1] Comp. Bruch, *u. s.* pp. 301, 302.

[2] Merguet (*u. s.* p. 11) notes the following terms for it: ἔλεος (this mostly), ἐλεημοσύνη, ἐξιλασμός. But there is not any mention of the free outgoing of Divine *Love*. The latter is only evoked in return for our love of Wisdom; comp. iv. 14. The solitary reading χάρις in i. 13, quoted by Merguet, is extremely doubtful, and in any case could only mean "favour." In xxiv. 16 it stands for "grace" or beauty.

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"all flesh," but is specially shewn to the poor, afflicted, and needy, and yet more particularly to the prayerful, the believing, the penitent, and the merciful.

3. Little need be said about the *Cosmology*, the *Angelology*, or even the *Anthropology* of our book. As regards the former, the world is not represented as an emanation from God, but as His creation. At the same time we find, as in ch. xvi. 26, 27, expressions about the order and rule in the *Kosmos*, which afterwards acquired a special meaning in the system of Philo, although it is very doubtful whether anything of the kind was in the mind of Ben Sira (see notes). Belief in Angels seems implied in Ecclesiasticus (xvii. 17—see the note about the Jewish tradition on the subject; xlviii. 21; and possibly, though doubtfully, xlv. 2). But it seems to be a subject on which our author is reluctant to enlarge. Even this is indicative of Ben Sira's standpoint, since developed Angelology is characteristic of post-exilian theology. He is still more chary in his reference to Satan (xxi. 27). On the other hand, if in xxxix. 28, &c., he may seem to identify such "messengers of God" with punitive agencies in nature, we must bear in mind that, in later Jewish theology also, the Angels are sometimes represented (alike as regards their names and agency) as personifications of powers, or of Divine dispensations. There is not any ground for supposing that the Son of Sirach believed in the doctrine of the fall of man through the sin of our first parents —or rather, in original sin in the New Testament sense. He traces, indeed, the *beginning* (ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας), but not the *origin* of our sin to Eve (xxv. 24; see specially the note on that verse), and he attributes to her the universal prevalence of death. But this is very different from tracing to this source moral guilt or native depravity. On the "after death" the views of the Siracide are very unsatisfactory. As regards the body, so far from cherishing the hope of a Resurrection we have such dreary pictures as in ch. x. 11; xxxviii. 21–23; xl. 1, 11; xli. 1–4. What becomes of the spirit in Hades, seems scarcely clear to our writer (xiv. 12). Probably he thought of it as in eternal sleep. There man is in dark, eternal rest, whence he can never return (xxii. 11; xxx. 17; xxxviii. 23). Thither no pleasure enters (xiv. 16). Hence we should enjoy all that we may in this life (xiv. 14–17). Nay, not even the praise of God rises from this dark abode (xvii. 27, 28). Man is "no more" —he lies in "eternal sleep" (xlvi. 19; comp. a somewhat similar mode of expression in Jer. li. (in Sept. xxviii.) 39). The reward or punishment of a man after this life consists in the permanence, or else the loss, of his possessions, in his children, and in a good or evil reputation (for example, xi. 28; xxi. 4; xxiii. 24–27; xxxix. 9; xl. 15, 16; xli. 5–13; xlvi. 11, 12). Forgiveness of sins may indeed be looked for from the mercy of God (ii. 18; xvi. 11, &c.; xvii. 24, 29); but this is chiefly dependent on almsgiving and prayer (iii. 30; xvii. 25; xxix. 12; xl. 17). Repentance is frequently enjoined (v. 7; xvii. 26; xviii. 21). Of free forgiveness and the love of God to sinners there is not a word. There are, indeed, passages which seem to imply that some at least of the dead are not for ever unconscious — such as the references to Enoch, Samuel, and Elijah (xliv. 16; xlvi. 20; xlviii. 9–11; xlix. 14). But on closer study it will appear how little even these references to the great biblical heroes and events imply.

4. *Ethics.*—The ethical teaching of Ecclesiasticus is even more unsatisfactory and disappointing than its dogmatics. If evidence were required of the need of the personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost or of His transforming power, we should find it in the code of morals laid down in this book by one of the most distinguished *Chakhamim* of the post-exilian period. Without entering into a detailed analysis, we may briefly indicate the favourable and the unfavourable aspect of Ecclesiasticus in this respect. In the former we include the constant and prominent references to God and the ever-recurring admonitions to fear and obedience of Him. Closely connected with this is the essen-

In this sense it occurs several times, as also in that of "favour," "thanks," "praise." In the sense of bountifulness, or the bestowal of gifts, it only occurs in xl. 17—and there as on the part of man, not of God.

tial distinction made throughout the book between the righteous and the sinner. As in the view of our author Wisdom in its objective aspect is fully presented in the revealed Law of God, so in its subjective aspect it coincides with the fear of the Lord. Hence also the pious is throughout represented as the wise, and the sinner as the fool (and *vice versâ* also).[1] On the other hand, if Ben Sira so frequently and emphatically insists that God will certainly requite the righteous and the sinner, we have to bear in mind that the requital which he expects is of and in this world. Similarly, if he enjoins observance of the rites and worship of Israel, it is too often rather because they are ancestral, than because of their absolute and intrinsic importance; because they are Israel's rather than because they are God's. Of any deeper understanding of the spiritual or the typical import of sacrifices or the other institutions of the Old Testament we cannot discern a trace. On the contrary, almsgiving and prayer—and that as an *opus operatum*—seem to constitute in the view of our author the substance of religion, although (as already explained) he insists on strict and even joyous observance of the ordinances of the sanctuary. Very characteristic and generally instructive in all these respects is the first stanza of ch. xxxv. Most curious and interesting are the extensive, evidently Christian, alterations introduced in this chapter in the Syriac Version.

Even a cursory perusal of the book shews that the general moral tone of the writer is not at any time lofty. Often it is decidedly low, and his allusions become coarsely realistic. But, apart from this, we feel throughout that moral questions are placed on a low level and viewed in a wrong light. Ben Sira seems to be always arguing that after all religion is that which profits best: alike as regards man and God. And in the latter respect we have besides to bear in mind that even the return which he expects from God is mainly, if not exclusively, earthly, and consists of prosperity, a good posterity, and an excellent reputation. The spiritual and the eternal are not in his view. From another aspect also the book may be described as a most unpleasant mixture of selfishness and Eastern world-wisdom with religiousness. And the religion which it commends is very jejune, while the wisdom of which it boasts often resolves itself into high-sounding platitudes. The model-man of Ben Sira seems to be always thinking of himself—what men will say of him or how a thing will affect him either in life or when he comes to die. When we come upon any expression of distinctively Jewish faith, it impresses us rather as a mixture of religious respectability with something very like superstition. Even the sublime idea of the absolute supremacy of God leads him, at the thought of sorrow, not to believing submission nor the recognition of what is higher, but if not to a species of fatalism yet to a kind of indifferentism. Lastly, although the writer as a keen observer of men, and having ample knowledge of the world, often gives utterance to shrewd sayings which, alas! have their application to all ages, they are mostly of the kind best described by the term "worldly-wise." On the whole, the ethics of Ecclesiasticus are neither pleasant nor profitable reading.

5. *Eschatology.*—On this subject little need be said in addition to our previous remarks. We have seen that the Siracide had apparently not any distinct faith in another and higher life after death. How he combined with this belief in the spiritual part of man or even in a personal God, it is not for us to determine. To the doctrine of the resurrection of the body and the final judgment there

[1] Characteristic are the designations of Wisdom and the Wise, marking the different aspects of his conception. They are: *σοφία, παιδεία, πανουργία, σύνεσις* (and *διάνοια συνέσεως*), *ἐπιστήμη*, and *θεοσέβεια*. Corresponding to these are the terms in which he speaks of the *σοφός*, or the *εὑρὼν σοφίαν*, as: *συνετός, ἐπιστήμων, νοήμων, φρόνιμος, πεπλανημένος, πολύπειρος*; he is *ἀνὴρ βουλῆς, μακρόθυμος, πιστός, εὐσεβής, φοβούμενος κύριον, ζητῶν νόμον, ταπεινός, ἐλαττούμενος καρδίᾳ*, even *ἀγαθός* (Merguet, *u. s.*). The designations of the fool and sinner Merguet groups under four classes: (a) *μωρός, ἄφρων, ἀσύνετος, ἀνόητος, ἀπαίδευτος, ἀκάρδιος*; (b) *ἀσεβής, καταλιπὼν τ. κυρ., παραβαίνων ἐντολάς, ἄνομος, ἄδικος, ἐχθρός, ἀλλότριος*; (c) *ἁμαρτωλός, πλανώμενος, κακὰ ἐργαζόμενος, πονηρευόμενος*; (d) *κακός, ψυχὴ πονηρά, ὑπερήφανος, δόλιος, σπαταλός, λοίδορος*, and *ἀναιδής*.

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is not any allusion in Ecclesiasticus. Nor yet do we find any trace of expectancy of a personal Messiah. But apparently Ben Sira did look for what may be called a (Messianic) "kingdom"—although without a king. It is not easy, however, to form any clear conception of what he associated with that happy period. He certainly regarded it as the fulfilment of the prophetic promises to Israel. He frequently refers to judgments that were to come upon the Gentile nations; and he anticipates the gathering of all Israel, their liberation, and even their triumph—the latter being preceded by the advent of Elijah. Yet, after all, these statements only give rise to questions to which there is no answer in our book. The following are important passages in regard to the eschatology of Ecclus.: xxxv. 18, 19; xxxvi. 1–17; xxxvii. 25 *b*; xliv. 21, 22; xlvii. 11; xlviii. 10, 11, 24. Generally comp. the introduction to ch. xlviii. But we cannot close without calling attention to xliv. 21, 22. The reference there is to the special (Messianic) blessing promised to Abraham (in Gen. xxii. 18) and afterwards continued to Isaac. It is the contention of most modern critics that the Hebrew of these verses should not be rendered (as in the LXX.): "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," but that the correct translation is: "with thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves." It is instructive to find that, in opposition to the confident assertions of these critics, the younger Siracide (who presumably knew Hebrew) adopted the first translation, probably quoting from the LXX.

§ V. Language, Title, and Arrangement of the Original Work.

The work of the Son of Sirach was originally written in Hebrew, and not, as some critics have supposed, in the later Aramaic dialect. Jerome had still seen a copy of the Hebrew original (*Hebraicum reperi*[1]). The quotations from the work in Talmudic writings (see § X.) are, with three exceptions, in Hebrew,[2] and they are chiefly made by Palestinian authorities. But the Hebrew is that of a later age.[1] The work seems, however, at an early period to have been translated into Aramaean—probably in Babylon—and to have been elaborated with additions, not always worthy of the original composition, into a book from which quotations are made by Babylonian Rabbis.[2] If any doubt could still be entertained that the work was originally written in Hebrew, it would be removed by a comparison with the Syriac translation (see § VIII.). And we know that Hebrew was at that time, and long afterwards, the language used by the learned and in the schools.

In Hebrew the book had borne the title משלים, Proverbs (in Aram. מתלין). Jerome (*u. s.*) expressly states that it was entitled 'Parabolae' ("non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed Parabolas praenotatum"). Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the original Greek title in the MSS., Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ, 'The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach,' originated in the Church. Even the Solomonic books (Prov. and Eccles.) were designated by the Jews as ספרי חכמה, the Books of Wisdom,[3] and we know that the Book of Sirach and apocryphal 'Wisdom' were ranked with them. The account of Melito of Sardis (Eusebius, 'Hist. Eccl.' iv. 26), which adds to the title 'Proverbs of Solomon' the words ἡ καὶ Σοφία, seems derived from a Jewish source.[4] Similarly, in MS. 12,142 (Brit. Mus.), the Syriac title of the book—evidently taken from a Hebrew source—is 'Wisdom of the Son of Sira.'[5] Even the designation of our book as ἡ πανάρετος σοφία (or more briefly: ἡ πανάρετος[6]), which first appears in Eusebius,[7]

[1] 'Praefat. in vers. libr. Salom.'

[2] Comp. Zunz, 'Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 104.

[1] Comp. Zunz, *u. s.*, note *b*, and the instances given by Delitzsch, 'Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie,' p. 205, note 2.

[2] For the evidence see Zunz, *u. s.*, pp. 104, 105.

[3] Tosephoth to Babh. B., 14 *b*.

[4] Comp. Nowack, 'Sprüche Sal.' p. x.

[5] See Lagarde, 'Libri Vet. Test. Apocr. Syriace.'

[6] Jerome (l. s. l.): "Fertur et πανάρετος Jesu filii Sirach liber." Cassiodorus ('Div. Lect.' i. 5) explains: "propter excellentiam virtutum suarum παράνετον appellat, i.e. virtutum omnium capacem."

[7] Chron. (ed. Schoene) ii. 122; 'Demonstr. Evang.' (ed. Gaisford), viii. 2, 71. The designa-

may have had a Hebrew equivalent, just as the same designation seems to have been given to the Solomonic Book of Proverbs.[1] The common Latin designation (since Cyprian) 'Ecclesiasticus' (or 'Ecclesiasticus Sirach') could scarcely have been introduced to distinguish our book from Ecclesiastes, but probably meant "Church-(ecclesiastical) book." It obtained that name from its frequent use by the early Church, especially in the instruction of catechumens.[2]

It is the opinion of many critics that our book contains much which is not the writer's own, and was derived from other "sages." But this view cannot be accepted without important qualifications. Eichhorn,[3] who calls Ecclesiasticus "a rhapsody," supports the contention that Ben Sira had partly collected from previous writers, by referring to what he regards as repetitions in the book, or as contradictions in its different parts, and also to utterances which he considers unworthy of the Siracide and belonging to an earlier and ruder age. But, in his view, our author had mostly not literally reproduced such sayings of others, but recast them in his own language. Bretschneider[4] generally repeats and further develops the views of Eichhorn, though scarcely in a manner to command assent. For our own part, we have failed to discover any repetitions in the strict sense of the term; and still more any contradictions. For it must be remembered that the recurrence of the same idea in different connexions is not necessarily a mere repetition. Lastly, even such a statement as that in xxxiii. 16 does not necessarily imply that our author had incorporated the sayings of others. It might only have been intended to indicate (what we otherwise know) that there had been *Chakhamim* before Ben Sira, whose sentences and sayings had passed into popular parlance. But, when considered in connexion with the general arrangement of the book, it acquires a more definite meaning than this. At the same time we must respectfully but entirely dissent from the ingenious hypothesis of Ewald,[1] that the work embodies two previous collections of Proverbs: the first (chaps. i.–xvi. 21) dating from the 4th century B.C.; the second (xvi. 22–xxxvi. 22) dating from the 3rd cent. B.C.; and that only the third and last portion of Ecclesiasticus is the work of Ben Sira himself.[2]

With his usual perspicacity Eichhorn inferred that as 'Wisdom' formed the subject-matter of the book, its division into parts would be indicated by a fresh introduction of that theme.[3] This canon is undoubtedly correct. But further than this we are not able to agree with that great critic. Although every attempt at arrangement can only be matter of suggestion, we venture to propose the following. The theme of the book is *Wisdom*, and its fresh introduction marks the beginning of every part. The work consists of five Parts—like the Law and the Psalter. Part I. comprises chaps. i.–xxiii.; Part II., chaps. xxiv.–xxxii.; Part III., chaps. xxxiii.–xliii.; Part IV., chaps. xliv.–l. 21; lastly, Part. V., l. 22–li.

Part I., chaps. i.–xxiii. *Wisdom is introduced*, ch. i. 1–10. Throughout this Part Wisdom is presented in its *practical* aspect. The Part consists of four sections, of which three admit of further subdivision. Section A (chaps. i.–vi.). Subdivisions:—1st, chaps. i.–iii.: Wisdom as the fear and service of God (in the widest sense), or practical Wisdom in its relation to God. 2nd subdivision:—chaps. iv.–vi.: practical Wisdom in relation to ourselves—the section closing with a eulogy of Wisdom (vi. 18–end). Section B (chaps. vii.–xiv.). Subdivi-

tion does not yet occur in the quotations by Clement and Origen: comp. Schürer, *u. s.* p. 596.

[1] Comp. Nowack, *u. s.*

[2] Herbst-Welte, 'Einleit.' p. 204.

[3] *u. s.*, pp. 42–55.

[4] 'Liber Siracidae, Graece,' pp. 25–32.

[1] 'Gesch. d. V. Isr.' iv. pp. 342–347. Comp. 'Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.' iii. pp. 125, &c.

[2] Ewald thinks that the work had in its original form been much larger, but suffered from abbreviations and transpositions. He even attempts to restore it to its original form.

[3] The objections of Bretschneider (*u. s.*, pp. 20, &c.) are very superficial. Eichhorn arranges the work into three books: Book I., chaps. i.–xxiii. (in two sections: chaps. i.–ix.; x.–xxiii.); Book II., chaps. xxiv.–xlii. 14; Book III., chaps. xlii. 15–l. 24; the whole being concluded by the subscription and a grand eulogy. Eichhorn supposes that it was composed (collected?) at different periods of the author's life.

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sions :—1st, practical Wisdom as regards our relations to others : chaps. vii.–ix. 2nd subdivision : practical Wisdom specially in relation to those in high places, in rule, and government—chap. x. 3rd subdivision : in relation to the more lowly—chap. xi. 4th subdivision : practical Wisdom in our mode of doing good — chap. xii. 5th subdivision : practical Wisdom in intercourse with the world — chap. xiii. 6th subdivision : with reference to property—chap. xiv. 7th subdivision : in regard to our moral bearing. Section C. The problems and difficulties of Wisdom in its practical aspect : chaps. xvi.–xviii. Section D might be entitled "Rules of life," viz. : 1st, Man towards man, chaps. xix., xx. ; 2ndly, in regard to sin, chaps. xxi., xxii. —the whole Part closing with a grand prayer, chap. xxiii.

Part II. opens again with the praise of *Wisdom* (chap. xxiv.). The Part comprises chaps. xxiv.–xxxii., including, however, parts of chap. xxxiii. But those chapters cannot well be arranged into groups, like those in Part I., although we can trace a distinct connexion between them, as shewn in the special introductions. We regard this Part as embodying previous sayings of sages or popular Proverbs. But the whole has been put into orderly arrangement and connexion by the Son of Sirach. Its character, as chiefly if not wholly a compilation, appears from the somewhat loose manner in which various subjects are joined together ; from the peculiar —often antithetic or else grouped—arrangement of the sayings ; and, lastly, from chap. xxxiii. 16, which seems intended to indicate the nature of this Part as a whole.

Part III., chap. xxxiii.–xliii. Chap. xxxiii., however, partly belongs to the previous Part and generally forms a transition to what follows. It may be described as a discussion of the great speculative problems of Wisdom (see previous remarks and special introductions).

Part IV. historically illustrates Wisdom by the praise of the Wise (chaps. xliv.–l. 21), while Part V. contains the conclusion of the book (chap. l. 22–li.).

We need scarcely add that these five Parts, although distinct, are welded by the writer into a continuous and consecutive work. In form it is poetic and rhythmic; but its didactic portions are often extremely prosaic in tone. Here the writer generally speaks in the character of a "father" to his "son." In regard to the use of rhetorical figures, illustrations and the like, the book may, however, favourably compare with similar productions. The arrangement of the chapters in stanzas, the progression of thought, and the parallelism not only in the members of each verse but sometimes between the stanzas, are generally indicated with sufficient clearness. We have also marked a numerical arrangement in the verses and stanzas which may have been a form of later Hebrew compositions of this kind.

§ VI. References to the Book of Proverbs and in the Epistle of St. James.

1. *The Proverbs of Solomon.* — As might have been expected, the older Siracide had throughout taken the Proverbs of Solomon as the model for his work. And this, alike in respect of form and substance. As regards the former, whatever may be thought on the question whether or not Hebrew biblical poetry was metrical,[1] it is universally admitted that it was marked by a parallelism of members. The latter has been arranged[2] into *antithetic* parallelisms, in which the first and second members—lines *a* and *b*—are in antithesis ; *synthetic*, or rather *progressive*, in which the second member marks a progression, though in the same direction ; *synonymic*, or rather *continuative*, when the second member only continues the first ; *parabolic*, where one member illustrates the other ; and lastly, *consecutive*, in which one member expresses the logical sequence of the other. These various kinds of parallelism

[1] Comp. Saalschitz, 'Form d. hebr. Poes.;' Delitzsch, *u. s.*; Ewald, 'Die poet. Bücher d. A. Test.;' but especially Bickell, 'Carmina Vet. Test.' (pp. 219–234 : "de re metr. Hebr.").

[2] Comp. here generally C. Seligmann, 'd. Buch d. Weish. J. Sir.' But we have not adopted his precise designation of the various kinds of parallelism in Hebrew poetry.

may be illustrated by an example of each kind in Ecclesiasticus, to which is added in brackets a similar instance from the Book of Proverbs: (*a*) Antithetic Parallelisms: Ecclus. xiii. 3 [Prov. x. 5]; (*b*) progressive: Ecclus. vi. 13 [Prov. xxii. 1]; (*c*) continuative: Ecclus. vi. 33 [Prov. xxii. 24]; (*d*) illustrative: Ecclus. xviii. 10 [Prov. x. 26]; (*e*) consecutive: Ecclus. xxv. 3 [Prov. xxvi. 5].[1] The first of these five classes of parallelism occurs the most rarely; the last is the most frequent in Ecclesiasticus. To these remarks about the form of our book we have to add that, as regards the outward arrangement of the subject and the mostly well-marked structure of stanzas, we observe distinct progress in comparison with the Book of Proverbs.

Passing from the form to the contents of the book, a similar correspondence exists between Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Proverbs. Thus Ecclus. i. 4 may be compared with Prov. viii. 22; i. 14 with Prov. i. 7, and ix. 10; Ecclus. iii. 13 with Prov. xxiii. 22; iii. 26 with Prov. xxviii. 14; iv. 5 with Prov. xxviii. 27; iv. 12, &c. with Prov. iv. 7, &c.; vii. 11 with Prov. xvii. 5; ix. 6 with Prov. xxix. 3; x. 25 with Prov. xvii. 2; x. 27 with Prov. xii. 9; xi. 8 with Prov. xviii. 13; xii. 9 with Prov. xix. 4; xii. 16 with Prov. xxvi. 24, &c.; xiii. 25 with Prov. xv. 13; xiv. 13 with Prov. iii. 27, &c.; xx. 1 with Prov. xxvii. 5; xxi. 10 with Prov. xiv. 12; xxi. 17 with Prov. xxiii. 12; xxii. 3 with Prov. xvii. 21; xxii. 7 with Prov. xxvii. 22; xxii. 15 with Prov. xxvii. 3; xxiv. 1 with Prov. viii. 1; xxiv. 3 with Prov. ii. 6; xxiv. 5 with Prov. viii. 27; xxv. 16 with Prov. xxi. 19; xxvii. 5 with Prov. xxvii. 21; xxvii. 22 with Prov. vi. 12, 13; xxvii. 25 with Prov. xxvi. 27; xxviii. 8 with Prov. xv. 18; xxviii. 10 with Prov. xxvi. 20, 21; xxx. 1 with Prov. xiii. 24; xxxi. 23 with Prov. xxii. 9; xxxiv. 21 with Prov. xxii. 22; xxxvii. 18 with Prov. xvii. 22 and xviii. 21; xli. 11 with Prov. x. 7.[2]

Other instances might be adduced. For these, as well as for parallelisms with the Psalter, the Book of Job, and especially with Ecclesiastes,[1] we must refer to the notes on the various chapters.

2. *The Epistle of St. James.* — In general, the critical student of the New Testament[2] will find in Ecclesiasticus much to interest him as regards the usage of words. At least one illustrative instance may here be adduced. The word κατανύσσειν, which in classical Greek[3] is not used for any painful affection, occurs in the New Testament only in Acts ii. 37 ("pricked in their heart"). It is used in the same sense in the LXX. Psalms, where its unquestionable meaning in Ps. cviii. (Heb. cix.) 16 must rule its use in Ps. iv. 5; xxix. (xxx.) 13; xxxiv. (xxxv.) 15. The word evidently bears the same meaning in LXX. Gen. xxxiv. 7 and in 3 (1) Kings xx. 27. Theodotion uses it in the same sense in Prov. xvii. 22, where the LXX. have λυπηρός. [In LXX. Is. xlvii. 5 and Dan. x. 9, 15 it may be used in a sense derived from its primary meaning. Perhaps LXX. Lev. x. 3 indicates the connexion between the two.] But the meaning of the word κατανύσσειν is fully established by its uniform use in Ecclus. (xii. 12; xiv. 1; xx. 21; xlvii. 20).

If the usage of the word κατανύσσειν seems to point to a special connexion between the LXX. Psalms and Ecclesiasticus, this is still more evident in regard to a word of such frequent use in the New Testament as εὐδοκία, but which only occurs in the LXX. Psalms, although frequently in Ecclesiasticus. Nor is this the only instance of correspondence between these two books; and the question may at least be suggested, whether it does not reflect on the date of the version of the Psalter (or part of it) relatively to our Greek Ecclesiasticus, since biblical terms of recent introduction would probably be in favour with a theological writer.

[1] Seligmann, *u. s.*, p. 32; Bruch, *u. s.*, p. 273; Delitzsch, art. *Sprüche* in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.'

[2] Comp. Seligmann, *u. s.*, pp. 21–29.

[1] Many of these have been collected by Dr. H. H. Wright in his 'Comment. on Eccles.' The objection of Seligmann that, in the passages quoted, Ecclus. agrees with Eccles. only in such cases in which Eccles. itself agrees with Prov. does not always hold good. Seligmann himself admits that there is not any other parallel to Ecclus. xviii. 22 than in Eccles. v. 3. Frequent references to Eccles. will be pointed out in the course of this commentary.

[2] As regards the LXX., see further on.

[3] Never in this exact form, and not in any form in pre-Christian Greek writers.

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We have little doubt that there are passages in various parts of the New Testament in which either the sentiment or its mode of expression carries us back to Ecclesiasticus.[1] The instances are more numerous than those mentioned by Eichhorn,[2] nor can they be wholly explained either by unconscious identity of thinking or by popularly current sayings.[3] Two facts should here be kept in view. The frequent references to Ben Sira in Talmudic writings shew how popular (for one reason or another) the work had become in Jewish circles. On the other hand, we have seen that many of its views appear afterwards in a developed form in Philo. On these and other grounds we naturally infer that the book enjoyed if not equal yet similar popularity in Alexandria, the birthplace of its translation, and among the Hellenists generally. We here instinctively turn, on the one hand, to the Epistle to the Hebrews as the portion of the New Testament specially Hellenistic in its mode of expression and form of reasoning; and, on the other, to the Epistle of St. James, which is so Judaic in its language, allusions, and mould of thought that we can in many places find exact Rabbinic parallels to it. Both these books contain perhaps not exactly references to Ecclesiasticus, but they indicate familiarity with it. This holds specially true in regard to the Epistle of St. James. An illustrative instance from each of these writings may here be adduced. In Ecclus. xxv. 23 the words "relaxed hands and palsied knees" (*χεῖρες παρειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα*) are taken from LXX. Is. xxxv. 3. But there the word is not *παρειμέναι* but *ἀνειμέναι*, while in Heb. xii. 12 the wording is exactly that of Ecclus.[4] Much more remarkable is the parallelism offered by St. James v. 3. There the word *κατιόω* is used, which does not occur in any other place in the N. T., nor yet in the LXX. But it does occur in Ecclus. xii. 11—and means not "to rust," but "to tarnish" (see note on xii. 11). Nor is this all. The word used for "rust" in St. James v. 3 is *ἰός*, which does not occur in that signification elsewhere in the N. T. But it does occur as a verb in Ecclus. xii. 10 (and again in xxix. 10—see the note there). Lastly, beyond any merely verbal correspondence, we have the remarkable fact that Ecclus. xii. 10 and xxix. 10, on the one hand, and, on the other, St. James v. 3, are the only biblical passages in which the figure of rust as affecting unused silver and gold occurs. In view of all this it cannot be doubted that both the simile and the expression of it in the Epistle of St. James were derived from Ecclus.

We conclude by collating some from the many parallels between our book and the Epistle of St. James.[1] Thus St. Jas. i. 2–4 may be compared with Ecclus. i. 23, and especially with Ecclus. ii. 1–5; St. Jas. i. 5 with Ecclus. li. 13: and with regard to the expectation of the direct bestowal of wisdom by God, comp. Ecclus. i. 26; iv. 11; vi. 37; xliii. 33 (also the expression *ὀνειδιζόντος* in St. James with *ὀνειδιεῖ* in Ecclus. xviii. 18: comp. also xx. 15; xxix. 28; xxxi. 31; xli. 22). Again, St. Jas. i. 6–8 should be compared with Ecclus. i. 28; ii. 16; vii. 10; xxxv. 16–21. [Mark here the correspondence between *δίψυχος* in St. Jas. i. 8 and *μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃς* in Ecclus. vii. 10—and still more the remarkable similarity of figure between St. Jas. i. 6 and Ecclus. xxxiii. 2 *b*.] Again, St. Jas. i. 9–11 should be compared (in the choice of the words also) with Ecclus. i. 30; iii. 18; xxxi. 5–9—noting specially the remarkable similarity of figure between St. Jas. i. 10, 11 and Ecclus. vi. 2, 3. Again, St. Jas. i. 12 may be compared with Ecclus. vi. 28–31; or St. Jas. i. 13, 14 with Ecclus. xv. 11, &c. It would not be difficult, were this the place for it, to continue this comparison almost from chapter to chapter in the Epistle of St. James.[2] But if the result is to prove beyond doubt the familiarity of St. James with a book which at the time was evi-

[1] But the list given by Bretschneider (*u. s.*, pp. 709–722) is altogether fanciful.

[2] Eichhorn, *u. s.*, pp. 77, 78.

[3] Comp. an account of the literature of the subject—especially of parallelisms in the Epistle of St. James—in Boon, 'Dissert. exeg. theol. de Jac. Epist. cum Sirac. libr. conven.' pp. 2–11.

[4] For other instances as regards the Epistle to the Hebrews, we refer to the notes.

[1] The passages are selected from Boon, *u. s.*

[2] This has been done by Boon, *u. s.*

dently in wide circulation, it exhibits with even greater clearness the immense spiritual difference between the standpoint occupied in Ecclesiasticus and that in the Epistle of St. James.

§ VII. The Greek Version of Ecclesiasticus.

As unquestionably the oldest, the most important, and on the whole by far the most trustworthy rendering of the Hebrew original, the Greek version of Ben Sira deservedly holds the first place. The translator was, as he informs us in the Prologue, the grandson (or further descendant) of the author, and he executed his literary task in Egypt — at a time, as we infer, propitious for such undertakings. Beyond these scanty particulars and an uncertain chronological notice, we possess not any information about the translator. He pleads that he had used all diligence in his work, but also modestly excuses himself for any shortcomings or mistakes on the ground of the difficulty of exact translation from the Hebrew (see Prologue, and the notes on it). It must be admitted that he has ably performed his task, despite not unfrequent mistakes, due either to misreading or to misunderstanding of the original Hebrew. But besides these involuntary mistakes of ignorance, as we may term them, it cannot be doubted that the younger Siracide also allowed himself to make alterations of the original text. Such changes might be introduced (*a*) for apologetic reasons—the translator wishing to meet or anticipate objections, or to conciliate prejudice; or (*b*) when he felt not in agreement with the views of his grandfather; (*c*) from a desire to express those views more clearly (as he thought), or else (*d*) more forcibly—whether more realistically or more euphemistically; (*e*) by way of glosses; but chiefly (*f*) when he wished to introduce, instead of his grandfather's, his own Hellenistic views, thereby giving them the weight of the great Palestinian authority of the older Siracide. This charge may seem very serious, and in a sense it is so. But it must be remembered that the views of the ancients and their practice widely differed in this respect from ours, and we must extend to them a greatly enlarged measure of that literary licence which some seem to claim for themselves even in our own days. Indeed, while carefully guarding ourselves against the favourite but unwarranted general assumption of spuriousness, we may venture the opinion that probably few ancient religious writings have entirely escaped "redactions"—not to speak of interpolations. As regards Ecclesiasticus, the evidence of it comes to us from a comparison of the Greek with the Syriac text. Whenever we meet a distinctly Hellenistic sentiment in the Greek text, for which, on comparison, we find in the Syriac an ordinary Jewish sentiment, we suspect an alteration by the younger Siracide. Such modifications chiefly occur in passages specially treating of "Wisdom," but we also find them in others. To enumerate all the instances would require more space than this paragraph, and we must refer the reader to the commentary itself. But one or two examples will, at least, illustrate our meaning. In Ecclus. i. 3, 4, the Greek text has: "Who can trace out . . . and wisdom. Wisdom was created before all things, and intelligence of understanding from Aeon." This sounds distinctly Hellenistic. The Syr. omits "and wisdom" at the close of *v.* 3, and renders *v.* 4: "More abundant than all these is wisdom, and stronger is faith." For our next illustration we naturally turn to Ecclus. xxiv. Here the alterations, as compared with the Syr., are so numerous and so important that we must refer to the notes on that chapter. A specially interesting instance of this occurs in *v.* 31 (see the note on it). For our last illustration we select Ecclus. xliii. It requires but slight knowledge to recognise the pronounced Hellenism of such a verse as Ecclus. xliii. 27. But the whole stanza which begins with that verse contains Hellenistic elements, nor would it be difficult to discern traces of them in the two preceding stanzas. We are not surprised that *v.* 27 is not found in the Syriac Version. But it is certainly remarkable that in the Syriac the whole text after *v.* 12 is wanting, and it raises the sus-

picion that it had somehow been tampered with, perhaps by a later hand.

Apart from these objections, we are bound to say that the Greek of the text (especially in the Prologue) is fairly good, although the translation is slavishly literal and contains many Hebraisms. These might mislead the reader, and if literally rendered would seriously mar a translation into English.[1] The latter occasionally offers considerable difficulties—not only in the Prologue, but in other passages. What might be termed our Authorized English Version follows the text of the *Complutensian* Polyglot (1514–1517). It has been retained in the body of this work. But in the notes the needed alterations have been made, both in accordance with the better readings and to reproduce the text with the utmost literality compatible with the proper exhibition of its meaning. Where the Syriac Version seemed more accurately to represent the Hebrew original, this has generally been indicated, although it must be borne in mind that the present is a commentary on the Greek Version of the work of Ben Sira. The corrupt state of our present Greek text has long been subject of complaint. It appears even from a comparison of the various *Codices*. Some at least of the alterations seem to point to later Christian emendation.

Of the various manuscripts the first and most important is the *Codex Vaticanus*, 1209 (*apud* Holmes, II.). It forms the basis of the Sixtine (or common) edition ('Vet. Test. juxta Sept. ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max.' ed. Romae, 1587). The professedly correct edition of the Vatican text by Mai (5 vols. Romae, 1857) is unsatisfactory. Far more trustworthy in this respect is the recent edition by Vercellone and Cozza (6 vols. Rome, 1868–1881). On the basis of it Nestle has added, as an appendix to the 6th edition of Tischendorf's edition of the LXX., a collation of the Vatican and the Sinaitic Codd. [S^1, S^2], which has also been separately published. The Vat. Cod. is regarded by Tischendorf as dating from the 4th century. (2) *Codex Sinaiticus*, discovered by Tischendorf in 1859, and dated by him as of the 4th century. The MS. is now in the St. Petersburg Library, and has been published in 4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1862. It is designated by X in Fritzsche's edition. (3) The *Codex Alexandrinus* (marked III. *apud* Holmes *et* Fritzsche), now in the British Museum, and supposed to date from the 5th century. It was edited (in 4 vols. fol., Ox. 1707–1720) by J. E. Grabe,—vols. i. (1707) and iv. (1709) during his lifetime; vols. ii. (1719) and iii. (1720) after his death, by Fr. Lee. Where the Alex. text was defective it is supplemented from the Sixtine edition or from other MSS., indicating this by smaller type, and similarly any conjectural emendations, marking in the latter case the Alex. reading in the margin in ordinary type. Unfortunately this is not uniformly done. (Other edition in 8 vols. 8vo, Oxon.; and corrected by Fr. Field, Oxon. 1859.) The beautiful edition by J. J. Breitinger (Tig. 1730–1732, 4 tom. 4to) follows the text of Grabe, and gives at the bottom the Sixt. and other readings, adding critical dissertations. Lastly, it has been reprinted in a facsimile edition of the original by H. H. Baber (London, 1816–1821, 3 tom. folio, with Proleg. and notes, 1828); and finally reproduced in autotype facsimile (vol. i., 1881; ii. and iii., 1883; iv., 1879).[1]

Next in order we have to mention the splendid edition by Holmes and Parsons (Ox. 1798–1827, 5 tom. folio), containing the Sixtine text, but adding what to the present time is the most complete collection of variants. (The Apocr. are in vol. v.) For these a number of Codd.—of which several are, however, defective—come into account for Ecclesiasticus. They are: Codd. 23 of the 9th cent., in the Libr. Ven.; 55 of the 12th cent.—being Cod. Vat. 1, once belonging to Queen Christina of Sweden; 68 (often defective), from the library of St. Mark, Venice, of the age of other good Codd.; 70, Cod.

[1] So for example the rendering by λόγος of דבר in its common later meaning of "a thing" or "a matter," as in Eccles. Similarly חן in the sense of beauty is rendered by χάρις, as in Ecclus. xxiv. 16. Thus also in other instances, of which at least the more obvious have been pointed out by Eichhorn, Bretschneider, and other writers.

[1] Comp. also the Introd. to the Cambridge edition of the Sept., by Dr. Swete, 1887.

Bibl. Monast. S. Annae, Augustae Vindelic.; 106, Cod. Ferrariensis, e Codd. Bibl. Carmel. at Ferrara, 14th cent.; 155; 157; 248, Cod. Vat. 346, about the 14th cent., containing Prov., Eccles., Cant., Job, Wisd., Sir., Esdr., Tob., Jud., and Esth.; 253, Vat., 14th cent.; 254, Vat., 13th cent.; 296 and 307, Cod. Bibl. Elect. Monach., olim 276, nunc 129; 308, Cod. Palat. Vindob. — the latter belonging to Lucian's recension of the Greek text (Field, 'Origen. Hexapl.' Prol., p. lxxxviii.).

The Codices just enumerated were used by O. F. Fritzsche in his Commentary on Ecclus. ('Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. zu d. Apokr. d. A. Test.' 5te Lief. 1860), and in his critical edition of the 'Libri Apocr. Vet. Test.' (Lips. 1871). The latter work—although very valuable—is open to objection, not only in regard to the text, as proposed to be restored, but also because Fritzsche gives only a selection of the variants, and especially because he omits all reference to the Syriac Version, the importance of which he unaccountably fails to recognise. Besides these Codd., Fritzsche also made use of the fragments of the Cod. Ephraemi, which he marks by the letter C, and of the Cod. August., collated by D. Hoeschel, which he marks H. The palimpsest fragments of the books of Wisdom and Sirach, which Tischendorf brought from the East to St. Petersburg, and which he dates as from the 6th or 7th cent., have not yet been collated.

The first impression made by the great work of Holmes and Parsons is the wish that the collation of Codd. were made complete; the next, that the vast mass of materials could be reduced to order by grouping Codd. into families, and, if possible, determining their relation to the recensions of Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius. This has been already partly accomplished by the labours of F. Field, Cornill ('d. d. Buch T. Proph. Ezech.'), but especially those of Lagarde. But so far as Ecclesiasticus is concerned, the most interesting and important of these *Codices* is that marked 248, which is followed in the Complutensian Polyglot (Co.). It—or, more accurately, its archetype—may be described as chief of a class, to which 23, 253, H, and partly 106 and 55, belong. It is apparently the work of one hand. A comparison with Clement of Alexandria shews that the text of 248 was known and used by him, and hence that it must date not later than the beginning of the 2nd century.[1] Another interest of the text of 248 lies in its frequent agreement with the *Vetus Latina* (see next §), but especially with the Syriac Version—and therefore with the original Hebrew text, from which the latter was made. It deserves special notice that 248 does not contain the undoubtedly genuine Prologue by the younger Siracide, in place of which an evidently later redactor has added the spurious Prologue (also incorporated in Co. and thence in the English Version) found in the *Synopsis*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius (Op., ed. Bened., ii. p. 173).[2] We further mark that of all MSS. only 248 (and after it Co.) preserves the right order of the chapters after ch. xxx. (see notes), which is inverted in all the other Codices. In this it agrees with the Syriac Version (which is followed by the Arab.) and with the Vet. Lat.—the latter a noteworthy fact as regards that version. When from these two important preliminary points we proceed to an examination of the text of 248, we are struck not only with the frequency but with the remarkable character of its correspondence with the Syriac Version. Nor is it perhaps less instructive to find that in many instances 248 does not agree with the Syriac. As a curious instance of this we would point, among many others, to Ecclus. xxx. 25 (see the notes). A detailed comparison of the readings in 248 (which are given in full by Fritzsche) with the Syr. would be necessary fully to exhibit the state of the case. But some illustrative instances will be given when treating of the Syriac and the Latin versions. Three theories might here be suggested, of which at least

[1] We have examined 56 quotations by Clement from Ecclus. In by far the largest number of them he quotes freely, *i.e.* not exactly according to any known text. But in five instances his quotations markedly correspond with the text of 248.

[2] The real author of this spurious Prologue is not known, but it probably dates from the 4th or 5th cent.

two seem on examination wholly untenable. The first is that 248 may represent an independent Greek translation from the Hebrew. But in that case the differences from our other Greek MSS. would be much wider reaching and more complete; in fact, 248 would be essentially different from them. Nor yet would we expect to find in it any of the Hellenistic alterations of the younger Siracide. But as a matter of fact we find—to choose a notorious example—that in Ecclus. i. 4, 5, Cod. 248 (as well as the Latin Version) has a spurious addition, evidently from a later Christian redactor. And so in other characteristic instances. The second theory would be that the text underlying 248 had been corrected from the Hebrew original. But this also we have to reject, partly on the grounds above stated, and for this additional reason, that 248 leaves the impression of corrections, not from a first but from a second source. The third explanation which may be offered is that the text of 248 was corrected from the Syriac Version. In its present condition the MS. has undoubtedly been revised and redacted, apparently by a Christian hand. In evidence of this we find not only the spurious Preface, but also such spurious additions as that previously mentioned at the end of i. 4, which from its insertion in Co. appears as *v.* 5 in our Authorized English Version, where the λόγος of God seems plainly to refer to Christ. [This addition in 248 (and Co.) occurs also in the dependent Codd. H, 23, 55, 70—slightly different and evidently corrupt in 106 and 253.] The inference (for further support of which we must refer to the commentary) would seem to be, that 248 represents an old text which had originally been emended from the Syriac, and was afterwards revised, expurgated, and added to by a later, probably Christian, hand, and in accordance with the then *textus receptus*. Or does the text of 248 stand in any connexion with those that underlie the recension of Lucian? According to Hug, that text was emended from the Peshittho; but according to modern, although not unchallenged, opinion, from the Hebrew.

Passing from the important question of the manuscripts, it only remains to add that the Greek text affords frequent evidence of the use of the LXX.; and that not only as regards the Pentateuch, but the historical and prophetic books, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. In truth, the meaning of many expressions in Ecclus. can best be ascertained by a reference to the LXX. For detailed evidence we must once more refer to the body of the commentary. Occasional deviations from the wording of the LXX. should not be always set down to ignorance of its text. They may have been due either to quotation from memory, or they may be another reading, or else attempted improvements, such as it has been (and probably still is) the fashion of making upon the A. V.

On the other hand, it is very curious to find in LXX. Prov. xxvi. 11 an interpolation from Ecclus. iv. 21. Conversely, we have in the Syriac version of Ecclus. xxvii. 20 (21) an interpolation from Prov. vi. 5. Possibly these may have been originally marginal glosses which afterwards crept into the text. The same may be said of the inscriptions (or summaries of contents) which occasionally appear in the Greek text.

§ VIII. The Syriac Version and the "Vetus Latina."

We approach now one of the most important questions for the proper understanding of Ecclesiasticus. Till comparatively lately the almost unanimous opinion of critics has been that the Syriac translation had been made from the Greek Version. So far as we know, the learned Bendtsen ('Spec. exercit. crit. in Vet. T. libr. Apocr.' pp. 16, 29) stood alone in the opinion that the Syriac was derived directly from the Hebrew original. And, if we credit the statement of Jerome that he had seen the Hebrew original, there is not anything *à priori* incredible or even improbable in such a supposition.[1] But the decision of the question must

[1] The presumption in favour of a direct translation from the Hebrew seems to us greatly strengthened by the very able — although not on all points unassailable — dissertation of J. Perles on the age and authorship of the Peshittho ('Meletemata Peshitthoniana,' 1859).

necessarily depend on a detailed examination of the Syriac Version itself. Scholars in every way most competent for this task have of late pronounced unhesitatingly in favour of the view that the Syriac Version has been made from the Hebrew original. If the mere authority of names were here to prevail, we might appeal to such writers as Geiger (in an article in the 'Z. D. M. G.' vol. xii. pp. 536–543), Horowitz ('D. Buch Jesus Sirach,' 1865), Nöldeke ('Alttest. Lit.' p. 168, though he regards the Hebrew MS. used as very corrupt), Seligmann ('D. Buch d. Weish. Jes. Sir.' 1883), Professor Bickell ('Alphab. Lied Jes. Sir.'), and especially Lagarde ('Symmicta,' p. 88; 'Mittheil.' 1884; and his edition of the Apocr. in Syr., in which for this reason he gives the first place to Sirach). But hitherto the authority, or rather the contradiction, of Fritzsche (*u. s.*, xxiv., xxv.)—unsupported though it be by any detailed criticism—seems to have prevailed with those who treated the questions against the deliberately expressed views of Syriac scholars. The latest writer on the subject has even ventured on the brief but categorical sentence, that "the book [Ecclus.] has been preserved to us only in the Greek translation."[1] On the other hand, it must be admitted that while those Syriac scholars who hold the opposite view have adduced certain passages in confirmation of it, they have not submitted the whole book to a detailed examination with a view to the final settlement of the controversy. This has been attempted in the present commentary, with the result, it is hoped, of not only proving the derivation of the Syriac Version from the original Hebrew text, but also of obtaining through the Syriac in many passages a more correct view of what the original text had really contained.

As the argument here is not only direct —from certain passages—but cumulative, we must refer for the full evidence to the commentary itself, in which the comparison of the two versions is carried on. Within the compass of this section it is only possible to give a statement of some of the results arrived at, accompanied by illustrative instances.

Reference has already been made to the absence of the Prologue from the Syriac Version. Possibly this might be accounted for on the supposition that the writer had wished to give himself the appearance of having translated directly from the Hebrew. Not so the preservation of the right order of the text after ch. xxx. But these are only preliminary points. The evidence that the Syriac was translated from the Hebrew lies in this, that in many passages in which the Syr. and the Greek versions strangely and otherwise unaccountably differ, these differences can be traced back, and are due to one or other of these three grounds: (1) that the two translators had attached a different meaning to a Hebrew word which was capable of being rendered both ways; or (2) that they had vocalised (pointed) differently; or (3) that by a not uncommon mistake of similar letters they had read a word differently. Each of these explanations of the differences between the Greek and the Syriac leads to the inevitable conclusion that both translations had been made directly from the Hebrew original. As a well-known instance of the first kind, we may mention Ecclus. xxiv. 27, where the Greek has "as the light," and the Syriac "as the Nile." The Hebrew had no doubt כְּאוֹר, which the Greek understood "as the light," while the Syr., after the analogy of Am. viii. 8, rendered it as = כְּאֹר, "as the Nile." As instances of the second kind (that of different vocalisation), the following two may serve. In Ecclus. iv. 15 the Greek renders: "he who shall give ear to her [wisdom] shall judge nations;" the Syr., "shall judge truth"—the Greek having pointed the Hebrew אמת : אֻמּוֹת (Gen. xxv. 16), the Syr. (no doubt rightly) אֱמֶת. Similarly in Ecclus. x. 15, 16, the Greek has: "The Lord hath plucked up the roots of nations," and again: "Lands of nations the Lord overthrew," where in both cases the Syr. has, instead of "nations," "the proud"—rightly (at least in *v.* 15), as the context shews. It

[1] Schürer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes' (the 2nd edition of his 'Neutest. Zeitg.'), ii. p. 595. He expresses himself even more strongly in the art. *Apokrypha*, in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.' (vol. i. pp. 493, 494).

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has been suggested that the original had גַּיִם, while the Greek pointed גֹּם. But we would suggest as more likely, that the original had נאים, which the Greek by an easy mistake in the ancient mode of making letters read גיים. It deserves attention that 248 corrects after the Syr. in *v.* 15, but not in *v.* 16—and the Vet. Lat. follows in both cases. [Was the Greek right in *v.* 16—or were 248 and Vet. Lat. influenced by a special (Christian?) motive?] As instances of the third kind (that of the confusion of similar letters or else the transposition of letters) we may quote Ecclus. xlviii. 23, where (as through a similar mistake in other places) the Greek translates: "In his days the sun went backward," while the Syr. has: "by his means (his hand) the sun went back"—the one having read בימיו, the other בידיו (a rendering which neither 248 nor the Vet. Lat. adopts). Again, in Ecclus. xlix. 9 the Greek has, "He remembered the enemies in storm" [see for this the note on the passage], while the Syriac read "Job" instead of "enemies"—no doubt wrongly—and accordingly altered the whole verse, which this misreading had rendered unintelligible. Here the Syriac translator had evidently transposed the letters, reading אִיּוֹב (Job) instead of אוֹיֵב (an enemy), as the Greek correctly read it. We mark that 248 has not the mistake of the Syriac, thus furnishing another evidence that when the two agree, the Syr. has not borrowed from 248.

These instances might suffice. But that they may not seem exceptional—perhaps even accidental—we select some others from among the large number indicated in the commentary, and adding the readings of 248 and the Vet. Lat.

Ecclus. xiv. 9 *b*. The Greek has: "*wicked* injustice drieth up the soul;" the Syr., "he that usurps what is his *neighbour's*"—the latter having evidently wrongly vocalised רֵעַ instead of רַע: 248 does not follow the reading of the Syr. The Vet. Lat. paraphrases.

Ecclus. xiv. 10. Greek, "An evil eye is envious over bread;" Syr., "multiplieth bread." There is here evidently some misreading of the Hebrew, although we do not venture on a definite suggestion: 248 does not follow the Syr., but the Vet. Lat., although paraphrastic, may preserve some trace of the Syr. rendering in its *et non satiabitur pane* (or does it attempt to mediate between the Greek and the Syr.?).

Ecclus. xiv. 27 *b*. Greek, "and he dwelleth in her glory;" Syr., "in her chambers," misreading חֶדֶר for חָדָר: 248 and Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syriac.

Or to pass over some chapters:—

Ecclus. xix. 5 (see the corrected translation in the notes). Greek, "he that *hateth* babbling;" Syr., "he that *repeateth* a thing"—the Greek misread שֹׂנֵא for שֹׁנֶה.

Ecclus. xix. 7. Greek, "and thou shalt fare never the worse;" Syr., "and no one shall revile thee." The Greek took the root of the word to be חָסַר, while the Syr. (as we believe, rightly) derived it from חָסַד, in the Piel, "to revile" (as in Prov. xxv. 10): 248 and Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syr. [For the suggested reading of the original, see the note on that verse.]

Ecclus. xxi. 8 (see the notes). The Greek seems to have read חֹרֶף, "winter;" the Syr. rightly, חֹרֶב, "desolation:" 248 (also 106) follows the Syr., but not Vet. Lat.

Ecclus. xxi. 18 (see notes). The Greek, בַּיִת מְשֻׁמָּד, "a house destroyed;" the Syr., בֵּית מְשׁוּמָר, "a prison:" 248 and the Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syr.

It could not serve any purpose to continue this comparison of the two versions. In the commentary it has been carried on from chapter to chapter. And we feel that the force of the evidence in favour of the direct translation of the Syriac text from the Hebrew cannot be fully appreciated by any number of isolated instances, while it becomes irresistible when the two versions are continuously compared.

Our further remarks must be brief. Although on a comparison of the differences between the Greek and Syriac translations, *where such differences depend on the different rendering of words*, we are disposed so often to give the preference to the Syriac, this is not by any means uniformly the case. Instances have already been given in which the

Greek translation seems correct and the Syriac wrong. Again, we notice in the latter occasionally a displacement of lines, as in Ecclus. xxiv. 25, 26. Sometimes it might almost appear, although this is very doubtful, as if there were indication of a later revision of the Syriac by the Greek [as in Ecclus. xxiii. 27].[1] That the Syriac had undergone some later redaction seems suggested even by the circumstance that in the Arabic Version, which was evidently made from the Syriac, there are differences and notably omissions as compared with the Syriac (comp., for example, those in chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.). Sometimes we meet in the Syriac what may be regarded as apologetic (or emendatory) alterations, as in Ecclus. xxv. 7 (see the notes). To say that the Syriac Version is, as compared with the Greek, often and largely paraphrastic, is only to express what might otherwise have been expected. For the Syriac bears the character of a Targum and was certainly intended in great measure as an *ecclesiasticus*, or Church-book, for homiletical and catechetical purposes. One very important point still remains to be added. If Perles (*u. s.*) has arrived on critical grounds at the conclusion that the Peshittho Version of the New Testament was made by Jewish Christians, our investigations have led us to the same inference as regards Ecclesiasticus. We infer the Jewish origin of the translation from the occasional occurrence of expressions in Rabbinic usage. The evidence of the Christian character of the version—although necessarily inferential—is found throughout the whole book. But we may here specially refer to such passages as Ecclus. xxiv. 5, 9, xxvii. 17, and also to chaps. xxxv., xlvi., xlvii., xlviii. (see on these the commentary). Very significant also in this respect seems to us such an alteration as the substitution in vii. 31 of *panem oblationum et primitias manuum* for lines *c* and *d*. [The additions in the Vet. Lat. are still more curious.] On the same ground we account for the omission in the Syriac of Ecclus. xlv. 9–14, containing descriptive details of the Aaronic priesthood. Besides these passages—which might be considerably increased — we would (here following Bretschneider) call attention to the remarkable substitution in the Syr. for the text in the Greek in Ecclus. i. after *v.* 20 to the end; to xi. 12, xiv. 16; and to xvii. 27, 28.

It only remains to add that our knowledge of the Syriac text has been rectified since we possess it not only in Walton's Polyglot, but in the critical edition of Lagarde (1861), which has the corrections from MSS. in the British Museum. Jeh. Löw Ben-Seebh has published a Syriac text in Hebrew letters, with a Hebrew and German translation and a brief Hebrew commentary (Breslau, 1798; in new and improved edition, Vienna, 1807; ib. 1818; ib. 1828—the Hebrew version metrically rendered into German by M. E. Stern, Vienna, 1844[1]). But its usefulness is marred by the great liberties taken, not only in the Hebrew version, but with the Syriac text, in the way of omissions, transpositions, &c.

The Vetus Latina.—This is reproduced in our ordinary editions of the Vulgate [most handy as a critical edition, with different readings, is that by Heyse and Tischendorf, Lips. 1873]. All the variants from four MSS. are given by Sabatier ('Bibl. Sacr. Lat. versiones,' ii., Reimis, 1743). Jerome tells us expressly that he had left the text of the Vetus Latina untouched (*calamo temperavi*) in the (apocryphal) Wisdom of Solomon and in Ecclesiasticus ('Præfat. in edit. libr. Salom. juxta Sept. interpr.' [ed. Vallarsi, x. 436]).

If the Syriac Version may be described as a Targum or a paraphrastic "Church-book," this designation applies with even much greater force to the Latin translation

[1] Bretschneider (*u. s.*, p. 701) adduces a few instances from which he erroneously infers that the Syr. translation was made from the Greek. They consist of instances in which, in his view, the Syriac rendering is accounted for by a slight alteration in the Greek. Although of no interest or value, they may, for completeness' sake, here find a place: i. 8, *θησαυρούς* for *θρόνου*; vii. 23, *γάμησον* for *κάμψον*; xi. 30, *θηρεύθεισα* for *θηρευτής*; xii. 11, *κακιῶν αὐτόν* for *κατίωσε*; xxii. 23, *ποιῆσαι* for *κτῆσαι*; or again, v. 3, *ἀδικοῦμενος* for *ἐκδικῶν*; ix. 2, *ἐπιστῆναι* for *ἐπιβῆναι*; l. 5, *λαοῦ* for *ναοῦ*. We only add that in all these cases 248 has the ordinary reading. The instances quoted by Bretschneider only prove the weakness of his case.

[1] See Fürst, 'Biblioth. Jud.' i. p. 105.

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of Ecclesiasticus. Indeed, the student is bewildered amidst what seem redactions, interpolations, uncritical additions (some probably originally in the margin), alterations and paraphrases. In its present form the version leaves the impression that the main body of the text had been derived from the Greek. Yet this appearance may in some respects be deceptive. At any rate, we perceive a *stratum* which cannot be accounted for by any arbitrary alteration nor yet by derivation from any known Greek Codex. We have already observed that, like the Syriac and 248, the Latin preserves the right order of the chapters after ch. xxx. Likewise, it has been noticed that the Latin often has the same readings or emendations as 248. If these have been made from the Syriac [or else from the same sources], the suggestion would lie near that this *stratum* in the Vet. Lat. had been derived from the Syriac. It may indeed be suggested that it is traceable to other Codices or to sources which underlay the recension of Lucian. The latter view is supported by so great an authority as Ceriani (see the excellent Epilegomena to L. Van Ess's ed. of the LXX., 1887, p. 12). But here we may be said to be still partly on conjectural ground. And in any case the recension of Lucian brings us to Antioch. We can scarcely suppose that this *stratum* was taken from the text of 248 [nor from that group], since the Vet. Lat. so often leaves aside 248. If the translation had been made from that text, we would have expected more constant conformity to it. Not so, if emendations were here and there selected from the Syriac, nor even if the still remanent *stratum* represents an original use of the Syriac by the translator. There is, however, another supposition possible, viz. that this nucleus represents either a translation from the original Hebrew, or emendations from it. We confess that this does not seem likely to us—among other reasons, for this, that we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe that a translator who had access to the original would have produced such a version. The case would be otherwise if the translator was indebted to a not unfrequently paraphrastic version from the original. There he might more readily make selections, or a later redactor might even have struck out some of these selections. But the whole question is one of peculiar difficulty, and complicated by our uncertainty about the country and circumstances in which the Vetus Latina originated, and its relation to one of the three recensions of the LXX. What therefore we offer must be considered in the form of modest suggestion.

The conjecture that the Latin Version was derived from a Hebrew original—although from a Codex different from that used by the Greek translator—was first broached by Cornelius à Lapide ('Comment. in Ecclus.' p. 20). It was next mooted by the learned Sabatier (*u. s.* t. ii. p. 390), although without any attempt at proof. This deficiency was sought to be supplied by E. G. Bengel in the 7th vol. of Eichhorn's 'Allgem. Biblioth. d. bibl. Litter.,' 1796, pp. 832–864. The essay, as even its dimensions shew, is extremely slight, and the attempted investigation extends only over small portions at the beginning and in the middle of the book Ecclesiasticus. Bengel regards the Vetus Latina as dating "from the first centuries of Christianity."[1] He claims not certainty but probability for his theory that the Latin translation had been made with the aid of a Jew, or else by a Jewish Christian (as we have suggested in regard to the Syriac). The translator had rendered from the Hebrew, with aid from the Greek Version — the latter, either from special reasons, or this dependence was due to a *glossator* or to a later copyist. But, indeed, the use of the Greek in the rendering of the Vetus Latina seems beyond question. If detailed proof were required, even the passages adduced by Welte ('Einleit.' *u. s.*, p. 215) would suffice for the purpose. As a Roman Catholic writer, he pleads for the great trustworthiness of the Vetus Lat.

[1] According to Cornill ('d. Buch d. Proph. Ez.' p. 26) the Vet. Lat. was used by Tertullian, indeed was in general use in Northern Africa. But so far as Ecclesiasticus is concerned, we cannot discover any trace of it in the seven passages in which, according to the Index in the ed. Oehler, Tertullian is supposed to refer to our book. Indeed, in only two of these passages ('de exhort. castitatis,' ii., and 'de monogam.' xiv.) is there any reference to Ecclus. (xv. 18)—and even there it seems to me doubtful, and certainly is not literally taken from the Vet. Lat.

But even he is obliged to admit that the translator had corrected his work by the Greek text.

But to return. Bengel begins by criticising certain passages in the Latin Version which are supposed to afford evidence of having been derived from the Greek text, with the view of shewing that such is not always the case. But as in some of these the Vet. Lat. accords with the Syr. —and presumably the Hebrew—while in others it only displays a curious ignorance of Greek (and is this not also characteristic?), it seems needless here to discuss them. In direct proof of the connexion between the Vet. Lat. and the Hebrew Bengel adduces a number of passages from Ecclus. i. and xxxiv. Most of these are, however, beside the point, as will appear from the following examination of the first six:—

Ecclus. i. 1, "et cum illo *fuit semper et* est ante aevum."—The words italicised are neither in the Syr. nor in 248. But they are apparently only a Christian gloss.

Ecclus. i. 2, "*profundum* abyssi."—The word italicised is not in 248, but is found in the Syr.

Ecclus. i. 3 in Vet. Lat. This seems a Christian gloss—perhaps it is an adaptation from the Syr. of i. 4.

Ecclus. i. 6 *a*. Here also there seems a Christian gloss in the Vet. Lat. So also in 7 *b*.

Ecclus. i. 7 *a*, *b*; i. 8. To both these passages in the Vet. Lat. the previous stricture applies.

Welte (*u. s.*, p. 216), who seems on the whole inclined to regard the Vet. Lat. as primarily derived from the Hebrew original, selects from the essay of Bengel the following four passages as presumably in his view the best instances adduced:—Ecclus. i. 17: Greek *ἐπιθυμημάτων*, Vet. Lat. *a thesauris*—apparently a confusion between מטעמים and מטמנים [the latter word is actually used in the Talmud—Sanh. 100 *b*—in a quotation of Ecclus. xlii. 9, 10]. But the Vet. Lat. has here only the same rendering as the Syriac. Ecclus. i. 26: Greek *ἐντολάς*, Vet. Lat. *justitiam*, Hebrew (possibly) מישפט. But this instance does not really prove anything, and the slight alteration in the Vet. Lat. might even be due to anti-Judaistic motives. The next passage quoted is Ecclus. i. 29 *a*, where the Greek, misreading בְּפִי for בְּפָנַי, translates *ἐν στόμασιν ἀνθρώπων*, while the Vet. Lat. has *in conspectu hominum*. This, however, only once more sends us back to the Syriac, where we find the right rendering. Besides, 253 actually corrects: *ἐνώπιον*. The last instance adduced is Ecclus. i. 29 *b*, where the Greek has *πρόσεχε*, "and in thy lips take heed," reading תַּיְשִׂכִּיל (as in Prov. xvi. 23), while the Vetus Lat. has *et non scandalizeris*, reading אל תִּכָּשֵׁל, taking the אל from the previous clause. But 248 has substantially the same emendation (*μὴ πρόσεχε*).

These and similar instances are manifestly insufficient to establish the hypothesis of Bengel. We now proceed to select at least a few instances which in our view support the suggestion that the Vet. Lat. was somehow dependent on the Syriac.

Ecclus. xxv. 9. Greek, "he that has found prudence;" the Syr.—by a wrong reading and then wrong Syr. punctuation: that has obtained "mercy." Without that wrong punctuation the misreading would have been "a friend" (the original misreading being רעה for דעה). The Vet. Lat. follows this misreading, but not the mispunctuation (which may be of later date), and renders *amicum verum*. Neither 248 nor any other MS. follows the Syr. and Vet. Lat., which here also differ from the Hebrew.

Ecclus. xxv. 12 [A. V.] is a Christian interpolation. It was certainly not in the Hebrew original, and is only found in H, 248, and Co. But it occurs in the Syr. and in the Vetus Latina.

Ecclus. xxvi. 3. This is very curious, as shewing the dependence of the Vet. Lat. alike on the Greek and on the Syriac. The Greek has: "it shall be given in the *portion* of them that fear the Lord." The Syr. rightly renders: "to the *man* who feareth the Lord." The Hebrew had בחיק, "into the bosom" = "to the man," as in the Syr., while the Greek misread בחלק, "in the portion." Then the Syr. adds the gloss—evidently *not* from the Hebrew—"in return for good works." The Vet. Lat. takes from the Greek

the first part, "*in parte* timentium Deum dabitur *viro*"—the latter word apparently from the Syr.; and it also adds from the Syriac, *pro factis bonis*. 248 has not this gloss, nor any other MS., nor was it in the Hebrew.

Mr. Margoliouth, although not agreeing with our views on this subject, points to the following passage as a most remarkable instance of accord between the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. To exhibit its full force we give the passage in the three versions.

Ecclus. xx. 14, Greek: "The gift of one [who is] senseless shall not profit thee, for in his view [literally, his eye] *instead of one many*" [see notes].

Syriac, *v.* 13: "Donum insipientis inestimabile est apud ipsum, quoniam oculi ejus *ad compensationem septuplo majorem* [seportandam] *positi sunt.*" *v.* 14: "*Parum dat et multum exprobrat, et aperiens os suum male loquitur et blaterat.*"

Vet. Lat., *v.* 14: "Datus insipientis non erit utilis tibi oculi enim illius [so far the three versions agree] *septemplices sunt.*" *v.* 15: "*Exigua dabit et multa improperabit et apertio oris illius inflammatio est.*"

The agreement here between the Vet. Lat. and the Syriac [marked by italics] is not less striking than their difference from the Greek.

There are also what appear to us other, perhaps minor, indications of a connection between the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. Thus it seems to mark alike the Christian character of the Syriac Version and its relationship with the Vet. Lat., that in Ecclus. xxxvi. 2 both these versions omit the word "*all*" from the sentence: "Send thy fear upon *all* the nations." If that word had not been in the Hebrew original, it is scarcely likely that the Hellenising Greek translator would have inserted it. And the word occurs in 248 and in all other MSS.; although 248—like the Vet. Lat.—adds after "nations" the Christian gloss, "who do not seek Thee" (Vet. Lat., *exquisierunt*), for which the Syr. has, "who have not known Thee." But, indeed, there are many traces of such Christian alterations in the Syr., but especially in the Vet. Lat., and their study is very interesting (compare, for example, the opening verses of chaps. xxiv. and xxxv., and the closing verses of the latter—such as xxxv. 25 in the Vet. Lat.). One of the most curious instances in which the Vet. Lat. follows the Syr. [against all the Greek MSS.], and in which both these versions have a marked Christian alteration, is xxv. 15 [see the note]. But the tracing of such indications is apt to become subjective, gaining force by their cumulation. It had therefore best be conjoined with a careful study of the text. This is not the place to continue the comparison of the two versions, but we may invite the consideration of such passages as, for example, Ecclus. xxv. 9, 12; xxvi. 3, 18; xxvii. 3; xxviii. 24, 25; xxix. 7. We add as an instance of the corrupt state of the text of the Vetus Latina that in Ecclus. xxv. 17, where the Vat. reading has "like sackcloth" and the Alex. "like a bear," the Vet. Lat. (*v.* 24) inserts *both:* "tamquam ursus, et quasi saccum ostendet"—evidently trying to make sense out of the two ("*ursus*" and then "quasi saccum ostendet"). Possibly one of these renderings may have crept in from the margin (see note on the verse). Similarly in xxv. 18 (Vet. Lat. 25) the Vet. Lat. combines the Greek with the Syriac reading, slightly altering the latter (see note on the verse). Instances of doublets and possibly triplets will be found in other places, especially in the earlier chapters.

§ IX. Other Ancient Versions.[1]

The Armenian, Æthiopic, Syro-Hexaplar, Coptic, and Palæoslavonic versions are all derived from the Greek.

1. The Armenian Version is published

[1] The notice of the versions enumerated in this paragraph is from the pen of Mr. D. S. Margoliouth, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. To the same scholar are also due the philological and critical parts of the notes from ch. xxxi. onwards; the introductions to these latter chapters, and the exegetical notes on them, being by Dr. Edersheim, who however holds himself also responsible for every part. Besides, the aid and co-operation of Mr. Margoliouth throughout this commentary—more particularly in the comparison of the Syriac text—are also here gratefully acknowledged. Some of his special suggestions are indicated in the places where they occur.

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in the Venetian edition of the Armenian Bible, but in a fragmentary condition, having a lacuna from xxxv. 19–xxxviii. 14 (inclusive), and breaking off at xlii. 24; besides omitting minor portions, such as the whole of ch. viii., and single verses, *e.g.* xx. 15, 24 *b*. Like the rest of the Armenian version of the Bible, it is minutely faithful and exhibits occasionally a very unusual knowledge of the Greek language. The text followed resembles that of the Alexandrian MS. The most important variants which it affords will be found quoted in xl. 6 and xli. 17.

2. The Æthiopic Version exists only in MSS., of which eleven are in the British Museum, and several in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. A short account of a copy at Tübingen was given by Ewald in the first volume of the 'Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.' The translation is ignorant and paraphrastic; in a few passages it shews signs of contamination with the Syriac (viii. 5, xxii. 15, xxxviii. 30, &c.).

3. The Syro-Hexaplaris is published in the magnificent seventh volume of Ceriani's 'Anecdota Sacra et Profana.' On this version generally, see the 'Bible Dictionary,' s. v. *Versions*. The text which it follows agrees minutely with that of MS. 253 in most places; but it also shews readings peculiar to 248. The translator would seem to have consulted the Peshittho in the interpretation of difficult words (*e.g.* iv. 30, φανταστικοπῶν, xxxiv. 21, xlv. 23).

4. The Coptic Version (in the Sahidic dialect) exists in a unique MS. of the 6th century at Turin, and has been published by Lagarde in his 'Aegyptiaca' (Göttingen, 1884). The MS. (which has suffered by age) was previously used by Peyron for his Lexicon. The text which it follows resembles that of the Sin., with several omissions and a few additions: in a very few cases it offers certain corrections of the Greek. A fragment of a Memphitic Version (chap. ii. 1–9) was published by Lagarde in 'Orientalia,' pt. i. (Gött., 1880).

5. The Palæoslavonic Version (published in the Slavonic Bibles) follows a text similar to that of the Complutensian edition, but with only a portion of the additions.

A copy of the Arabic Version corrected from the Greek is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence. The reviser has added a translation of the Prologue, in which he curiously makes the grandson state that he has translated the book into Syriac. A compendium of the Arabic Version is preserved in the Bodleian Library, but in an imperfect state.

The Scholia of Barhebraeus, to which reference is occasionally made, are taken from the Bodleian MS.

§ X. Authority of Ecclesiasticus in the Synagogue and in the Church.

The high authority in which our book was held in the ancient Jewish synagogue —whether on account of its age or its embodiment of universally received popular sayings—appears even from the frequency with which it is quoted in Talmudic writings. Zunz ('Gottesd. Vortr.,' pp. 101–103) enumerates no less than forty such citations—anonymous or expressly in the name of Sirach. Some of these cannot, however, be identified either in our present Greek or Syriac text, although some conjectural attempts have been made by Horowitz (*u. s.*).[1] What seems the earliest Mishnic reference to the words of the Siracide (Ecclus. ix. 9) reaches up to early Maccabean days (José, the son of Jochanan, Abh. i. 5).[2]

[1] For these quotations (mostly given in the present Commentary) see, besides Zunz (*u. s.*), Delitzsch ('Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie,' pp. 20, &c., 204, &c.); Dukes ('Rabbin. Blumenl.' pp. 67, &c.); Schuhl ('Sent. du Talmud,' *passim*); Fritzsche (*u. s.*, p. xxxvii., &c.); Joël ('Blicke in d. Relig. Gesch.' i. pp. 71, &c.); Strack in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.' vii. pp. 430, 431; and others—latest, Hamburger in the Supplemental Part to his 'Real-Encykl.' pp. 77–86.

[2] It is certainly rather a reference, although a very close one, than a quotation. It is adduced as a saying of the sages. On the other hand, the saying of José, the son of Joezer, "Let thy house be the meeting-place for the sages" (Abh. i. 4), and this other saying of the son of Jochanan (Abh. i. 5), "Let the poor be the children of thy household," might be intended as a protest against the bacchanalian feasts alluded to in Ecclus (comp. also Ecclus. ix. 14–16). On José b. Jochanan comp. Frankel in his 'Monatsschr.' i. (1852), pp. 405–407; Grätz, 'Gesch.' ii. pp. 274, &c., iii. p. 7.

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Outward circumstances induced the Jewish teachers at different times to pronounce differently upon the book of Ben Sira. First, we have a series of quotations in which our book is adduced with the same formula as the hagiographa, and indeed is apparently classed with them.[1] Next, we are warned that, unlike the books of Holy Scripture, "the writings of Ben Sira . . . do not defile the hands" ('Tos. Yad.' ii. 13, ed. Zuckerm. p. 683). This, however, only implies the emphatic exclusion of Ecclus. from the Canon.[2] But the Jewish Fathers went further. Rabbi Aqibha declared the book included in those "outside" writings the perusal of which involved the loss of eternal life (Jer. Sanh. 28 *a*, near top); and the Midrash on Eccles. xii. 12, by a play on the words "and what is beyond (besides) these (viz. the words of the sages)," explains that "the rest," viz. the bringing into the house of uncanonical books such as Ben Sira, only brings confusion (reading instead of ויתר מֵהֵפָּה— מְהוּמָה, confusion). We would suggest that the change of feeling was connected with the Christian controversy—being due partly to apprehension of the danger of allowing the perusal of not strictly orthodox Rabbinical works, and partly to the wide use of Ecclus. in the early Christian Church. Be this as it may, the mood was only partial and transient. In consequence of a discussion on the saying of Aqibha, Rabbi Joseph, the head of the Babylonian Academy of Pumbadita, ultimately gave forth a statement which not only allowed the judicious use of the book, but leads us to infer that, as in the Church so in the synagogue, it was regarded as an *ecclesiasticus*, suited for catechetical and homiletic purposes (Sanh. 100 *b*). The passages specially recommended for this are the following, although from the modifications, additions or contractions, as compared with the Greek text, some of them are only hypothetically identified: Ecclus. xxvi. 3; xxv. 26; xxvi. 1; ix. 3, 8, 9; xxvi. 29; xi. 30 *a*, 32 *a*, 33 *a*; xi. 29 *a*; vi. 6; xxx. 21 or else xl. 7; xxxi. 4 (?). (Sanh. 100 *b*.) Indeed, we find references to our book not only in the Talmud, but in the Midrashim.[1] And from the first half of the 14th century comes the explanation that the Talmud had only intended to prohibit such a study of Ben Sira as should be made of the Bible, but not occasional resort to it (Ritba[2] in the En-Iaqobh to Bab. B. 98 *b*, *apud* Joël, *u. s.*, p. 76).

We only add that, although the so-called Alphabet of Ben Sira contains in the first (or Aramæan) Alphabet four quotations from our book, and in the second (or Hebrew) Alphabet two such citations, it must not be confounded with our Ecclesiasticus,[3] and is of very much later date.

Use in the early Christian Church.—Leaving aside the general question of the use of the Apocrypha in the Church (on which the view of the Church of England is sufficiently expressed in Art. VI.), we briefly note some points of historical interest. Reference has already been made to the evident acquaintance with Ecclus. implied in the Epistle of St. James. There can be little doubt that in the Ep. of Barnabas xix. we have a quotation from Ecclus. iv. 31. Tertullian seems to refer to our book (Ecclus. xv. 18) with the formula: *sicut scriptum est* ('de Exhort. Cast.' c. 2, and 'de Monogam.' c. 14). Clement of Alexandria frequently quotes Ecclus.: thirteen times with the formula ἡ γραφὴ λέγει,

[1] So often: see Zunz, *u. s.* Strack ('Proleg. Crit. in V. T.' pp. 64, 65) has certainly not succeeded in the attempt either to explain or disprove this. On the other hand, Joël's proposed emendations of the condemnatory terms used in the Talmud about Ben Sira are ingenious, but neither satisfactory nor convincing (Joël, *u. s.* pp. 72–75).

[2] For the meaning of the expression "defileth the hands," see 'Life and Times of Jesus,' ch. xxxi. (vol. ii.).

[1] Four in Ber. R. (c. 8; 10; 73; 91); one in Shem. R.; two in Vayyk. R.; one in Bamidb. R.; one in the Midr. on Prov. c. 22 (?); two in that on Eccles.; three in the Midr. Tanchuma, &c.

[2] The name is an abbreviation from *R. Jom Tobh b. Abraham* Ishbili [from Seville].

[3] For an English translation of the two Alphabets of Ben Sira, as well as for that of the Talmudic quotations from our book, I take leave to refer the reader to my 'History of the Jewish Nation,' pp. 559–563. Comp. also Dukes (*u. s.*), Delitzsch (*u. s.*), and the literature of the subject in Fürst, 'Biblioth. Jud.' iii. p. 341; a new ed. by Steinschneider ('Alphab. Sirac. utr.' Berlin, 1858).

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φησίν and the like; nine times with that of ἡ σοφία λέγει, φησίν and the like; thrice as the words of the παιδαγωγός. But as he also twice designates the book as ἡ σοφία Ἰησοῦ, it can scarcely be argued that he placed it on the same level with the Solomonic writings (but see 'Strom.' ii. 5, 24). Similar in form are the quotations of Origen from Ecclus., although he expressly ascribed the work to Jesus the son of Sirach ('contra Cels.' vi. 7). Cyprian, who often quotes from it, seems to treat it as if belonging to the Canon.[1] On the other hand, Jerome expressly declares it non-Solomonic and non-canonical (see the quotation in a former paragraph), and equally emphatically Athanasius ('Epist. fest.' 39), who ranks our book with the *Didache*, 'The Shepherd,' &c. None the less was the book used and quoted by the Fathers in a manner similar to that of the Jewish Fathers. Lastly, St. Augustine ranks the book with the canonical writings on account of its authority in the Church, although he denies its Solomonic authorship ('de doctr. Christ.' ii. 8). It is enumerated in the Hebrew Canon by the Synods of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). The inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Canon by the Council of Trent (in the 4th Session, 8 April, 1546, 'Canon. et Decr.' ed. Tauchnitz, pp. 15, 16) is sufficiently known. (Comp. Herbst, 'Einl.' i. pp. 24, &c.; De Wette-Schrader, 'Lehrb.' pp. 596–599; Keil, 'Einl.' pp. 702, 703, 747; Schürer, *u. s.*)

§ XI. Literature of the Subject.

The references in the preceding paragraphs sufficiently indicate the works which have been chiefly consulted in preparing the present commentary. The literature of the subject is, however, very large. For its complete enumeration we must refer to the various Encyclopædias (German and English) and to the books of 'Introduction' to the Old Testament. The Greek text used has been that of Tischendorf ('Vetus Test. Graece,' &c., ed. vi^ta, 1880), and generally referred to as the Vatican, though it scarcely deserves that designation (see § VIII.). The full Vat. and Sin. readings have been collated from Nestle's supplement to the ed. (Lips. 1887). Besides, the variants in the magnificent ed. of Holmes and Parsons have been referred to. The critical edition of the Apocrypha by Fritzsche (Lips. 1871) has been already described. Of the various separate editions of the Greek text of Ecclesiasticus—*with notes*—that of Linde has no special value ('Sententiae Jesu Siracidae,' Gedani, 1795); that of Bretschneider has been constantly compared ('Liber Jesu Sirac. Graece,' Ratisb. 1806). The Syriac text used has been generally that in Walton's Polyglot. For Hebrew translations we have had the rendering by Ben Seebh (previously noticed). The Hebrew is elegant, but the translation follows sometimes the Syriac, sometimes the Greek — sometimes scarcely either the one or the other. The Hebrew in the translation of the Apocrypha by S. J. Fraenkel (Lips. 1830) is not so elegant as that of Ben Seebh, nor yet much more faithful to the text. Translations into Hebrew of portions of the text—such as that of ch. xxiv. by Lowth, emended by Fritzsche, and of ch. li. by Professor Bickell—are noted in their places in the commentary. The German translation of Gutmann ('Die Apokryphen d. A. Test.' Altona, 1841) affords not any help. The English version by Dr. Bissell (in the vol. on the Apocr. supplemental to Dr. Schaff's American ed. of the English translation of Lange's Bible Comment.) resembles in character that of Fritzsche. The latter, which is not strictly literal, is appended to his Commentary on Ecclus. ('Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.' 5^te Lief. 1860).

The general questions connected with the book (such as its authorship, date, arrangement, versions, &c.) are discussed in the corresponding articles in the various Encyclopædias — such as (in German) those of Winer, Schenkel (by Fritzsche), Herzog (by Schürer), Riehm, and Hamburger—although with little variety or progression. So far as the Apocrypha and especially Ecclesiasticus are concerned, the like sameness characterises the account of our book in the various Introductions to the Old Testament:

[1] Comp. Schürer in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.' art. Apokr., 487; 'Gesch.' 597.

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De Wette-Schrader, Keil, Reuss ('Gesch. d. h. Schr. A. T.' 1882). To these must be added, as containing by far the fullest treatment of the subject, the account of Ecclus. by Schürer in the 'Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes' (1886), to which reference has already been made. A special place must, for various reasons, be assigned both to Welte's (R. C.) 'Einl. in d. deuterokan. B. d. A. T.' (in Herbst u. Welte's 'Einl.' Sect. II. part iii., Freiburg, 1844) and to Eichhorn's 'Einl. in d. Apokr. Schr. d. A. T.' (Leipz. 1795 —being vol. iv. of his 'Krit. Schr.'). Besides these German works, the articles *Ecclesiasticus* and *Jesus the Son of Sirach* in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible' (vol. i.) have been consulted, as well as the able and learned summary by Dr. Davidson in vol. ii. of his ed. of Horne's Introd. (1856, pp. 1024–1033).

On the relation of our book to Philo and Jewish Hellenism, the works of Gfrörer and Dähne and the art. *Philo* by the present writer in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.' have been referred to. For the relation of the Greek text to the Syriac and for other general questions the articles by Geiger in the 'Z. D. M. G.' xii. 1858, and by Horowitz in Frankel's 'Monatsschrift,' vol. xiv. (since published as a separate *brochure*, 1865), have been perused. For the relation of Ecclus. to Proverbs we have referred to C. Seligmann ('D. B. d. Weish. J. Sir.' 1883); for the references in the Epistle of St. James, to A. Boon ('Dissert. Exeg. Theol. de Jac. ep. cum Sir. libro convenientia'). As regards the relation of the Vetus Latina to the Hebrew original, special notice has been taken of Bengel's art. in Eichhorn's 'Biblioth.' vol. vii., which is repeated in summary in Bertholdt's 'Histor. Krit. Einleit.' pp. 2306–2309. On historical questions the works of Herzfeld, Ewald, and Grätz have been referred to. On the Wisdom-teaching and the Dogmatics and Ethics of Ecclus., the book of Dr. J. F. Bruch ('Weisheits-Lehre d. Hebr.' Strassburg, 1851) and the 'Schul-Programm' by Dr. V. Merguet (Königsberg, 1874) have been perused.

Beyond the works just referred to, an exhaustive study of all the Commentaries on Ecclesiasticus has not been attempted —the more so that it was wished to make a fresh study of the book. The Annotations in vol. v. of the 'Critici Sacri' deserve constant attention, especially those by Drusius and Grotius. The latter are mostly the source of the classical parallels, not unfrequently noted by writers. For this reason, and because they are often rather coincidences than parallels, it has not been deemed necessary to repeat them. It needs scarcely be said that the Commentary of Fritzsche (in the 'Exeg. Handb.') has been constantly compared and used. It is by far the fullest work on Ecclesiasticus, and its learning and ability are beyond question. The (American) Commentary of Dr. Bissell in vol. xv. of Schaff's ed. of Lange's Comment. chiefly follows that of Fritzsche. Besides these, the Commentary of Bretschneider ('Liber Jesu Siracidae') deserves and requires careful perusal, although the book bears marks of youth and haste. The brief annotations of Joach. Camerarius ('Sententiae Jesu Sirac.,' at the end of the Greek text, pp. 136–213) are chiefly interesting for the quotation of parallelisms from classical writers. The notes of J. G. Linde ('Sent. J. S.' Gedani, 1785) are very brief, but occasionally really valuable; the few Rabbinic annotations of M. Gutmann ('D. Apokr. d. A. Test.') are not only scanty, but also slight.

Lastly, we have now to add to the literature on Ecclus. the discussion of the book in Professor Cheyne's 'Job and Solomon,' pp. 179–198, which came too late to be used in the preparation of the present commentary. It is characterised by the learning, clearness, and beauty of diction of that writer.

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THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH,

OR

ECCLESIASTICUS.

[*A Prologue made by an uncertain Author.*

Some refer this Prologue to Athanasius, because it is found in his *Synopsis.*

THIS Jesus was the son of Sirach, and grandchild to Jesus of the same name with him: this man therefore lived in the latter times, after the people had been led away captive, and called home again, and almost after all the prophets. Now his grandfather Jesus, as he himself witnesseth, was a man of great diligence and wisdom among the Hebrews, who did not only gather the grave and short sentences of wise men, that had been before him, but himself also uttered some of his own, full of much understanding and wisdom. When as therefore the first Jesus died, leaving this book almost ‖perfected, Sirach his son receiving it after him left it to his own son Jesus, who, having gotten it into his hands, compiled it all orderly into one volume, and called it Wisdom, intituling it both by his own name, his father's name, and his grandfather's; alluring the hearer by the very name of Wisdom to have a greater love to the study of this book. It containeth therefore wise sayings, dark sentences, and parables, and certain particular ancient godly stories of men that pleased God; also his prayer and song; moreover, what benefits God had vouchsafed his people, and what plagues he had heaped upon their enemies. This Jesus did imitate Solomon, and was no less famous for wisdom and learning, both being indeed a man of great learning, and so reputed also.]

Or, *collected.*

The Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus *the Son of* Sirach.

WHEREAS many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by others that have followed their steps, for the which things Israel ought to be commended for learning and wisdom; and whereof not only the readers must needs become skilful themselves, but also they that desire to learn be able to profit them which are ‖without, both by speaking and writing: my grandfather Jesus, when he had much

‖ Or, *of another nation.*

Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us.] "Great," in the sense of important; "delivered," here δεδομένων, not παραδίδοσθαι, as usually and more aptly; "to us," viz. to the Jews.

by the Law, the Prophets, **and the others who followed upon them.**] Viz. the writers (not the writings) that followed—presumably, the authors of the Hagiographa.

for which it is due to commend Israel for culture (παιδεία, *disciplina;* De Wette, "instruction") *and wisdom.*] The two terms are again found immediately afterwards, and (though in inverse order) in Ecclus. i. 27. In the LXX. παιδεία is the equivalent of *ten* Hebrew words. Here it probably stands for the Hebrew מוּסָר, which is so rendered twenty-one times in the LXX. rendering of Prov., while the two terms, as here, are four times combined (Prov. i. 2, 7, xv. 33, xxiii. 23; Theod., S.-H., 23, and ten other Codd.), and in only two instances (Prov. x. 17 *b*; xvii. 8?) two other Hebrew words are represented by παιδεία in Prov. The Hellenistic tone of this commendation should be marked. It seems intended to strengthen the confidence of Israel in their position among the Greeks, and to conciliate the favour of the latter.

and since it behoves those who read (or, *readers*) *not only to become skilful* (*scientes*, "*einsichtsvoll*") *themselves* (X, C, H, 55, 155 read γενέσθαι), **but also that they who love learning** (are eager after knowledge) **should be able to be of use, both speaking and writing** (by verbal instruction and written works), **to them that are without.**] This is the common meaning of the expression. In that case the reference would seem to be to Grecian proselytes, or perhaps even to inquiring heathens, and only secondarily to the Jews in the dispersion. But in the usage of Polybius the expression only means "outsiders" or "others."

my grandfather Jesus.] Or, possibly: "my

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given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and other books of our fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom; to the intent that those which are desirous to learn, and are addicted to these things, might profit much more in living according to the law. Wherefore let me intreat you to read it with favour and attention, and to pardon us, wherein we may seem to come short of some words, which we have laboured to interpret. For the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them: and not only these things, but the law itself, and the ‖ prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small ‖ difference, when they are spoken in their own language. For in the eight and thirtieth year cir. 133.

‖ Gr. *prophecies.*
‖ Or, *excellency*

ancestor Jesus." On the meaning of this word and on the date of the work of the older Siracide, comp. Introd.

having given (devoted) **himself more** [than others] (so in the usage of Polyb.—*amplius;* but Wahl, "for longer") **to the reading** (study), *&c.*] The arrangement of the Old Testament into "Law, the Prophets, and the other books of the fathers" (comp. St. Luke xxiv. 27; Jos. c. Ap. i. 8), appears here for the first time. It is probable that this passage gave rise to the tripartite division of the Old Testament which was afterwards universally adopted.

and having gotten therein sufficient (= much, *sat multus, quod satis est*) **proficiency.**] So in the usage of Polyb.: "as the result of practice." In LXX. 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xvi. 7 the word stands for "height."

that those who love (are eager for) **learning.**] The next clause is ambiguous. Most modern writers render it: "becoming also attached to these things," viz. to this new contribution of the Siracide. But the rendering of the A. V., slightly modified, seems better: **and are become attached to these things**, viz. those things in which Ben Sira himself had gotten such skill—the Law, the Prophets, and other writings of the fathers. This agrees better with the plural number (τούτων ἔνοχοι: comp. ἐν τούτοις . . . ἦν), whereas the work of Ben Sira is referred to in the singular (τι τῶν κ. τ. λ.). It also accords with the general context. The object of the elder Siracide was to further in religion those who, comparatively ignorant, were desirous to learn, and had become attached to these things. On the other hand, it would be difficult to attach any definite meaning to their becoming attached to his new work.

might make all the more progress by a life (*living*) **according to the Law.**] The διὰ is generally rendered "in," not "by," but the sense is nearly the same in both cases.

Although the tone of this introductory statement is Grecian, it is Palestinian in spirit. For the Rabbis often urge the duty of those who had learned to teach others. Thus it was said that the promise Ps. cxii. 3 applied to those who, having learned, also taught the Law (Kethub. 50 *a*); and the expression "the law of kindness" (Prov. xxxi. 26) is explained to mean study in order to teach (Sukk. 49 *b*). On the other hand, we are told that there is not greater vanity than to have learned the Law and not to instruct others (Deb. R. 2). Indeed, according to Rabbi Meir, such an one "despised the word of the Lord," according to Numb. xv. 31 (Siphré, ed. Friedmann, p. 33 *a*). Similarly, in regard to the necessity of knowledge in order to attain purity of life, there was not any principle more generally current than that an uncultivated person did not fear sin, and that the ignorant could not be pious (Ab. ii. 5). Indeed, Rabbinic study was based on this idea.

In what follows the younger Siracide bespeaks "*favour and attention*" for the work of his ancestor, and as translator asks the readers **to pardon** (to have a lenient judgment) **wherein** (in those things where) **we may appear, while having bestowed diligent labour on the translation** (*circa interpretationem laborando*), **to have failed in some of the words.** It has, however, also been proposed to render the sentence: "Wheresoever we seem in our carefully elaborated translation in certain of our phrases to give no meaning." The next sentence—translated in the A. V. with sufficient accuracy, though not quite literally—explains as reason of such failure, that a translation could never quite convey the force of the original. **"These things"** refer to the present work. We note that the expression "Hebrew" (tongue) occurs here for the first time in Old Testament literature.

Lastly, the translator proceeds to give his reasons for undertaking the work.

For in the eight and thirtieth year, **under king** *Euergetes.*] See Introd. Rather: "I **found no small difference of culture.**"

coming into Egypt, when Euergetes was king, and continuing there some time, I found a book of no small learning: therefore I thought it most necessary for me to bestow some diligence and travail to interpret it; using great watchfulness and skill in that space to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, which in a strange country are willing to learn, being prepared before in manners to live after the law.

Or, help of learning.

CHAPTER I.

1 *All wisdom is from God.* 10 *He giveth it to them that love him.* 12 *The fear of God is full of many blessings.* 28 *To fear God without hypocrisy.*

B. C. cir. 200.

ALL [a]wisdom *cometh* from the Lord, and is with him for ever.

[a] 1 Kings 3. 9. James 1. 5.

The word which we have rendered "difference" has been variously translated, and also means "made like unto." But our version suits the context best. Having during his residence in Egypt felt the difference of culture —in modern parlance: of standpoint and development—between the Palestinians and Grecians (whether Jews, proselytes, or Greek friends and inquirers), he was anxious to present the work of his ancestor in a Greek garb. It will be noticed that, strictly speaking, the text gives not any information on the controverted question, at what precise date the younger Siracide had begun his translation, still less when he finished and published it, but only states that he had arrived and settled in Egypt under the reign of Euergetes.

Fritzsche inserts after "*most necessary*" οὖν (from X, C, H, 55, 105, *al.*, Old Latin); after "*thought*," καί, "*therefore I also thought*" (from III. and the previously-quoted readings). "Diligence:" rather, **zeal** [speed, trouble] **and laboriousness.** "To interpret it:" rather, "**on the translating of this book.**" "Using:" add "**indeed.**" "In that space:" rather, "**in the interval of the time,**" *i.e.* while he carried on his work, he robbed himself of sleep and employed all his knowledge and skill "**in order, having brought the book to an end** (for ἄγοντα read ἀγαγόντα, C, H, Alex., 55, 106, 155, 253, 254, 296), *to give it forth* (publish it) **also for those abroad** (in foreign lands, *i.e.* in "the dispersion") **who are,**" &c. The expression is used of sojourn in a strange land, as in Acts xiii. 17, 1 Peter i. 17; and in the same sense the verb (St. Luke xxiv. 18; Heb. xi. 9) and the subst. adjective (Acts vii. 6, 29; Eph. ii. 19; 1 Pet. ii. 11; and also frequently in the LXX., in the Apocrypha, and by Philo). "And are prepared," &c.: rather, "**prepare themselves in manners** (as to morals and customs) **to live after the law.**"

CHAPTER I.

This chapter naturally forms the Introduction to the whole work. It consists of two equal parts, each of fourteen (2 × 7) verses, viz. Part I., *vv.* 1–15 (omitting the spurious *v.* 5); Part II., *vv.* 16–30. The first part may be designated as the theoretical (or objective), the second as the practical (or subjective) aspect of the theme.

Each part is again subdivided into equal stanzas. [In general we notice that the numerical arrangement of stanzas, and even verses, throughout this book is marked, and indeed characteristic.] Part I. consists of two stanzas, each of seven verses (*vv.* 1–8, 9–15). The first stanza (*vv.* 1–8) opens with a statement of the general theme (*v.* 1)—the other six verses being an enlargement of *v.* 1 *b*, which sets forth that Wisdom is for ever with God. Similarly, the second stanza (*vv.* 9–15) takes up the first clause of the initial proposition (*v.* 1 *a*), that Wisdom cometh from the Lord. It is created, and bestowed by God as His gift to humanity (*vv.* 9, 10); it is moral and practical ("the fear of the Lord") as well as speculative, and bestows the best gifts in life and death (*vv.* 11–13); and it is a permanent gift alike to the individual and to humanity (*vv.* 14, 15). In the last two verses (14, 15) the author returns to the subject of the first two verses in the stanza (*vv.* 9, 10).

Part II. consists of three stanzas of five, five, and four verses—the last being, however, a double verse (*v.* 30). It may be described as the practical aspect of the subject. Stanza i. (*vv.* 16–20) sets forth what Wisdom is, and what Wisdom does for the wise. Stanza ii. (*vv.* 21–26) might be briefly thus inscribed: "The fool (= ungodly) and the wise (= righteous);" and stanza iii. (*vv.* 27–30) conversely: "The wise and the fool."

[On the relation of the Greek text of this chapter to the Syriac Version, see the notes.]

1. The manner in which Wisdom is set forth is extremely characteristic of the standpoint of Ecclesiasticus, as intermediate not only between the Old Testament and Jewish Hellenism, but between the latter and what afterwards was distinctively Palestinian teaching. Comp. here on the one hand such descriptions of Wisdom as in Wisd. vii. 21–27, and chap. viii.—or still further in the writings of Philo—and on the other hand the teaching of the Rabbis, which identified Wisdom with the *Torah*, or Law. Even the opening sentence

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2 Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of eternity?

3 Who can find out the height of heaven, and the breadth of the earth, and the deep, and wisdom?

4 Wisdom hath been created before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting.

B. C. cir. 200.

5 The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom; and her ways are everlasting commandments.

of Ecclus. (*v.* 1) is both Grecian and Hebrew—the former element appearing in the word *all*, the latter in the derivation of "all wisdom" from God. And this "wisdom" is "for ever" with God (comp. Job xii. 13). The Old Lat. Version has: "and was with Him ever, and is before the Age" (*et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante ævum*).

2. The proposition in the second clause of *v.* 1 is farther carried out, both negatively and positively, in the following verses. That Wisdom is really with the Lord for ever, appears from the inscrutable mysteries by which we are surrounded (*vv.* 2, 3). The whole passage reminds us of Prov. xxx. 4. "The days of eternity"—lit. "of Æon." The reasoning may be thus paraphrased: Who can compute either the numberless grains which make up the sand of the sea, or the drops in the rainfall, or the series of days which constitute Æon? To us it is all inscrutable. The term "Æon" occurs very frequently in the LXX.—almost exclusively for the Hebrew *Olam*. The expression "days of Æon," or of "the Æon," is found in the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxii. 7; Is. lxiii. 9; Am. ix. 11; Mic. v. 2, vii. 14; Mal. iii. 4. Similarly, the expression "sand of the sea" is frequent in the LXX., and in the Bible is employed to denote an innumerable quantity. The reference to the rain-drops recalls Job xxxvi. 27, where the LXX. use the same words. It has, however, been also suggested that *v.* 2 may not be intended to mark the inscrutable character of what is there mentioned, but rather to indicate topics of comparison with the inscrutable character of Divine wisdom.

3. *find out.*] Rather, **trace out.**

the deep.] Rather, **the abyss.** The Armenian Version has: "the abyss of wisdom." The Syriac (as also Vet. Lat. and 70) omits "and wisdom." We regard the words as a Hellenising addition by the Greek translator. The language recalls the cosmogony of Philo ('de Mundi opif.' ed. Mangey, i. 6, 7; ed. Fref., p. 6), in which first the "unbodily" heaven and the "unseen" (invisible) earth and "the idea" of air and vacuity were made by God in the "intelligible" (ideal) world. It seems the more likely that the younger Siracide may have entertained views kindred to those afterwards developed by Philo, since the same ideas appear in the LXX. rendering of Gen. i. 2: "And the earth was unseen (invisible) and unwrought" (unformed—the word occurs only here in biblical literature). Among the Rabbis we find similar speculations—although under ban of the authorities—about the pre-existence of matter and the formation, rather than the creation, of the world (comp. 'Life and Times of Jesus,' vol. i. pp. 50, 51). In these speculations water was mostly regarded as the original matter. One Rabbi (Ben Soma) thought that only two or three fingers' breadth intervened between the upper and the lower waters (Ber. R. 1); and that these issued from the *Thehom*, or abyss. The Hellenistic character of the views of the younger Siracide accounts for the otherwise apparently incongruous juxtaposition of "abyss" with "wisdom"—here in the sense of creative, formative wisdom.

4. *understanding of prudence.*] Rather, **intelligence of understanding** [purpose? thoughtfulness?]. The Armen. Vers. has the two words in apposition, as similarly Prov. i. 4; their conjunction in Prov. viii. 12, comp. i. 4. The verse seems another of the Hellenistic alterations by the Greek translator. The Syr. renders *v.* 4: "More abundant than all these is wisdom, and stronger is faith." The latter words suggest a Christian hand.

from everlasting.] Lit. **from Æon.**

On the negative statement concerning "Wisdom" (in *vv.* 2, 3) follows now the positive. Alike the first and second clauses of *v.* 4 seem parallel to, and are explained by the first and second clauses of *v.* 6. Verse 5 is found only in H, 23, 55, 70, 106, 248, Co. and in the Old Lat., and has been rightly omitted by Fritzsche. It is evidently an interpolation, intended to avert heterodox teaching or application.

In regard to the term "create" in *v.* 4, it is true that in Ecclus. it is used in the sense of "forming" or preparing (so probably, though not certainly, in Ecclus. xxxix. 25, and in xl. 1, xliv. 2, and more doubtfully, xlix. 14). But in these passages the word is evidently employed in a wider, almost figurative sense. Bretschneider is therefore not justified in contending that the word in our verse does not mean "to create." It might represent the Hebrew קנה, which the LXX. render in Prov. viii. 22 by "create" (so also in Gen. xiv. 19, 22, while generally they translate ברא by κτίζω). Although this view of "Wisdom" as created before all things is here probably

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6 [b] To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed? or who hath known her wise counsels?

7 [Unto whom hath the knowledge of wisdom been made manifest? and who hath understood her great experience?]

8 There is one wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon his throne.

9 He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.

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10 She *is* with all flesh according to his gift, and he hath given her to them that love him.

11 The fear of the Lord is honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing.

12 The fear of the Lord maketh a

[b] Isai. 40. 13. Wisd. 9. 13. Rom. 11. 34. 1 Cor. 2. 16.

Grecian, it may also be referred to Prov. viii. 22. The Rabbis substituted for "Wisdom" the *Torah* (Law), which they represented as one of the six things created before the world (Ber. R. 1), or according to another passage, 2000 years before it (Midr. on Song v. 11). They commented on Prov. viii. 22 to this effect, that God had looked into the *Torah*, as an architect into his plans, and so created the world (Ber. R. 1). The second clause of *v.* 4 may probably refer to the details of creation. The personification of "Wisdom" in our verse is only figurative. It is interesting to mark that Philo also quotes Prov. viii. 22, interpreting it in a manner similar to the Siracide ('de Temul.' [ebriet.], ed. Mang. i. 362; Frcf. p. 244).

6. Rather, **was revealed, and who knew her subtle devices?** "Subtle devices," with the additional meaning of secrecy—Vet. Lat., *astutias illius*. The inscrutable character of "Wisdom" is farther shewn in regard to her root—as being in God, and to her working. The reference is not to Wisdom as in God, but to Wisdom as manifesting herself. The second half of the verse is omitted in the Armenian Version. The Syr. begins the verse with מן לקודמין—evidently the "from Æon" of the close of *v.* 4 in the Greek Version.

7. This is another interpolation, found in the same Codd. as *v.* 5.

8. **One is wise, and to be feared greatly, sitting upon His throne: the Lord.**] "To be feared greatly," comp. Joel ii. 11, and Ecclus. xliii. 29. In Him Wisdom is joined to power, although the reference may also be to His moral properties: He is the Lord. The Syr. and Arab. Versions have: "ruleth over all her treasures." The Syr. Vers. and the Old Lat. omit the words "wise and," which probably were not in the Hebrew original.

9, 10. Beginning of stanza ii. (*vv.* 9–15). The writer proceeds to give an account of Wisdom as Divinely bestowed. "Numbered her"—so literally. Although the words of the Hebrew original were probably taken from Job xxviii. 27 (see marg.), it does not follow that the younger Siracide mistranslated them because they differ from the rendering of the LXX. (ἐξηγήσατο). Some have translated: "He divided her," *i.e.* He bestowed on the things to be created, to each its part of wisdom. And this may be the meaning of the addition in the Syr. and Arab. Versions: "He numbered and gave it." We hesitate connecting the expression with the *Sephiroth*, or "enumerations" (emanations) of the Kabbalists, although to "enumerate" might be equivalent to creatively determining and setting it forth, and in that sense revealing it.

There cannot be any doubt as to the meaning of the next clause, with which the first part of *v.* 10 must be logically connected (the words "she is" are not in the original): "He poured her upon all (the Arm. omits "all") His works—*v.* 10*a*: [together] **with all flesh, according to His good will** (donation)." That this latter is here the correct meaning rather than "gift"—certainly not "appointed portion"—appears not only from the Syr. and Arab. Versions, but from the whole context, and seems supported by Ecclus. xi. 17, where the word δόσις in the first clause is parallel to "good pleasure" in the second. The expression "all flesh" means here "all mankind," as in Gen. vi. 12; Joel iii. 1. The word "with" seems at first sight to render the explanation difficult. But it may mean that wisdom has been bestowed on all God's works in connexion with man. It follows quite aptly (*v.* 10*b*) that "**He supplied** (bestowed) **her abundantly to them that love Him.**" Teaching similar to this, only in more developed form, occurs frequently in Philo. Notably, he tells us ('de Profug.' ed. Frcf. p. 470) that God pours of His etherial wisdom upon all generous and inquiring minds. But while they rejoice in it, they know not the author and source of it. This is God, who has given His word as the bread from heaven. These Divine precepts bring to the Israelitish, *i.e.* the receptive soul, light and sweetness. And then Philo proceeds to shew the superior happiness (as compared with that of the mere philosopher) of obedience to the commandments and the service of God.

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merry heart, and giveth joy, and gladness, and a long life.

13 Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last, and he shall find favour in the day of his death.

[a] Or, *shall be blessed.*

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14 [c]To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and it was created with the faithful in the womb.

15 She hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue [d] with their seed.

[c] Ps. 111. 10. Prov. 1. 7. & 9. 10.

[d] 2 Chron. 20. 21.

11. From this account of Wisdom, as Divinely bestowed—to which *vv.* 14, 15 correspond (see the introduction)—the writer passes in *v.* 11 to Wisdom in its practical aspect, which is the fear of the Lord, telling us what it is, and what it bestows, alike in life and death. The "crown of rejoicing" is a figure easily understood, derived from the custom on festive occasions.

12. **gladdens** (cheers) **the heart.**] The same expression occurs in LXX. Prov. xxvii. 9. The verbs, it should be noticed, are all in the future tense. For the last clause comp. Deut. iv. 40, vi. 2; Prov. iii. 1, 2, 16, x. 27; Eccles. i. 20. The Rabbis also regard length of life as the reward of righteousness (Prov. x. 2): it delivered even from natural death (Shabb. 156 *b*), and death at sixty was "by the hand of God" (Jer. Bikk. 64 *c*). Similar statements frequently occur in the Midrashim.

13. In the margin, "shall be blessed," which marks the better meaning and reading of 111., X. H, 23, 70, *al.*, Co., and the Old Lat. So also the Syr. and Arab. Versions. We should be glad to believe that the expression "**it shall be well at the last**" (ἐπ' ἐσχάτων) was intended to bear reference to the after-death. But the term (in the plural), which occurs in at least five other passages of Eccles. (four of them wrongly marked in Trommius, 'Concord.'), refers in only one of these places (Eccles. xlviii. 24) to what *we* would call "the last things," "the end of time." On the other hand, the dreary references to death by Ben Sira (as xviii. 12; xxxviii. 17–23; xli. 1–4) indicate a poor philosophy and an almost worse than Sadducean theology, which entertains not any real hope for after death. The single passage in Eccles. xlviii. 11, quoted on the other side, requires special consideration (see the comment. On the subject generally see the Introduction). Bretschneider and Fritzsche understand the clause to refer to a gentle death (Eccles. xi. 26). This seems somewhat jejune. But the Rabbis also speak of 903 different kinds of death [this by *gematria*, of which that "by the kiss" (of God) was the gentlest (Ber. 8 *a*), like drawing a hair out of the milk (Moed. Q., 28 *a*, *b*), while a painful death was to be the fate of the wicked. Inferences as to the condition of the soul were also derived from the look and even the posture of the dying (Ab. de R. Nath. 25). Perhaps the expression in Eccles. may refer to death when children are left behind, especially sons. The Rabbis suppose that this is marked in Scripture by the expression "falling asleep," in contradistinction to dying (the former in the case of David, the latter in that of Joab). The second half of the verse, however, seems to refer to public acknowledgment upon death: and this, even accepting the reading in the margin, which is that of A, C, and other Codd., as well as of the Syr. and Vet. Lat. We know what value the Rabbis attached to public lamentations of the dead and to encomium at funeral orations.

14. This and *v.* 15 are extremely interesting from their connexion with *vv.* 9, 10, and the light which they cast upon them. The additions in the Vet. Lat. (Latin Version) are very curious and characteristic of their source. For the first half of *v.* 14 comp. Prov. i. 7; ix. 10. The second half is quite in accordance with the later teaching of Philo, who regarded as the highest class of virtue that from an innate good disposition. ('Leg. Alleg.' iii., ed. Fref. p. 76; 'de Congr.' *u. s.* p. 429, and specially 'de Prof.' p. 474; comp. generally Siegfried, 'Philo,' p. 269, &c., and the art. "Philo" in Wace and Smith's 'Dict.') The views of the Rabbis were similar (comp. St. John ix. 2; see 'Life and Times of Jesus,' ii. p. 178). "The faithful" are the *neemanim* (2 Macc. i. 2) of the Jews. The same expression occurs also in the LXX. and the N. T.

15. The rendering of this verse is very difficult. Literally translated, the first half of it could scarcely mean anything else than: **And with men, as an eternal foundation** (the same word for the Heb. word "place" in LXX. Job xviii. 4; Is. xiii. 13), **she has built her nest**—since the verb (νοσσεύω) is not a transitive. But as this would present a strange mixture of figures, we can only suggest that there is here a misreading and misrendering of the original, as in LXX. Prov. xvi. 16—perhaps in imitation of it—in which case the Hebrew original really meant: "And she has acquired an eternal foundation (place, habitation) with men." And it is probable that the substantive (νοσσιά) is used with the same application in Eccles. xxxvi. 26 *c*. The rendering of the second clause is scarcely less difficult. Fritzsche translates what he supposes the original (תֵּאָמֵן) by "she shall be continuous," or "accredited, faithful (approved)," but the better rendering seems to

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16 To fear the Lord is fulness of wisdom, and filleth men with her fruits.

17 She filleth all their house with things desirable, and the garners with her increase.

18 The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom, making peace and perfect health to flourish; both which are the gifts of God: and it enlargeth their rejoicing that love him.

19 Wisdom raineth down skill and knowledge of understanding, and exalteth them to honour that hold her fast.

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20 The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord, and the branches thereof are long life.

21 The fear of the Lord driveth away sins: and where it is present, it turneth away wrath.

22 A furious man cannot ‖ be justified; for the sway of his fury shall be his destruction.

‖ Or, *escape punishment.*

be: **she shall be credited** (*fide digna habebitur, vel reperietur*). As regards the meaning of the verse, Eccles. xxiv. 7, 8 seems to leave no doubt that the reference in the first clause is to the Mosaic Law, as wisdom that had obtained an eternal foundation in Israel, although it seems doubtful whether "their seed," among which the Law is to shew itself worthy of credence, or to be approved, refers to mankind generally, or to the descendants of Israel.

16. The verse is not merely a repetition, but opens the second part of the chapter, and begins a new stanza (see introduction). The connexion with *v.* 14 should be marked. As "to fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (*v.* 14), so "the fulness" or "abundance" "of wisdom"—the determining substantive being here used in the sense of a superlative—is once more "to fear the Lord" —wisdom begins and ends there; "**and makes them drunk**," *i.e.* fully satisfies them. See a similar use of the figure in Deut. xxxii. 42, and a similar expression in LXX. Ps. xxii. 5 (A. V. xxiii. 5).

17. Comp. Prov. viii. 18, 19. "All their house:" rather, **all her house.** The Syr. has: "she filleth her treasuries with *wisdom* and her *treasures*," &c.—the Syr. reading מטמנים for מטעמים, or perhaps חכמה for חמדה. "With her fruits:" more literally, **her products.** We have little doubt that here the Greek rendering preserves the Hebrew original of the older Siracide.

18. The relation between fear of the Lord as the beginning and the fulness of wisdom in *vv.* 14 and 16 is inverted in *vv.* 18 and 20. This is not the case in the Syr., which has once more "the beginning of wisdom," and also more correctly renders the second clause: "and increaseth peace, and life, and health." "Perfect health:" literally, **health of healing**—health restored. **The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom** (perhaps in the sense of Wisdom being crowned when this fear shall universally prevail), **making to flourish** (here probably a Hebraism) **peace** (between man and man) **and health of healing** (the healing of all present breaches). The sentiment, which in its Greek form is one of the modifications of the original by the younger Siracide, reappears in Philo. There we find the same anticipations fully, and in exact correspondence, expressed in the descriptions of Messianic times, specially in 'de Præm. et Pœn.' ed. Mangey, ii. 421, &c.; ed. Frcf. pp. 923–925. The clauses in the A. V. after "to flourish" must be struck out.

19. The A. V. omits (with 253, 248, Co.) the opening words of the verse: **And He saw and numbered** (or revealed) **her.** The clause, which is precisely parallel to *v.* 9 (see the note), once more points forward to Philo. But it cannot be omitted, if only because it supplies the subject—God—for what follows. The word "Wisdom" with which *v.* 19 begins in the A. V. does not occur in the original, and the subject is God. The idea of presenting Him as "pouring down, like rain," "skill and knowledge of understanding," is thoroughly Hellenistic. Indeed, the first two clauses of this verse, which are quite different in the Syr., must be attributed to the younger Siracide. In the same manner Philo applied the expression "I will rain bread from heaven" (Ex. xvi. 4) to the showering down from above of Wisdom on all who are receptive ('de Prof.,' c. 25, ed. Frcf. p. 470). "And exalteth them to honour:" rather, **heightens** (increases) **the honour of them,** &c. On the whole comp. Prov. iv. 8.

21. This verse in our A. V. is not found in the best Codd., and must be omitted. From *v.* 20–27 the Syr. contains an entirely different portion.

22. The verse begins a new stanza.

A furious man.] The better reading is **unrighteous anger**, although A. V. represents a correct gloss: comp. Prov. xv. 18. **Shall not be justified**—that is, before God; nor yet will it be vindicated or established before men. In general the expressions must

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23 A patient man will bear for a time, and afterward joy shall spring up unto him.

24 He will hide his words for a time, and the lips of many shall declare his wisdom.

25 The parables of knowledge are in the treasures of wisdom: but godliness is an abomination to a sinner.

26 If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee.

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27 For the fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction: and faith and meekness are his delight.

28 ‖ Distrust not the fear of the Lord when thou art poor; and come not unto him with a double heart.

‖ Or, *Be not disobedient to.*

29 Be not an hypocrite in the sight of men, and take good heed what thou speakest.

30 Exalt not thyself, lest thou fall, and bring dishonour upon thy soul,

be taken in their widest and most manifold application. "The sway of his anger," in the sense of *momentum, impetus*, "shall be his destruction"—rather, **to his fall**—it shall be the cause or occasion of it. The second clause of the verse does not give the reason, but rather explains the meaning of the statement in the first clause, and carries it further. The transition here from *v.* 20 *b* is abrupt, although *v.* 22 may possibly be intended as a demonstration and continuation of *vv.* 19 *c*, 20 *b*.

23. In contrast to this "man of wrath" (Prov. xv. 18) is he who is patient, long suffering (*μακρόθυμος*, אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם), as in Prov. xiv. 29; xv. 18. See also the similar rendering by Aquila of אַאֲרִיךְ נַפְשִׁי, Job vi. 11. Instead of "will bear," Fritzsche renders, after another reading (*ἀνέξεται*): "will hold out." But the alteration does not seem to be sufficiently supported, and the ordinary reading and rendering best accord with the context. He **will bear till the time** (*not* "for a time")—עַד־עֵת—viz., of his vindication and deliverance by God.

24. *He will hide his words* **till the time.**] Till the right time, that appointed of God for his vindication and deliverance, he will keep back, restrain, his speech. Comp. Ps. xxxix. 1; Prov. x. 19. The second part of the verse shews how ample his public vindication shall be. Grotius aptly: "Silentium illius in tempore compensabitur multorum de ipso sermonibus." The Wisdom here spoken of is not abstract (*σοφία*), but practical (*σύνεσις*)—intelligence, prudence.

25. **In** [or **among**] **the treasures of wisdom is a parable** (or else in the collective sense, "are parables") **of understanding**—the latter indicating their quality or the kind of parable. But quite the opposite are the views of life and the conversation of the sinner, *v.* 25 *b*.

26. The theoretical and the practical are here combined: the way to acquire wisdom is obedience to the commandments. Yet this wisdom is not in any way the *reward* of obedience: **and the Lord will abundantly furnish thee with it.** This is not a distinctively Judaic (Rabbinic) sentiment, but the writer occupies Old Testament—we had almost said, New Testament—ground.

27. This verse, which opens the last stanza, continues the reasoning of *v.* 26. It also looks back on the beginning of the previous stanza in *vv.* 22, &c. Practical wisdom in the fear and service of the Lord is here represented as quiet, patient bearing in well-doing, in opposition to the wrathful self-assertion of the proud sinner. "Faith and meekness"—gentleness—"are His delight:" rather, **good pleasure**, that with which He is well pleased, which He approves and loves. The word *εὐδοκία* occurs in the LXX. only in the Psalms (there eight times) and in the Apocrypha only in Ecclus.—giving another indication of the connexion in time between the version of the Psalms and our book. [In Cant. vi. 3—LXX. 4—the name *Tirzah* is so rendered.]

28. The clause "when thou art poor" must be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities. It is evidently an explanatory gloss. The rendering "distrust not," "disbelieve not" (which seems supported by LXX. Is. xxx. 12), appears to correspond better with the second part of the verse than the "be not disobedient" of the margin. "A double heart" (comp. Ps. xii. 2)—one that alternates between faith and unbelief: comp. St. Jas. i. 8; iv. 8.

29. To inward truth outward truthfulness must correspond. "What thou speakest:" lit. "in thy lips." With the exception of 250 the Greek Codd. read, instead of "in the sight of men," "in the mouths [or mouth] of men." The Greek translator evidently misread בפי for בפני. The Syr. read it correctly, and the Vet. Lat. follows it. It seems needless to limit the verse to a spurious public profession of religion. The wider view is fully borne out by the next verse.

B. C. cir. 200. and so God discover thy secrets, and cast thee down in the midst of the congregation, because thou camest not in truth to the fear of the Lord, but thy heart is full of deceit.

CHAPTER II.

1 *God's servants must look for trouble,* 7 *and be patient, and trust in him.* 12 *For woe to them that do not so.* 15 *But they that fear the Lord will do so.*

B. C. cir. 200. MY son, if [a] thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation.

2 Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure, and ‖ make not haste in time of trouble.

3 Cleave unto him, and depart not away, that thou mayest be increased at thy last end.

4 Whatsoever is brought upon

[a] Matt. 4. 1. 2 Tim. 3. 12. 1 Pet. 4. 12.

‖ Or, *haste not.*

30. Comp. St. Matt. xxiii. 12; St. Luke xviii. 14. "Discover:" in the sense of reveal, —make publicly known that which had been hidden. On the first part comp. Prov. xxvi. 28; on the last clause, Acts xiii. 10. The Syr. has in the closing verses several other renderings, some of which probably depend on a different reading of the Hebrew. One very clear instance of this (pointed out by Mr. Margoliouth) is in *v.* 30; for "thou camest not" the Syr. has "thou bearest the name" (omitting "not")—evidently the one reading נקרבת, the other נקרית.

CHAPTER II.

The arrangement of this chapter into three unequal stanzas (1–6; 7–11; 12–18) is well marked. The first of them (*vv.* 1–6) connects itself with the penultimate stanza of the previous chapter (i. 22–26). Similarly, stanzas ii. and iii. of chapter ii. (especially stanza ii.) look back on the last stanza of chap. i., and further develop the idea of "the fear of the Lord," referred to in the opening and closing verses of that stanza (i. 27 *a*, 30 *e*).

Thus viewed, the first stanza of chapter ii. continues and carries out what had been set forth in the previous chapter—especially as to faith, patience, and meekness. The second stanza (*vv.* 7–11) is well marked by a threefold "Ye that fear the Lord," to which an admonition or a promise is in each case attached. The two concluding verses of the stanza—or perhaps three verses, since *v.* 10 is double—furnish the ground for each of the preceding admonitions. We mark that each of the three verses of admonitions has its corresponding couplet of lines in the two (or three) following verses (*vv.* 10, 11).

In stanza iii. (*vv.* 12–18) the three "Ye that fear the Lord" of the previous stanza have as their counterpart a threefold "Woe" (*vv.* 12–14)—in which we also mark correspondence with the first stanza of the chapter. The threefold "Woe" is followed by a threefold "They *that fear* the Lord" (*vv.* 15–17) —but here of a descriptive, not (as in stanza ii.) of a hortatory character. The concluding verse (*v.* 18) furnishes the ground of what had immediately preceded, and thus corresponds with *vv.* 10, 11 in stanza i.

1. *if thou come.*] "Come forward," "set out." Practical advice is now given to him who really wishes to serve the Lord, in opposition to those referred to in the closing verses of ch. i. The first thing to be remembered is that temptation will meet us by the way. Such temptation may, as Drusius rightly remarks, come by adversity or by prosperity. But the reference here is to adversity, as the following verses shew.

2. **Guide thy heart straight,** direct, govern it (so in LXX. Josh. xxiv. 23). This is the literal meaning of the word. "**And be steadfast,**" which probably gives the meaning more fully, as the verb signifies both "to be staunch" and "to endure patiently." This in opposition to making haste in the time of trouble—of **distress** or **misery** (Bissell, "visitation"). The verb is often used in Philonic writings of afflictions sent. In such seasons we are to be staunch — not perturbed nor hasty in thought or deed. Comp. Ps. xxvii. 14. The verse is wanting in the Syr.

3. *depart not.*] Viz. from God—turn not aside (the Hebrew סוּר מִן). "Increased:" in the sense of compensating exaltation afterwards, at his end, or rather at a later time, when affliction and temptation well endured shall give place to happiness. But there is no reference here to the "after death." Comp. St. Jas. v. 11. For "mayest be increased at thy last end" the Syr. has: "mayest be wise in thy paths"—(as has been noted) reading באורחותיך, while the Greek read באחריתך.

4. *brought upon thee.*] Viz. by God; "take," viz. upon thyself—accept it, submit to it. The word "cheerfully" should be omitted, as not properly authenticated. "When thou art changed to a low estate" gives the meaning correctly—lit. "in the changes of thy humiliation," *i.e.* when changes come by which thou art brought into a low estate. But the reading of 248, ἀλλάγματι (in the singular), is supported by the Syr. and better.

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thee take cheerfully, and be patient when thou art changed to a low estate.

[b] Prov. 17. 3. Wisd. 3. 6.

5 [b]For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.

[c] Ps. 37. 3, 5.

6 [c]Believe in him, and he will help thee; order thy way aright, and trust in him.

[d] Ps. 37. 7.

7 Ye that fear the Lord, [d]wait for his mercy; and go not aside, lest ye fall.

8 Ye that fear the Lord, believe him; and your reward shall not fail.

9 Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good, and for everlasting joy and mercy.

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10 Look at the generations of old, and see; [e]did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded? or did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken? or whom did he ever despise, that called upon him?

[e] Ps. 37. 25.

[f] Ps. 86. 15. & 145. 8.

11 [f]For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy, longsuffering, and very pitiful, and forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction.

12 Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways!

13 Woe unto him that is faint-hearted! for he believeth not; therefore shall he not be defended.

14 Woe unto you that have lost

5. The higher reason of the direction of v. 4 and the comfort in it are indicated. Such changes are divinely ordered to try and to purify us. "Adversity:" lit. humiliation. The figures employed frequently recur in Holy Scripture (Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; Zech. xiii. 9; Mal. iii. 3; 1 Pet. i. 7).

6. *Help* or "take part with thee." The idea of helping, as in St. Luke i. 54. "Order thy way aright" gives correctly the sense of the original—lit. **guide** (make) **thy ways straight** (set, direct them)—certainly not in the sense of "straightforwardness." "*Trust:*" rather, **hope**. For "hope in Him" the Syr. has: "and He will direct thy paths."

7. This verse, which begins the second stanza (see the introd.), farther indicates the duty of waiting for the merciful deliverance of God, and the danger of attempts at sinful self-deliverance. In this and the following two verses the progression of thought is always in the second clauses.

8. The promise that their "reward shall not fail," or be lost, must—at least by us—not be taken in a Judaic sense.

9. The admonition passes now from the individual to the general, and hence must be considered as applicable to the pious at all times and in all circumstances. This should be kept in view in the interpretation of the expression "everlasting joy and mercy." The term "everlasting" can scarcely be regarded as equivalent to "lasting" or "long enduring." Nor yet does it seem to refer to what we understand by "everlasting." Rather does it seem to mean that they who fear the Lord may *always* look for joy and mercy from God. That this is the right interpretation appears from the review in v. 10 of the experience of believers in the past.

10. The last clause should be worded like the two which precede: "**Or did any call upon Him, and He** despised them;" rather, **took not notice of them?**

11. And this, although we cannot plead freedom from sin and its ill desert. The words "longsuffering and very pitiful" should be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities.

12. This verse opens the third stanza. The writer now turns to those who neglect his admonitions. The antithesis between vv. 12–14, and both that which had preceded and that which follows, should be marked. The threefold "Woe" is not to be regarded as a denunciation of judgments, but rather as equivalent to "**Alas for those.**" Each of them bears reference to want of that steadfast faith and unswerving trust previously recommended. In the first "woe" failure in a staunch and straight course is denounced; in the second, failure of courage and assurance; in the third, that of patient endurance.

faint hands.] Rather, **hands that hang down** (Heb. xii. 12). The expression is parallel to that in Job iv. 3 and Is. xxxv. 3 (the latter being rendered in the LXX. in nearly the same manner). "Fearful hearts" is no doubt the equivalent of the Heb. in Deut. xx. 8 (in the A. V. "faint-hearted"), where the LXX. employ exactly the same words. Similarly also in 2 Chron. xiii. 7, both in the Heb. and the LXX. To "go **upon** two ways" refers not to uncertainty, but to want of decision and the attempt to keep in with both sides. The classical reader will remember the "duabus sellis sedere" (with our proverbial sequence of "falling between two stools"); while the biblical student will recall, both as to expression and

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patience! and what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?

15 They that fear the Lord will
g John 14. 23. not disobey his word; and *g* they that love him will keep his ways.

16 They that fear the Lord will seek that which is wellpleasing unto him; and they that love him shall be filled with the law.

17 They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts, and humble their souls in his sight,

2 Sam. 24. 14. 18 *Saying*, We will *h* fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the hands of men: for as his majesty is, so is his mercy.

CHAPTER III.

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2 *Children must honour and help both their parents.* 21 *We may not desire to know all things.* 26 *The incorrigible must needs perish.* 30 *Alms are rewarded.*

HEAR me your father, O children, and do thereafter, that ye may be safe.

2 For the Lord hath given *a* the father honour over the children, and hath confirmed the ‖ authority of the mother over the sons.

a Exod. 20. 12. Deut. 5. 16. Matt. 15. 4. Mark 7. 10. Eph. 6. 2.

‖ Or, *judgment.*

3 Whoso honoureth his father maketh an atonement for his sins:

4 And he that honoureth his mother is as one that layeth up treasure.

meaning, Prov. xxviii. 6, 18. (Comp. also 1 Kings xviii. 21.) The verse presents a climax: heart, hands, walk—moral defect in either always leading to that in the other.

14. "*Patience:*" in the sense of endurance rather than of hope (the latter, Fritzsche). For "*have lost* patience" the Syr. has "*polletis* fiducia"—perhaps a confusion of אַבְּרִי with אֹבְדִי.

15. The opposite course is traced as that which characterises the "fear of the Lord." One of the most valuable parts of this chapter is the Old Testament view which it presents of the "fear of the Lord." "Will not disobey"—in the Syr. "will not hate"—a different rendering of the word מֵאֵן in the original. "His word:" rather, **words**. Mark that as in *vv.* 7–9 we have a threefold admonition to those who "fear the Lord," and in *vv.* 12–14 a threefold "woe" upon failure in this, so in *vv.* 15–17 a threefold description of what may be expected of them who "fear the Lord"—the expression "they that love Him" (*v.* 16 *b*) being almost parallel to it.

16. *that which is wellpleasing unto him.*] This is misleading. The right rendering is, **His good pleasure** (εὐδοκίαν). "Filled with:" in the sense of satiating themselves with it, seeking, aiming, and living only after His Law.

17. For "*humble* their souls" the Syr. has: "he that forsaketh him shall *ruin his soul*"—reading (as has been suggested) יִשְׁחַת for יִשְׁחָה.

18. *majesty.*] Rather, **greatness**. It is scarcely necessary to point out the reference to 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; only that in the present instance the reason of the choice is indicated in the preceding context, and also in the last clause of this verse, which is truly grand and Old Testament in its conception. It should be added that the Rabbis also noted that wherever God's greatness was spoken of in Scripture, there His condescension was also immediately indicated. So in Deut. x. 17, 18; Is. lvii. 15; Ps. lxviii. 4, 5 (Meg. 31 *a*).

CHAPTER III.

This chapter seems to be arranged into four stanzas. After an introductory line, the first two stanzas consist each of fourteen lines, in commendation of filial duty (*vv.* 1*b*–9; 10–16). The third stanza (*vv.* 17–24), also of fourteen lines, is in praise of humility; while the fourth, of twelve lines (*vv.* 26–29; *v.* 25 must be omitted), seems chiefly directed against pride of heart and mind, and intended to inculcate an opposite frame.

1. *your father.*] Rather, **the father**. This expression, and that of "children," must not be pressed literally, although the writer immediately proceeds to describe what is the proper filial relation. The "safety" here spoken of—*ut salvi sitis*—does not refer to that in the next world, as appears from what immediately follows.

2. "Given honour"—**extolled**. Fritzsche, however, renders "with, or in, the children," in the sense that according to Divine appointment the honour of a father consists in this, that the children honour him. "The authority of the mother over sons:" omit the article. The word "authority" probably expresses here the meaning better than any other. The Greek. κρίσις, no doubt corresponds to the Hebrew *mishpat*, for which it occurs in the LXX. not less than 132 times. But *mishpat* also means "a right" in the sense of that which is due (so in Deut. xviii. 3, both in the Hebrew and in the LXX.) —and the "right" of the mother, that which is due to her, is equivalent to her authority.

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5 Whoso honoureth his father shall have joy of *his own* children; and when he maketh his prayer, he shall be heard.

6 He that honoureth his father shall have a long life; and he that is obedient unto the Lord shall be a comfort to his mother.

7 He that feareth the Lord will honour his father, and will do service unto his parents, as to his masters.

[b] ver. 2.

8 [b] Honour thy father and mother both in word and deed, that a blessing may come upon thee from them.

[c] Gen. 27. 27, 28, 29. Deut. 33. 1.

9 For [c] the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children; but the curse of the mother rooteth out foundations.

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10 Glory not in the dishonour of thy father; for thy father's dishonour is no glory unto thee.

11 For the glory of a man is from the honour of his father; and a mother in dishonour is a reproach to the children.

12 My son, help thy father in his age, and grieve him not as long as he liveth.

13 And if his understanding fail, have patience with him; and despise him not when thou art ‖ in thy full strength.

‖ Or, *in all thine ability.*

14 For the relieving of thy father

It need scarcely be pointed out how needful this admonition is.

3, 4. These verses carry the preceding into further detail. "Honoureth his father:" perhaps better **reverences**, which will also distinguish this verb from that applied in the next verse to one's mother. "Maketh an atonement"—according to the better reading, in the future tense: **shall make atonement**, not in the Christian sense, but in that indicated in ver. 14 and 15. "As one that layeth up treasure," providing for the time of need, so is he that showeth due honour to his mother. The word ἀποθησαυρίζω occurs only in this passage (not in the LXX.) and in 1 Tim. vi. 19.

5. *shall* **be rejoiced**—made happy—**by** *children.* Although the verb does not otherwise occur with ὑπό, there cannot be any doubt that this, rather than ἐπὶ τέκνοις, is the better reading. **In the day of his prayer:** this rather than as in the A. V., especially as it seems to point to special prayer—primarily, prayer in time of calamity.

6. "A comfort," in the sense of giving restfulness and refreshment. In the LXX. it mostly corresponds to the verb נוּחַ, in its various forms; and 2 Sam. vii. 1, 11; 1 Kings v. 4; 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18; Is. xiv. 3, but especially Prov. xxix. 17, may here be mentioned as parallels.

7. According to the weight of authorities, the first half of the verse should be omitted, but alike the preceding verse and the clause which follows seem to require it—although, on the other hand, it may have owed its origin to a feeling of abruptness in the text without it. The "service" spoken of is like that of a slave. The Rabbis also held that a child was bound to do a slave's service to his father, and likewise to his teacher. The construction with ἐν (δουλεύσει ἐν) occurs only again in LXX. Jer. xxv. 11.

8. **In deed and word** (comp. St. Luke xxiv. 19) **reverence thy father,** *that a blessing may come upon thee* **from him.** Thus according to the better reading, and literally.

9. Better the indefinite article: **a father, a mother.** The expression "houses" refers not only to the prosperity but to the permanence of a family. This appears still further from the second clause. But Ex. i. 21, 2 Sam. vii. 11, are scarcely parallels.

10. The verse begins the second stanza, which presents the negative aspect of what had formerly been inculcated. "Dishonour"—as generally in reference to fathers, a derivative of τιμάω is used. The verse accurately represents ancient Hebrew feeling, and rebukes the spurious modern boasts of independence from ancestry.

12 *b*. For "*grieve* him not" the Syr. has "*leave* not his glory"—as has been suggested, a confusion of תעצבנו with תעזבנו.

13. **Make allowance**—"have indulgence" with him. The Rabbis were wont to enforce this by an appeal to the beautiful legend according to which the broken tables of the Law were likewise preserved in the Ark (Ber. 8 *b*; Baba B. 14 *b*). "In thy full strength:" rather, **in all thy strength.** The Syr. has: "all the days of his life"—reading כל ימי חייו [or בימי], while the Greek read חילך.

14. *relieving.*] Better, probably, the more general term "pity" or "mercy." "Instead of sins," that is in place of the evil and destruction which thy sins would have brought, **it shall be built up to thee again,** viz.

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shall not be forgotten: and instead of sins it shall be added to build thee up.

15 In the day of thine affliction it shall be remembered; thy sins also shall melt away, as the ice in the fair warm weather.

16 He that forsaketh his father is as a blasphemer; and he that angereth his mother is cursed of God.

17 My son, go on with thy business in meekness; so shalt thou be beloved of him that is approved.

18 [d]The greater thou art, the more humble thyself, and thou shalt find favour before the Lord. B. C. cir. 200. [d] Phil. 2. 3.

19 Many are in high place, and of renown: but [e]mysteries are revealed unto the meek. [e] Ps. 25. 9, 14.

20 For the power of the Lord is great, and he is honoured of the lowly.

21 [f]Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee, neither search the things that are above thy strength. [f] Prov. 25. 27. Rom. 12. 3.

thy house (or, perhaps: "it shall be added to thee for building up"). The verb, without πρός, occurs repeatedly in the LXX., notably in Deut. xiii. 16; Jer. xviii. 9; Zech. i. 16; Mal. iii. 15.

15. **He** (Syr. "she") **shall remember thee**—the Syr. adds *to thee*—viz. for good, or for help and deliverance. The correctness of this rendering is attested by the Syr. **Like fair weather upon ice, so thy sins shall be dissolved** (melt away). The meaning is, that just as the warmth of fine weather dissolves the ice which is the result of cold, so would dutifulness towards parents remove the guilt and consequences of our sins. The moral and spiritual view here taken alike of sin and of duty towards parents is the opposite of elevated. In the Syriac, "as heat against ice, to the abolishing of thy sins;" in the Arabic we have, instead of the last clause, "shall drive away evils from thee, as cold is driven away by the fierceness of heat"—both explanatory rather than literal renderings.

16. In the Greek the order of the sentences in each of the two members of the verse is inverted (as compared with the A. V.), and this makes the meaning much more emphatic. "Forsaketh:" that is, leaves unhelped. "Angereth:" probably, by refusing aid. The tone of at least the first part of this verse rises to a greater moral height.

17. In the new stanza which here opens, the writer proceeds to admonish to modesty and humility; and this, first, as regards outward conduct and bearing (*vv.* 17–20); then as regards the mind (*vv.* 21–24), and, lastly, as regards the heart and feelings (*vv.* 25–28). The admonition to humility is supported by three arguments: 1st, it secures the goodwill of pious men—of such as are "approved," viz. of God (comp. ii. 5), *v.* 17; 2ndly, it gains the favour of God, *v.* 18; which, 3rdly, is the source of all success, *v.* 20.

18. Humility should increase with outward success. It almost seems as if the writer had in his mind that otherwise an envious fate would dispense calamity. A similar admonition, but from a much higher point of view, is given in 1 Pet. v. 5.

19. This verse is an interpolation.

20. "The power of the Lord," Syr. "the mercy of the Lord"—perhaps a confusion between חסד and חזק. "Honoured of:" rather, **glorified by**. Instead of the last clause the Syr. has: "and to the meek His secrets are revealed"—probably repeated from *v.* 19 *b*.

21. In the admonitions to humility which now follow, the reasoning is as follows: Abstain from useless speculations and attempts to comprehend that which is above human reason (*v.* 21). Practical obedience is required, not speculative knowledge, which is barren (*v.* 22). The latter employs our powers to no purpose, whereas all that is really necessary has been quite clearly told us (*v.* 23). Lastly, such speculations have led many fatally astray (*v.* 24). The argument is deeply interesting, not only as shewing that a spirit of inquiry and speculation was abroad, but as containing one of the passages quoted in Rabbinic writings as from 'The Book of Ben Sira.' The fullest recension of it is in Ber. R. 8 (ed. Warsh. 17 *a*), where *v.* 21 and the substance of *v.* 22 are quoted as follows: "Rabbi Elazar said in the name of Ben Sira (so also in Jer. Chag. 77 *c*), What is too great for thee, seek not out; into what is too strong (powerful) for thee, search not; what is too high for thee seek not to know; into what is hidden from thee, inquire not; what is within thy power (that which is within thy reach, that which is practically before thee), consider, and busy not thyself with secret things." The same saying is quoted, with slightly different wording, in the Jer. Talmud (Chag. 77 *c*), and in the Bab. Talmud (Chag. 13 *a*—there, as from 'The Book of Sira'), but without the first two clauses given in Ber. R. 8. There can be little doubt that the recension in the Talmud,

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22 But what is commanded thee, think thereupon *with reverence*; for it is not needful for thee *to see with thine eyes* the things that are in secret.

23 Be not curious in unnecessary matters: for more things are shewed unto thee than men understand.

24 For many are deceived by their own vain opinion; and an evil suspicion hath overthrown their judgment.

25 Without eyes thou shalt want light: profess not the knowledge therefore that thou hast not.

26 A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein.

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27 An obstinate heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the wicked man shall heap sin upon sin.

28 ‖ In the punishment of the proud there is no remedy; for the plant of wickedness hath taken root in him.

‖ Or, *The proud man is not healed by his punishment.*

29 The heart of the prudent will understand a parable; and an attentive ear is the desire of a wise man.

30 ℰ Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sins.

ℰ Ps. 41. 1, &c. Dan. 4. 27. Matt. 5. 7.

with its four members in exact parallelism, is the correct one, nor yet that it—rather than the Greek—represents what had originally been written by the older Siracide.

22. The words "with reverence" and "to see with thine eyes" must be omitted. The last clause should read: **for thou hast no use** (or else, no necessity) **for** (*non pertinent ad te*) **the things that are hidden**—they are not required for any practical purpose.

23. Rather, **In the things which go beyond** (surpass, exceed—both in quantity and quality) **thy works** (the requirements of practice, referred to in the previous verse) **be not a busybody**—the same word as in 2 Thess. iii. 11: here probably in the sense of meddling with what does not concern one, wasting one's labour. **For what exceeds** (is beyond) **the intelligence of man** (*i.e.* is more than enough for his comprehension, his practical capacity) **has been shewn to thee** (marked out before thee).

24. The admonition to humility in abstaining from searching into what is beyond our ken concludes with a warning: **For many has their notion** (a notion on their part, or else, an assumption) **led astray** (misled), **and a wrong** (noxious) **supposition made their judgment to slip** (slide, fall on a slippery place). Others, however, have applied the substantives "notion" and "supposition" to excessive opinion of oneself =conceit, which led to entering on dangerous and misleading speculations.

25. This verse must be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities. In the Syr. and Arab. Versions it follows after *v.* 27, and in the Arab. rather as a paraphrase.

26. Here begins with the last stanza the commendation of heart-humility. The reference seems to wilful and proud neglect of the warnings previously given, leading a person to rush into the fatal dangers above indicated. Practically the same expression for a "stubborn heart" occurs in the LXX. Deut. x. 16; Prov. xvii. 20, xxviii. 14; Ezek. iii. 7. In 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxv. 3 we have this about Nabal: *ὁ ἄνθρωπος σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασι.* [The Syr. rendering of 26 *b*, "he that loveth good things shall attain them," is contrary to the whole structure of this stanza, in which the clauses of each verse are not in antithesis.]

27. *Sorrows*, or labours, cares, troubles. "The wicked man:" rather, **the sinner**. We mark as parallel to the second clause this saying of Ben Azai in Ab. iv. 2: "One transgression draws another after it."

28. Probably best rendered: **By** (in) **the calamity** (*ἐπαγωγῇ*—H, 248, Co. prefix *ἐν* —that which is brought to him in trial or punishment) **of the proud there is not healing**: it does not lead to his spiritual healing. The connexion of thought is as follows: Pride of heart will lead to danger and ruin (*v.* 26); sin will prove progressive (*v.* 27), and even trials will not act as corrective (*v.* 27).

29–31. The last three verses read like a practical application of the parabolic teaching of this whole chapter. In opposition to the stubbornness and conceit which had been condemned, we have here on the part of the prudent understanding of the parabolic or proverbial teaching just given him—his earnest desire being to learn and obey (*v.* 29). The expression "heart" is used in its wider Hebraic sense for the mind, or what we might designate the inner man.

30. This practical lesson comes to us parabolically, that the moral effect of alms

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31 And he that requiteth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter; and when he falleth, he shall find a stay.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *We may not despise the poor or fatherless,* 11 *but seek for wisdom,* 20 *and not be ashamed of some things, nor gainsay the truth,* 30 *nor be as lions in our houses.*

MY son, defraud not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long.

2 Make not an hungry soul sorrowful; neither provoke a man in his distress. B. C. cir. 200.

3 Add not more trouble to an heart that is vexed; and [a]defer not to give to him that is in need. [a] Prov. 3. 27, 28.

4 Reject not the supplication of the afflicted; neither turn away thy face from a poor man. [b] Tobit 4. 7. Matt. 5. 42.

5 [b]Turn not away thine eye from ‖ the needy, and give him none occasion to curse thee: ‖ Or, *him that asketh.*

upon sins is like that of water upon fire—it puts an end to their destructive effect. Low as is the spiritual tone of such a sentiment, it is even more painfully and realistically expressed in the Book of Tobit (comp. iv. 8–11; xii. 9; xiv. 11).

31. The word "and" must be omitted; and instead of "that which may come hereafter," better: **the things which are after these** (*τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα*)—that is, after that which is now going on, our present condition, which may change to one of need. The Syr. has: "beneficus expeditus est *in via* sua"—reading ארחות for אחרית. Difference of opinion prevails whether the subject of the first clause is God or man. The former view has probably led to the insertion of the words "the Lord" in 106, 248, Co., H, Vet. Lat. But the reading is not trustworthy; and as man is the subject in the second clause, it seems natural to supplement also the same word in the first clause. Thus viewed, *v.* 31 forms the final link in the teaching of this chapter. The man who requiteth benefits—viz. those which he had received from his parents—**is remembered** in such changes and events as may come upon him hereafter, **and in the time of his falling shall find support** (stay, succour). Comp. iii. 1–16.

CHAPTER IV.

From the consideration of duty towards parents the writer proceeds to what is required of us in regard to our neighbour. As in the previous chapter, duty is here primarily viewed under the aspect of beneficence. Hence the relations indicated are mainly those towards the poor. Here also the writer shews that true religion, which in his mind consists in the practice of good works, is true wisdom. This explains the transition to the praise of wisdom (*vv.* 11–19). Wisdom is practical religion in well doing; on the other hand, sin is evil doing and the loss of wisdom. This appears also in the third stanza, which, like the concluding stanza of ch. iii., is chiefly of a warning character (*vv.* 20–28). As ch. iii., so ch. iv. closes with three verses of practical application. Thus the chapter consists of three stanzas—respectively of ten, of nine, and again of nine verses (*vv.* 1–10; 11–19; 20–28)—of which the three concluding verses form the application.

1. This verse may be only introductory and general, in which case each of the stanzas of which the chapter is composed would consist of nine verses. "Defraud," or possibly in the more general sense specially applicable in regard to benevolence: "Withhold not from the poor." The verb is used in reference to the wages of the poor in the LXX. Deut. xxiv. 16 (Cod. Alex.; the Vat. has *ἀπαδικήσεις*) and in Mal. iii. 5. Here it is probably used with wider application than to wages. For "deprive not," &c., the Syr. has: "deride not the life of the poor"—according to Mr. Margoliouth, the one deriving the word from the root בזה, the other from בזז. "His living:" in the sense of all that is necessary to sustain life, or for one's life. The same meaning attaches to the term in St. Luke xii. 15. Generally comp. Prov. iii. 28. Both Latin and Greek parallels might also be here adduced.

2. Few sayings more wise, kind, and suitable than this. It is too often the manner of men to moralise to those who are in sorrow, and to provoke to anger those who are in difficulty, embarrassment, or distress. And even when words are not spoken, our bearing may effect this. The Syr. has here "forget not."

3. The direction not to add further distress to a heart already vexed goes beyond the previous verse. It has for its counterpart the admonition not to defer giving (a gift) to one in need.

4–6. [The Syr. omits 4 *b* and 5 *a*.] From spontaneous compassion the writer next turns to that which should follow on the appeal of distress: **Refuse not a suppliant who is**

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6 [c]For if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

[c] Deut. 15. 9.

7 Get thyself the love of the congregation, and bow thy head to a great man.

8 Let it not grieve thee to bow down thine ear to the poor, and give him a friendly answer with meekness.

9 [d]Deliver him that suffereth wrong from the hand of the oppressor; and be not fainthearted when thou sittest in judgment.

[d] Isai. 1. 17. Jer. 22. 3.

10 [e]Be as a father unto the fatherless, and instead of an husband unto their mother: so shalt thou be as the son of the most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth.

[e] Job 29. 16. & 31. 18. Isai. 1. 17. Jam. 1. 27.

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11 Wisdom exalteth her children, and layeth hold of them that seek her.

12 [f]He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek to her early shall be filled with joy.

[f] Prov. 3. 18.

13 He that holdeth her fast shall inherit glory; and wheresoever she entereth, the Lord will bless.

14 They that serve her shall minister ‖to the Holy One: and them that love her the Lord doth love.

‖ Or, *in the sanctuary.*

afflicted. In *v.* 4 *b* and *v.* 5 this is farther carried out by shewing the consequences of embittering the soul of the distressed by a refusal of his entreaty. The admonition goes indeed further than what we read in Ex. xxii. 22, 23, and Deut. xv. 9, but scarcely beyond Prov. xxviii. 27. The closing words of Ecclus. iv. 6 indicate alike the ground on which our obligation to the poor rests and the reason why his curse shall not be in vain, viz. that the God to whom he appeals is his Maker, and also the Maker of us all. The teaching of Prov. xiv. 31 and xvii. 5, although parallel, is higher in character. It need scarcely be added that the Gospel has pointed far beyond this.

7. This verse has been regarded by some critics as inserted in the wrong place, being apparently unconnected with the previous argument. The Latin Version has sought to remove this objection by inserting after "congregation" the words "of the poor." But the difficulty referred to is rather apparent than real. There is twofold progression in *vv.* 7–10 as compared with those which preceded: first, from the negative to the positive; and, secondly, from response to direct appeals—chiefly for charity—to spontaneous action under certain circumstances. At the same time the advice of *v.* 7 is rather Eastern in character than religious, and reflects unfavourably on what follows in the next verses.

8. According to the better reading: **Incline to the poor thine ear.** This and the next clause, **and answer him peaceful things** (peace) **in meekness**, are truly Hebraic. The expression "incline the ear" occurs in Ps. xvii. 6, Jer. xi. 8; and this, "to answer peace," in Gen. xli. 16 and in Deut. xx. 11. In fact the LXX. render the latter passage by exactly the same terms.

9. The first clause perhaps misses the antithetic force of the original: **the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor.** "Not fainthearted:" that is, not afraid to decide in favour of the poor as against the proud oppressor.

10. The final admonitions recall Deut. xxiv. 17–21; Job xxix. 15–17, xxxi. 16, &c.; and Isa. i. 17. The expression "He shall love thee more than thy mother doth," seems to bear reference to Isa. xlix. 15.

11. With this verse commences, according to Fritzsche, a new section: on Wisdom (iv. 11–vi. 16)—consisting of five parts, the first containing 20 members (10 + 10); the second, 18 members (6 + 6 + 6); the third, 24 (12 + 12); the fourth, 28 (7 + 14 + 7); and the last, 26 members (6+6+6+8). Thus arranged, Part I. would embrace iv. 11–15 + iv. 16–19; Part II., iv. 20–28; Part III., iv. 29–v. 3 + v. 4–7; Part IV., v. 8–10 + 11–15 + vi. 1–3; Part V., vi. 4–12 + 13–16.

"Wisdom exalteth," viz. to greatness and happiness, **her sons**: see St. Matt. xi. 19; "layeth hold of them that seek her," in the sense of bringing them help. The word, which otherwise often occurs in the LXX. and the New Testament, is used in this signification only in Heb. ii. 16.

12. *that seek to her early*—**that rise early after her**—to betake themselves to her: indicating zeal and earnestness in the search after Wisdom, as the main object engaging mind and heart.

13. *wheresoever she entereth.*] Viz. Wisdom. This seems more congruous to the whole argument than to render (with Fritzsche) "whither he entereth," in the sense that whatsoever such a man undertaketh, God will bless him in it.

14. The cultivation of true wisdom is

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15 Whoso giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations: and he that attendeth unto her shall dwell securely.

16 If a man commit himself unto her, he shall inherit her; and his generation shall hold her in possession.

17 For at the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her laws.

18 Then will she return the straight way unto him, and comfort him, and shew him her secrets.

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19 But if he go wrong, she will forsake him, and give him over to his own ruin.

20 Observe the opportunity, and beware of evil; and be not ashamed when it concerneth thy soul.

21 For there is a shame that bringeth sin; and there is a shame which is glory and grace.

22 Accept no person against thy soul, and let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall.

identical with true religion. Consequently the relation of God towards us will depend on our relation towards Wisdom.

15. The first clause in the Greek seems to have the great Messianic hope in view, in the sense that just as at the last that true wisdom which Israel had received would lead to their rule over the nations, so in measure would its acceptance on the part of individuals secure for them a similar moral supremacy. But a comparison with the Syr. shews that the Greek here depends on a misreading of the Hebrew original. Instead of "shall judge nations," the Syr. has: "shall judge truth"—אֱמֶת, which the Greek misread אֻמּוֹת, "nations" (see General Introduction, § VIII.). Instead of the correct reading προσέχων (Alex., other MSS., Old Lat., Syr., Ar.) the Vatican has προσελθών. The promise of the second clause, which repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament, also points to Messianic times for its final fulfilment. In this connexion the same expression occurs in LXX. Jer. xxiii. 6; and with more general application, in LXX. Deut. xxxiii. 12, 28.

16. *If a man commit himself unto her.*] Probably better: **If a man trust** [rely], viz. in her, commit himself to be led and ruled by her, not only shall he inherit her, but his descendants also shall enjoy the benefits which her possession conveys. The Vat. has: "If thou trust . . . thou shalt inherit." But the other reading is the correct and best supported one.

17. The verse looks back upon the previous statement. A man must have "trust" in Wisdom, for at first her ways will seem to be neither straight nor happy, but crooked and trying—it will seem as if they did not lead to the promised goal, nor yet brought either security or happiness. This strange discipline—**until she** (Wisdom) **have trust in his soul** [the same word as in *v.* 16] *and* **have proved him by her statutes** [ordinances]. Similarly in Ab. vi. 4 the way of the Law is described as contentment with the meanest outward provision and every privation, combined nevertheless with unceasing occupation with the Law. If such be our bearing, we shall inherit the greatest blessing both in this and in the next world.

18, 19. Then—when Wisdom can put trust in a man, and he has approved himself by obeying her precepts through all difficulties—**will she again turn to him according to the straight way**, and there will not any longer be either sorrow nor yet misunderstanding about her ways. He that has faithfully walked in them amidst trials will be comforted, and also perceive the meaning of what to others are secrets. On the other hand, if a man cannot endure the ordeal, he will be given over to his own ruin (*v.* 19).

20, 21. The writer proceeds in the next stanza to set forth the practical aspect of true wisdom as true religion, and this, first, in a negative manner. Here he warns us to be on our guard lest we fall into sin. The second clause of *v.* 20 is somewhat difficult. Its literal rendering, **and about** [concerning, as regards] **thy soul be not ashamed**, leaves it open to regard it either as an admonition for the present or as pointing to the future. The former seems most accordant with *v.* 21, which sets forth the difference between false and true shame. [Verse 21 is inserted in LXX. Prov. xxvi. 11, at the close of that verse.]

22. False shame is further described in its various manifestations; and first in regarding or accepting the face of a person—that is, taking part for or against him—against one's soul. To this applies the warning in the second clause, which should be rendered: **and be not abashed** [or ashamed, as in 2 Thess. iii. 14; Tit. ii. 8] **to thy fall**. Such "shame" would lead to one's own fall.

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23 And refrain not to speak, ‖when there is occasion to do good, and hide not thy wisdom in her beauty.

‖ Gr. *in time of saying.*

24 For by speech wisdom shall be known: and learning by the word of the tongue.

25 In no wise speak against the truth; but be abashed of the error of thine ignorance.

‖ Or, *and strive not against the stream.*

26 Be not ashamed to confess thy sins; ‖and force not the course of the river.

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27 Make not thyself an underling to a foolish man; neither accept the person of the mighty.

28 Strive for the truth unto death, and the Lord shall fight for thee.

29 [g] Be not hasty in thy tongue, and in thy deeds slack and remiss.

[g] Jam. i. 19.

30 Be not as a lion in thy house, nor frantick among thy servants.

31 [h] Let not thine hand be stretched out to receive, and shut when thou shouldest ‖repay.

[h] Acts 20. 35.

‖ Or, *give.*

23. The verse marks a progress on the preceding one. The marginal rendering of the first clause is the more exact and expressive. The last words of the second clause (*εἰς καλλονήν*) are extremely difficult, nor has any alteration proposed in the words of the Greek text or any reference to the Hebrew original as yet rendered their explanation more easy. The most likely rendering would seem: **hide not thy wisdom for beauty** (for embellishment, viz. of self); that is, in order thereby to acquire glory. The clause which is omitted in the Vat., Alex., and Sin. is found in H. 106, 248, 253, Syr., and Vet. Lat., and seems almost necessary.

24. This verse indicates the reason of the previous admonition.

25. If silence may be unseasonable, so may speech be in certain circumstances. To speak against the truth, whether purposely or in ignorance, must be wrong; to feel our want of knowledge, and to be abashed by, and thus to admit it, must be right. The words "In no wise speak," which depend on a reading not so well supported, must be altered to **Speak not.** For the same reason, the words "of the error" in the second clause must be omitted.

26. To the admonition not to be restrained by false shame from confessing our errors and sins, the advice is aptly added not to "strive against the stream:" that is, not only to give up seeking excuses for our wrong-doing, but also to realise that it is impossible to resist the consequences of our sins. To "strive" or "swim against the stream" (*niti contra torrentem, dirigere brachia c. t.*) is an expression, common among all nations, for attempting the impossible. For this latter clause the Syr. has: "and resist not a fool," perhaps reading the later word יִשְׁטֹף for יִשְׁטֹחַ.

27. *Make not thyself an underling.*] Lit. "spread not thyself under as a mat." There is not, however, any other instance of this very forcible metaphorical use of the term.

28. *the Lord.*] According to the better reading, **the Lord God.**

29. *hasty.*] Syr. "boastful." The reading *ταχὺς* seems for various reasons preferable to that of *τραχὺς*, although the latter ("rough" or "harsh") is adopted by modern interpreters: for (1) it forms a good antithesis to the second clause; (2) it corresponds to such passages as Ecclus. v. 11; Prov. xxix. 20; Eccl. v. 1, 2 (A. V. 2, 3). Besides, it finds its exact counterpart in Rabbinic sayings. Thus Ab. i. 15 (the saying of Shammai): "Speak little and do much;" the praise of silence in Ab. i. 17 and iii. 13, in Pes. 99 *a*, and in Meg. 18 *a*; and in such passages as Babh. Mets. 87 *a*: "The righteous say (promise) little and do much; the wicked say much and do not even a little," the former being illustrated by the conduct of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 5 comp. with *v.* 7); the latter by that of Ephron (Gen. xxiii. 15 comp. with *v.* 16). Comp. also Ab. de R. Nath. xiii. p. 18*d* (top).

30. For "a lion" the Syr. Vers. has "a dog;" evidently כלבי for כלבי (as a lion). "As a lion,"—wild, hasty, relentless, destructive. The verb in the second clause rendered "be not frantick" really means to indulge in vain fancies, here probably not only fancies but suspicions, which would lead to fitful, moody, and tyrannical conduct towards one's household.

31. Compare with this the far transcending words of Christ, treasured up by St. Paul (Acts xx. 35): "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The following sentence in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. xix.) is so similar as naturally to suggest derivation from Ecclus., or at least connexion with it: "Do not be ready to stretch forth the hands to take, but contracting them in regard to giving." In general the whole chapter in the Epistle of Barnabas contains much to remind us of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

CHAPTER V.

The subject is still the same as before: deed and speech. As often, the opening verse of this chapter is connected with the

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CHAPTER V.

1 *We must not presume of our wealth and strength,* 6 *nor of the mercy of God, to sin.* 9 *We must not be doubletongued,* 12 *nor answer without knowledge.*

[a] SET not thy heart upon thy goods; and say not, [b] I have enough for my life.

2 [c] Follow not thine own mind and thy strength, to walk in the ways of thy heart:

3 And say not, Who shall controul me for my works? for the Lord will surely revenge thy pride.

4 [d] Say not, I have sinned, and what harm hath happened unto me? [e] for the Lord is longsuffering, [f] he will in no wise let thee go.

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[a] 1 Tim. 6. 17. Luke 12. 15, 19. Prov. 11. 28.
[b] Eccles. 8. 12.
[c] 2 Pet. 3. 9.
[d] Eccles. 8. 11.
[e] Exod. 34. 7. ch. 16. 13.
[f]

closing verse of the previous one. And yet there is manifestly progression in the argument. The chapter naturally divides itself into two parts: (1) as to feeling and conduct, and (2) as to speech. Verse 1 must be regarded as a general introduction: 1 *a* to the first part; while 1 *b* already indicates the subject of the second part of the chapter, which is speech. Part II. begins with *v.* 10, to which *v.* 9 *a* forms an introduction, while *v.* 9 *b*, *c* connect this new introduction with the previous part, thus forming a transition. The general arrangement of the chapter might be thus outlined:—

Part I. *v.* 1. General Introduction.

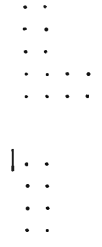
Then follow four verses of two lines each, and two verses of four lines each.

v. 8. Conclusion in two lines which precisely correspond to those of the introductory verse.

v. 9 *a*, *b*. Transition connecting what follows with Part I., and exactly corresponding in its two lines to the two lines of *v.* 2, which forms the opening verse of Part I.

Part II. *v.* 9 *c*. Transition from *v.* 9 *a*, *b*, and generally from Part I. to Part II.

Then follow four verses of two lines each, and two verses of four lines, including in ch. v. the opening verse of ch. vi. (See below.)



1. *Set not thy heart.*] The verb ἐπέχειν occurs rarely (with different meanings) in the LXX., but repeatedly in the Apocr. (nine times in Ecclus. and twice in 2 Macc.). As here with ἐπί and the dat. it is only met with in this verse, in *v.* 8, and in xxxvii. 11. In the latter passage the meaning seems to be "to depend," or "rely." But in Hebrew to "depend" or "rely" is often equivalent to *setting one's heart* upon a thing. So certainly in Ps. lxii. 10 *b*, of which Ecclus. v. 1 seems an echo. Thus there would also be a progression of thought in the second line, which would on the other hand be only a repetition of the first clause, if we were to translate "rely." In the second line the words "for my life" (H, 248, 253, 308, Co., Vet. Lat. *est mihi sufficiens vita*) are a spurious and not very wise addition. The verse warns against satisfaction with and confidence in our possessions. Its parallels are Ps. lxii. and St. Luke xii. 15, 19. In 'Yoma,' 86 *b*, we read that the abundance of their silver and gold had led the Israelites to make themselves gods of gold.

2. *thy mind.*] τῇ ψυχῇ σου = inclinations: the words are omitted in the Syr. Vers.

strength.] Either physical strength or else power and ability—*noli facere quicquid potes ac libet* (Bretschn.).

the ways.] 248, Co., ὁδοῖς; according to the correct reading, **the desires,** ἐπιθυμίας.

3. *for my works.*] These words must be omitted, according to the better reading. In the second clause the words "thy pride" must equally be omitted. The reading generally accepted has σε, in which case we should have to translate, **will surely punish thee.** But it seems more in accordance with the Hebraism in the text (ἐκδικῶν ἐκδικήσει) to suppose that the original had נָקֹם יִנָּקֵם, in which case σε must be omitted (as by some authorities), and we should have to translate, "for the Lord will surely avenge."

4. According to the better reading, the word "harm" must be omitted from the first clause, and from the second line the words "he will in no wise let thee go." The meaning is: Make not wrongful inference from temporary impunity, nor yet from the mercy of God. On the contrary, the latter should lead to repentance and restitution. This seems indicated in *v.* 5.

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5 Concerning propitiation, [g] be not without fear to add sin unto sin:

[g] ch. 21. 1.

6 And say not, His mercy is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins: [h] for mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners.

[h] ch. 16. 11, 12.

7 Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day: for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord come forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed, and perish in the day of vengeance.

[i] Prov. 10. 2. & 11. 4. Ezek. 7. 19.

8 [i] Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten; for they shall not profit thee in the day of calamity.

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9 Winnow not with every wind, and go not into every way: for so doth the sinner that hath a double tongue.

10 Be stedfast in thy understanding; and let thy word be the same.

11 [k] Be swift to hear; and let thy life be sincere; [l] and with patience give answer.

[k] Jam. 1. 19.

[l] 1 Pet. 3. 15.

12 If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth.

5. The Syr. transposes vv. 5 and 6. It need scarcely be said that the term "propitiation" must not be taken in the Christian, but in the Jewish sense. In illustration of this saying, we quote the following from the Mishnah, "If a man says [thinks], I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent—no furtherance is given to his repentance. (If he says) I will sin and the Day of Atonement shall make atonement (propitiate), the day of Atonement will not propitiate [for him]" ('Yoma,' viii. 9). The Mishnah adds that the Day of Atonement only brings pardon of sins against God; as regards those against our neighbours, reconciliation is first required. The Talmud, however, explains that pardon is extended three times on the Day of Atonement (after confession), but not a fourth time. Yet if a man had sinned and sinned again, he would come to look upon it as lawful ('Yom.' 86 *b*). In another passage we are told that forgiveness is procured by "repentance and good works" (*u. s.* 87 *a*). [But the Jerus. Talmud (*in loc.*) attributes pardon to the Day of Atonement, even without repentance.]—To be without fear as regards propitiation might lead to adding sin unto sin (*v.* 5 *b*).

6. *pacified for.*] The same expression as in the previous verse, "propitiation." In the original the words used were probably כַּפָּרֶת (*v.* 5), and here כַּפֵּר. This would bring the statement into still closer agreement with what we read in the Mishnah about the Day of Atonement (*Yom kakkippurim*). The reason for the warning is that not only mercy but also wrath cometh from God. The expression "resteth" probably corresponds to the Hebrew נוּחַ, which indicates permanence, continuance (so of the Spirit of God in Is. xi. 2).

7. On the other hand, repentance should not be delayed. In the Jerus. Talmud we have a discussion as to the precise moment on the Day of Atonement when pardon is obtained. There also the various sins are grouped into four classes. Those consisting of the breach of an *affirmative* precept are said to be pardoned immediately on repentance, irrespective of the Day of Atonement ('Jer. Yoma,' 45 *b*, *c*).—The expression for "from day to day" also occurs in 2 Pet. ii. 8; and in the LXX. Gen. xxxix. 10, Numb. xxx. 15. According to the better reading, the following italicised words must be omitted from the last clause: *in thy security*, and *be destroyed, and.*

8. Returns to *v.* 1 (see introd. remarks). The reading ὠφελήσεις, which Fritzsche prefers, does not alter the sense. Comp. Prov. x. 2.

9. This verse forms a very apt transition to the next subject: the sins of the tongue. The meaning of the first clause seems to be: in order to get wealth—it may be unjustly (*v.* 8)—do not seize every possible opportunity that may offer: this would necessitate sinful temporising and duplicity.

10. On the contrary, inward and outward stedfast truthfulness is required of us. Σύνεσις is not exactly "understanding," but the result of inward perception and conviction. The verse would therefore convey the admonition to adhere to that of which one was fully persuaded in one's own mind, and to be always truthful in the utterance of it.

11. In order that such may be the case, **be swift in thy listening, and with deliberateness** (or forbearance, μακροθυμία) **speak answer.** Comp. St. Jas. i. 19. The words "and let thy life be sincere" are spurious.

12. In strict accordance with vv. 10, 11, it is added: **If thou hast knowledge** [σύνεσις—if thou hast arrived at a state of clear inward perception], **answer thy neighbour: but if not, thy hand be upon thy**

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13 [m]Honour and shame is in talk: and the tongue of man is his fall.

14 [n]Be not called a whisperer, and lie not in wait with thy tongue: for a foul shame is upon the thief, and an evil condemnation upon the double tongue.

15 Be not ignorant of any thing in a great matter or a small.

[m] Matt. 12. 37.

[n] Rom. 1. 29.

CHAPTER VI.

2 *Do not extol thine own conceit,* 7 *but make choice of a friend.* 18 *Seek wisdom betimes.* 20 *It is grievous to some,* 28 *yet the fruits thereof are pleasant.* 35 *Be ready to hear wise men.*

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INSTEAD of a friend become not an enemy; for [thereby] thou shalt inherit an ill name, shame, and reproach: even so shall a sinner that hath a double tongue.

2 Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart; that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull [straying alone].

mouth,—the latter expression exactly as in Prov. xxx. 32, יָד לְפֶה; Job xxi. 5, יָד עַל־פֶּה.

13. Comp. Prov. xviii. 21.

14. The word "foul" before "shame" is scarcely required; and the last words had better be rendered **the double-tongued.** The verse is intended to point out that to steal entailed only disgrace, but to detract from the good name of another would bring evil condemnation upon him that was guilty of it. This saying of the Siracide may have been in the mind of Shakspeare when he wrote: "Who steals my purse steals trash," &c. ('Othello,' Act iii. sc. 3).

15. *Be not ignorant.*] Neither this rendering nor yet "err not" seems to express the meaning of *ἀγνοέω*. The verb properly signifies "to be ignorant," and hence "to err," owing to want of knowledge. Thus it may correspond to the Hebrew שָׁגָה, although the latter term is rather used in contradistinction to sins "with a high hand," and may therefore apply to sins caused by weakness as well as to those that are due to want of knowledge (comp. Delitzsch, 'Comm. z. Br. an d. Hebr.' p. 175). In Heb. v. 2 the expression seems to refer exclusively to sins from want of knowledge. Similarly, in the passage before us (Ecclus. v. 15) we would confine the meaning of the word to a *want of knowledge.* In that case the verse would (in accordance with *vv.* 11, 12) convey the admonition to have definite, right, and well-grounded views on all subjects, whether great or small. The verb does not again occur in Ecclus., but the use of the substantive (xxiii. 3; xxviii. 7) seems to bear out the meaning which we have assigned to it. We could scarcely translate the verb by "err," viz. with the tongue, since the term cannot be used of purposed sins, while on the other hand it would be impossible to characterise sins of the tongue as sins of ignorance.

With this (first) line chap. v. ends in the LXX. and in the Syriac Version. But it seems highly probable, as Fritzsche suggests, that the first verse of chap. vi. should be added to the close of chap. v. Chap. vi. 1 begins in all MSS. with the word "and." Its reasoning evidently forms part of chap. v., while it is wholly unconnected with the subject of chap. vi. Accordingly we would join vi. 1 to v. 15, as follows: "and instead of a friend become not an enemy." To this we would add the rest of vi. 1, omitting with the Syr. the word *οὕτως*: **For an evil name, shame, and reproach shall the sinner who is double-tongued inherit.**

CHAPTER VI.

The chapter (omitting *v.* 1) consists of five parts. Part I., which comprises four verses (*vv.* 2–5), connects itself with the previous chapter, and sets forth a twofold danger—that arising from want of proper knowledge and that due to intentional sin. The last verse in the stanza (*v.* 5) forms a transition to the admonition to make proper friendships. Part II., consisting of ten verses (*vv.* 6–15), contains this admonition. Part III., of two verses (16, 17), forms another transition, and connects the previous with the following parts. True friendship is the gift of God, and must be based on His fear; for as the best friendship, so the truest counsel cometh from the Wisdom that is from above. In Parts IV. and V., each of ten verses (18–27; 28–37), this Divine instruction is further set forth. The last four verses form a twofold conclusion, corresponding to that of Part III. (*vv.* 16, 17). The verses in this chapter are of two lines, except in the middle (*v.* 19) and at the close (*v.* 37), where the verses are of four lines.

2. **Exalt** *not thyself in the counsel of* **thy soul**]—a common Hebraism (עֲצַת־נַפְשִׁי) for "inmost mind." Considerable difficulty attaches to the next clause, as in our present Greek text, partly because the verb *διαρπάζειν* does not admit the rendering "torn away," while it is difficult to attach any meaning to such a strange figure as "torn in pieces like a

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3 Thou shalt eat up thy leaves, and lose thy fruit, and leave thyself as a dry tree.

4 A wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and shall make him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies.

‖ Gr. *A sweet throat.*

[a] ch. 20. 13.

5 ‖ [a]Sweet language will multiply friends: and a fairspeaking tongue will increase kind greetings.

6 Be in peace with many: nevertheless have but one counsellor of a thousand.

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7 If thou wouldest get a friend, ‖ prove him first, and be not hasty to credit him.

‖ Or, *get him in the time of trouble.*

8 For some man is a friend for his own occasion, and will not abide in the day of thy trouble.

9 And there is a friend, who being turned to enmity and strife will discover thy reproach.

[b] ch. 37. 4, 5.

10 [b]Again, some friend is a companion at the table, and will not continue in the day of thy affliction.

bull;" but chiefly because there is not any connexion between *v.* 2 and *v.* 3, where, however, not only the argument but even the figure must be continued. The Syriac, even if emended, does not seem to us to clear up or remove the difficulty. In these circumstances we feel inclined to adopt the suggestion of Böttcher, that by one of the most frequent clerical errors in MSS.—that by which when a word ends with the same letter as that with which the next begins, one of these letters is dropped out—what had been ὡς σταυρός may have been miswritten ὡς ταῦρος. In that case the meaning would be: "Set not up thyself in thine own mind and conceit (like a pole or stake) lest thy soul be robbed [here = stripped] like (as is) a pole." Possibly there may even have been in the Hebrew a word-play between the עֲצָה, the "counsel" of his soul, and עֵץ, or in later Hebrew עֲצָה, "a pole."

3. If this suggestion in regard to *v.* 2 is correct, the figure would be beautifully continued in *v.* 3. And the hypothesis is further supported by this, that for ὡς σταυρός of *v.* 2 we have in *v.* 3 the parallel ὡς ξύλον, which is the word by which the LXX. render עֵץ in Gen. xl. 19; Deut. xxi. 22; and Josh. x. 26. Nor could any more apt description of self-conceit be given than that it eats up the leaves, **destroys** (this probably better than "loses") the fruits, and leaves a man as a dry tree—a *pole*—instead of a fresh tree, covered with leaves and fruit.

4. We suppose that the comparison with a tree stripped of its leaves recalled to the writer the use of the same figure in Ps. i. in regard to the wicked. The second line of *v.* 4 had best be rendered: **And shall make him the derision of enemies**—the word "derision" including the idea of the joy felt by his enemies, which is conveyed by ἐπίχαρμα.

5. In contrast to this self-conceit—this folly and wickedness—which will only lead to destruction, and raise up enemies who will rejoice at our fall and laugh at us, is the suggested advice to make friends, who shall be our counsellors (instead of following the conceit of our own soul). Only let them be good, wise friends. And *v.* 5 indicates how to make such friends. The first clause literally rendered is: **A sweet throat** [larynx] **will multiply his** [one's] **friends.**

6. **Let them that are at peace with thee be many; but thy counsellors one out of a thousand.**] The verse begins Part II.—concerning friendship. It is quoted in 'Yebam.' 63 *b* (towards the end): "Many they that seek [inquire for] thy peace: the secret reveal to one out of a thousand;" and again in Sanh. 100 *b* (lines 10, 9 from bottom) with very slight alterations, and the addition of the last clause of Mic. vii. 5.

7. **If thou art getting** [acquiring] **a friend, get him in trial**—that is, when his being a friend shall be tried.

and trust not in him hastily.] Be not hasty in putting trust in a person. The last clause should logically stand first, but the positive is here advanced before the negative. The reference is to a real friend, whom one may trust at all times. If we are looking out for such, let us not be hasty in regarding acquaintances as friends, but let ours be a *tried* friend.

8. **For there is a friend in his (own) time**—*i.e.* as long as it suits him.

9. **And there is a friend** [who will be] **changed to enmity, and he will reveal** [disclose, make known] **the conflict of thy shame**—viz. that conflict through which thou hadst to pass, with all thy difficulties and weaknesses and failures, and this will tend to bring shame upon thee in the opinion of others.

10. **And there is a friend,** &c.] Perhaps the words "companion at the table" do not fully express the meaning of the original, which is, that such an one is ready to accept our hospitality; but when we have not any longer an invitation to give, his friendship ceases. This kind of friendship is so frequent

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11 But in thy prosperity he will be as thyself, and will be bold over thy servants.

12 If thou be brought low, he will be against thee, and will hide himself from thy face.

13 Separate thyself from thine enemies, and take heed of thy friends.

14 A faithful friend is a strong defence: and he that hath found such an one hath found a treasure.

15 Nothing doth countervail a faithful friend, and his excellency is invaluable.

16 A faithful friend is the medicine of life; and they that fear the Lord shall find him. B. C. cir. 200.

17 Whoso feareth the Lord shall direct his friendship aright: for as he is, so shall his neighbour be also.

18 My son, gather instruction from thy youth up: so shalt thou find wisdom till thine old age.

19 Come unto her as one that ploweth and soweth, and wait for her good fruits: for thou shalt not toil much in labouring about her, but thou shalt eat of her fruits right soon.

20 She is very unpleasant to the

that the writer adds some further details.—Verses 9 and 10 are omitted in the Syriac.

11. *But.*] Rather, **And.**

and speak freely against (or else, "to") **thy servants.**] So intimate is he, as if he were thine *alter ego*.

12. But when thy circumstances change, his bearing also changes. Instead of being "as thou," he is now "against thee;" instead of making himself at home in thy house, he hides himself from thee, so that if thou seekest him he cannot be found. It is needless to quote (as in most Commentaries) similar sayings from classical writers. The case described is only too common in all countries and in all ages.

13. These, then, are the three classes of friends to be avoided: a friend for his own advantage; a changeable friend; a time-serving friend. While therefore one should absolutely separate oneself from enemies, "of thy friends (of such friends) have a care:" take care in regard to them.

14. To these three classes of spurious friends a threefold description of true friendship is now opposed. It affords protection, bestows a treasure, and brings healing in the troubles of life (*vv.* 14–16).

15. **Of** [for] **a faithful friend there is not any equivalent** (*by way of exchange*); **and there is not any balance** [by weight] **of his excellence.**] *ἀντάλλαγμα* is the LXX. rendering for מַחִיר in 3 Kings xx. 2 (Cod. Alex.); Job xxviii. 15; and Jer. xv. 13. But only in the first of those passages does it mean an equivalent in money by way of purchase, in the other two an equivalent by way of exchange; and with this agrees the use of the word in St. Matt. xvi. 26, St. Mark viii. 37. Thus *v.* 16 would carry out the idea of friendship as a "treasure," broached at the close of *v.* 15.

17. **so also is his neighbour.**] The meaning is not that a man so influences his neighbour that the latter becomes like himself, but that a man chooses as his companion one who is of the same disposition with himself, so that we can judge of his character by that of his associate. A similar "common Proverb" is found in the Midrash Shochar Tobh on Ps. civ. 1.

18. The two previous verses formed the transition to the new subject opened in *v.* 18. The connexion between them is as follows: true friendship must be wisely directed by the fear of the Lord—and this fear is true wisdom. **Son, from thy youth choose** [= *elige ex aliis*] **instruction** [the verb no doubt represents the Hebrew בחר], **and unto grey hairs thou shalt find wisdom.** This is one of the most thoughtful sentences in Ecclus. Mark the twofold distinction between choosing *instruction*, and finding *wisdom*—the one being the early choice, the other the continual result to the end.

19. The idea of *v.* 18 is now presented under a beautiful figure. The verse would gain in force if we arranged the words as in the original: **As one that ploweth and that soweth, come unto her, . . . for in thy labour about her** [the figure of the work of the husbandman being still continued] **thou shalt** [but] **a little** [time] **have weariness** [toil], **and speedily shalt thou eat of her fruits.** The substantive to be supplied in both clauses is Wisdom.

20. **As one that is rough exceedingly** [the figure is probably still that of the soil; or perhaps of the road] **she is to the uninstructed** (*to the untutored*, the *ἀπαιδεύτους*, in opposition to those who from their youth choose *παιδείαν*, *v.* 18).] But it has been suggested that *σφόδρα*, "exceedingly," is a clerical error for *σοφία*, "Wisdom," which both the Syr. and the Vet. Lat.

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unlearned: he that is without ‖understanding will not remain with her.

21 She will lie upon him as a [c]mighty stone of trial; and he will cast her from him ere it be long.

22 For wisdom is according to her name, and she is not manifest unto many.

23 Give ear, my son, receive my advice, and refuse not my counsel,

24 And put thy feet into her fetters, and thy neck into her ‖chain.

25 Bow [d]down thy shoulder, and bear her, and be not grieved with her bonds.

26 Come unto her with thy whole heart, and keep her ways with all thy power.

27 Search, and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee: and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go.

28 For at the last thou shalt find her rest, and that shall be turned to thy joy.

29 Then shall her fetters be a strong defence for thee, and her chains a robe of glory.

30 For there is a golden ornament upon her, and her bands are ‖purple lace.

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‖ Or, *heart.*

[c] Zech. 12. 3.

‖ Or, *collar.*

[d] Matt. 11. 29.

‖ Or, *a rib-band of blue silk,* Numb. 15. 38.

have. The expression "without understanding," *ἀκάρδιος*, is an exact rendering of the corresponding Hebrew terms in Prov. xvii. 16 and in Jer. v. 21; comp. also the similar expression in Prov. x. 13. But in the Hebrew parallels the "understanding" is that aspect of it which is directed to what is higher—the לֵב.

21. The figure is now changed. Not only does wisdom seem rough soil, and the uninstructed not persevere in his work; but as he approaches it, it proves a heavy weight which he speedily casts from him. "The stone of trial" seems to have been one for trying strength. St. Jerome notes on Zech. xii. 3 (A. V. and R. V. "a burdensome stone") that it had been an ancient custom in Palestine, continued in his days, to have in towns and villages a round stone of very great weight, on which the young men made trial of their strength, how high they could lift, and hold it in their hands. For "lie upon him," rather **be upon him,—and he will not delay to cast her from him** [Bissell].

22. It seems impossible by any critical ingenuity to explain the first clause of this verse, since there is not any Hebrew or Greek word which would admit of a play upon the word "wisdom." [On the suggested explanation of Hitzig, see Nowack on Eccles. iii. 11 in the 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Hdb.' p. 229.] We must therefore suppose the Hebrew text to have been corrupted or misread. We may here quote, without adopting it, the suggestion of Dr. Horowitz (Frankel's 'Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.,' vol. xiv. p. 197) that the Hebrew original had בְּשֵׁמָה, "by name," which was misread כִּשְׁמָהּ, "according to her name." He supposes the original to have been: החכמה רק בְּשֵׁמָה היא לוֹ—"wisdom is his [he possesses it] only by name," or perhaps "it only exists nominally for him," = he only knows of it by name. (The correction into שִׁמְעָה, "by hearsay," need scarcely be discussed.) In that case the translator, unable from his misreading to account for the לוֹ, would have dropped it as a clerical error. But there are serious linguistic objections to the suggestion of Horowitz. The Syr. has: "Her name is like her teaching [hidden?], and she is not approved by fools."

23. Having given such full warning, the writer resumes the subject of which he is treating.

advice.] Perhaps "judgment," or "opinion."

24. *chain.*] Rather, "collar," as in the margin. The words of our Lord (St. Matt. xi. 29) will here readily occur to the reader.

25. *Bow down.*] Rather, **put under** [Bissell].

be not grieved.] Rather, **be not weary,** chafe not. The figure is here of an animal unaccustomed to the yoke.

26. *heart.*] Literally, "soul." The figure is now dropped. Verses 24, 25 form an antithesis to *v.* 20, and verses 26, 27 to *v.* 21.

28. *that shall be turned.*] From *v.* 29 we infer that the reference is to the previous trouble and labour (*vv.* 25, 26), not to "wisdom." We would therefore translate: **it** (thy previous labour) **shall be turned to thee into joy.**

29. **be to thee for a strong defence, and her collars** [in the sense of "yoke"] **for a robe of glory.**] This marks the change indicated in *v.* 28.

30. The figure is now somewhat clumsily varied. The reference may be to the High-priest's mitre, which would explain the

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31 Thou shalt put her on as a robe of honour, and shalt put her about thee as a crown of joy.

32 My son, if thou wilt, thou shalt be taught: and if thou wilt apply thy mind, thou shalt be prudent.

33 If thou love to hear, thou shalt receive understanding: and if thou bow thine ear, thou shalt be wise.

34 Stand in the multitude of the [e] elders; and cleave unto him that is wise.

[e] ch. 8. 9.

35 Be willing to hear every godly discourse; and let not the parables of understanding escape thee.

36 And if thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear the steps of his door.

37 Let thy mind be upon the ordinances of the Lord, and [f] meditate

[f] Ps. 1. 2.

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continually in his commandments: he shall establish thine heart, and give thee wisdom at thine own desire.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *We are exhorted from sin,* 4 *from ambition,* 8 *presumption,* 10 *and fainting in prayer:* 12 *from lying and backbiting,* 18 *and how to esteem a friend:* 19 *a good wife:* 20 *a servant:* 22 *our cattle:* 23 *our children and parents:* 31 *the Lord and his priests:* 32 *the poor, and those that mourn.*

DO no evil, [a] so shall no harm come unto thee.

[a] 1 Pet. 3. 13.

2 Depart from the unjust, and iniquity shall turn away from thee.

3 My son, [b] sow not upon the furrows of unrighteousness, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold.

[b] Job 4. 8. Prov. 22. 8.

4 Seek not of the Lord preeminence, neither of the king the seat of honour.

omission of *vv.* 29 *b* and 30 in the Syr. But, on the other hand, comp. the expressions in Jer. iv. 30.

31. *a robe of* **glory ... upon thee.**] Not "about thee."

32. *thou shalt be* **instructed.**] This, with reference to *v.* 18.

33. The word "understanding" (*σύνεσιν*), not found in the better MSS., is only a disturbing addition.

34. *the multitude.*] Probably קהל. **Who is wise** (= if any is wise) **to him cleave.**

35. Here also the order of the sentence had best be inverted. "Be willing" is probably not strong enough; and if the word corresponded (as Fritzsche supposes) to אבה or חפץ, it would imply "desire after," and "pleasure in." **And let not the proverbs of understanding** (משלי בינה) **escape from thee.** Although the common usage would suggest the rendering "escape thee," viz. from thy memory, yet the other translation seems better suited to the context.

36. *get thee betimes.*] Rather, **at early morning.**

37. Last line: **And thy desire for wisdom shall be granted thee** [Bissell].

CHAPTER VII.

This chapter might be generally inscribed: Rules for the Wise. It consists of two parts: I. Rules regarding oneself (*vv.* 1–17); II. Rules regarding others (*vv.* 18–36). To be more detailed: Part I. has (1) a *Prooemium* in three verses, warning the wise against sin; (2) then follow two stanzas of four, and two stanzas of three verses (= 2 × 7), giving warning in regard to *mind* (ambition, *vv.* 4–7); to *heart* (presumption, *vv.* 8–11); to *speech* (*vv.* 12–14); and, lastly, in regard to *life* (*vv.* 15–17). Part II., which gives Rules in reference to others, consists, like Part I., of four stanzas (respectively of four, seven, three, and four verses), with a conclusion (*v.* 36) which takes the place of the Proem of Part I. In Part II. the first stanza gives rules as regards *friends* and *dependants* (*vv.* 18–21); the second, in regard to *property* and *family* (*vv.* 22–28); the third, in regard to *the Lord and His priests* (*vv.* 29–31); the fourth, in regard to *our neighbour* (the poor, mourners, the sick, *vv.* 32–35). Lastly, *v.* 36 forms an apt conclusion to what had preceded.

1. **Do not evil, and harm** [evil] **shall not befall thee.**] Drusius: *κακά, mala culpae; κακόν, malum poenae.*

2. This verse marks an advance in thought: **depart from what is unjust, and it shall turn away from thee** [Bissell]; *i.e.* thou shalt not experience its evil consequences. The figure of *v.* 3 repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament, as in Job iv. 8, Prov. xxii. 8, Hos. x. 12, and in Gal. vi. 8.

4. With this verse begins the enumeration of the various occasions to sin, against the consequences of which the previous verses had warned.

preeminence.] Rather, **leadership** (a place of command), "the seat,"—better, **a seat.**

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5 [c]Justify not thyself before the Lord; and boast not of thy wisdom before the king.

6 Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time [d]thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy uprightness.

7 Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

8 Bind not one sin upon another; for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. B. C. cir. 200.

9 [e]Say not, God will look upon the multitude of my oblations, and when I offer to the most high God, he will accept it.

10 Be not fainthearted when thou makest thy prayer, and neglect not to give alms.

11 Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul: for [f]there is one which humbleth and exalteth.

[c] Job 9. 20. Ps. 143. 2. Eccles. 7. 16. Luke 18. 11.
[d] Lev. 19. 15.
[e] Prov. 21. 27.
[f] 1 Sam. 2. 7.

5, 6. The warning of *v.* 4 was against ambition, whether before God or man, but the arguments by which this advice is now supported are only of a prudential and worldly character. The connexion between verses 5 and 6 seems somewhat difficult. We would propose to arrange them as follows. The advice in 5 *a*, **make not thyself just before the Lord** (profess not to be righteous and perfect), is supported by 6 *b*, **lest thou be not able to put away iniquities**; the advice in 5 *b*, **make not thyself wise before the king** (profess not and pretend not to be a wise man), is supported by 6 *c*, **lest haply thou shouldst fear** (be timid) **before the face of the ruler** (lord); and, lastly, 6 *a* by 6 *d*, **seek not to become a judge—and** [lest] **thou shouldest put** [set up] **a stumbling-block in** [in reference to] **thy righteousness**. But commentators generally regard clauses *b*, *c*, *d* as connected with clause *a* of *v.* 6, and as indicating the dangers of becoming a judge. In that case the two clauses of *v.* 5 would correspond to the two clauses of *v.* 4. But such a parallelism of verses is not common. Further, *v.* 6 would begin a new subject, and clause *a* be supported by not less than three distinct arguments.

7. This verse opens another subject, and indicates those causes of evil which have their root in the heart, as the others (pride and ambition) had theirs in the mind.

Sin *not.*] The Hebrew חטא—the same construction with εἰς in LXX. Gen. xx. 6, 9, xliii. 9, xliv. 32; 1 Kings ii. 27, xix. 4, 5, xxiv. 12; Prov. viii. 36, xx. 2. Here it is used in the sense of "offend not." On the other hand, the words: **and cast not thyself down among the people**, bear the same meaning as our English "throw not thyself away" (*te ipse abjicies et prosternes*, Cicero), or the German, *sich wegwerfen*.

8. The order is now inverted. In the previous stanza it was pride, first before God and then before man; here it is presumption first before man (*v.* 7), then before God—this being, in each case, the more natural order. **Bind not twice sin; for in the one thou shalt not be unpunished.** Repeat not sin; even its first commission shall not go unpunished. Bretschneider explains the words, "bind not up (as a wound) sin;" De Wette, "palliate not:" Fritzsche, "atone not twice." But these renderings seem forced. In reference to this and the following verse, we once more recall the saying in the Mishnah: "If a man says [thinks], I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent, no furtherance is given to his repentance; I will sin, and the Day of Atonement shall make atonement—the Day of Atonement will [does] not propitiate [make atonement] [for him]" ('Yoma,' viii. 9). And although the Talmud rather weakens this saying of the Mishnah, yet we mark in connexion with the warning of the Son of Sirach that the Rabbis also insist that, if a man commits a sin and repeats it, it appears to him as if it were lawful ('Yoma,' 86 *b*, 87 *a*).

10. Fritzsche supposes that this verse is intended to indicate "the right means for pleasing God." But in that case it would scarcely fit in with the previous verse. We regard the words as meant to correct any possible misunderstanding. If the presumptuous sinner may not hope for acceptance by sacrifices or the like, others need not, and must not be faint-hearted in their prayers, and our best sacrifices are alms. In the Talmud ('Erubh.' 65 *a*) the first half of the verse is adduced, without mentioning its source, but in the same manner in which ordinarily Scripture is quoted (שנאמר בצר אל יורה). Comp. St. Jas. i. 6.

11. This verse seems naturally to connect itself with the last clause of *v.* 10. Comp. Prov. xvii. 5.

12. The verse begins another stanza, referring to sins of the *tongue*. Characteris-

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12 ‖Devise not a lie against thy brother; neither do the like to thy friend.

‖ Gr. *Plow not.*

13 Use not to make any manner of lie: for the custom thereof is not good.

14 Use not many words in a multitude of elders, [g] and make not ‖much babbling when thou prayest.

[g] Eccles. 5. 2. Matt. 6. 7.

‖ Or, *vain repetition.*

15 Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, [h] which the most High hath ‖ordained.

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16 Number not thyself among the multitude of sinners, but remember that wrath will not tarry long.

[h] Gen. 3. 19, 23.

‖ Gr. *created.*

17 Humble thy soul greatly: for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms.

18 Change not a friend for any good by no means; neither a faithful brother for the gold of Ophir.

tically, duty is here once more presented from a negative aspect, the writer indicating in this and the following verses the various causes of offence which are to be avoided.

Devise not.] Rather, **plough not** or "till not." There cannot be question that the expression was the same as in Prov. iii. 29, but even there the word חרשׁ seems to mean "plough" rather than "devise" (the latter most comment. and Nowack *ad loc.*). From the whole context we gather that the reference is to sins of the *tongue*, not to the purpose of sinning. The speech of a man may be like ploughing and tilling the soil to bring forth a crop of lies against one's "brother;" the term being here equivalent to "neighbour." Nor need we in that case feel surprise at the addition in the second clause, since unfortunately the practice of "ploughing and tilling lies" is quite as common, if not more so, in regard to "friends," as to one's neighbour generally.

13. The A. V., though not literal, correctly expresses the meaning of the verse. **For the continuance thereof** (is) **not unto good,** —such a habit leads, or comes, to no good; it has a bad end. A rather low, but prudential, motive for abstaining from participation in raising a crop of lies.

14. The writer had probably in view some person of importance—whether really such, or only in his own opinion—to whom (in his intense self-consciousness) he addresses counsels. If in the previous verse he had advised to avoid lying talk about others, which would lead to no good end, he now warns against "idle talk." **Prate not in the multitude of elders**—talk not idly, babble not. In the LXX. the verb ἀδολεσχεῖν is always used *sensu bono*, except in the solitary instance Ps. lxviii. (lxix.) 12—**and make not repetition in thy prayer:** μὴ δευτερώσῃς λόγον—probably somewhat different from the βαττολογεῖν of St. Matt. vi. 7, which was πολυλογία rather than δευτέρωσις. The verb βαττολ. does not otherwise occur either in the LXX., the Apocr., or the N. T. Such silly, idle talk before man or God proves a man to be a fool, if not a liar.

15. This verse begins the enumeration of that which in our *life* may lead to evil consequences. The following are here specially mentioned: (1) idleness, or unwillingness to do hard work, especially to engage in husbandry, which was appointed of God, *v.* 15; (2) evil companions, *v.* 16; (3) proud self-seeking and self-sufficiency, *v.* 17. In the latter verse the writer rises from the negative to the *positive*. The expression used ("to humble one's soul") is in the LXX. indeed applied to fasting (LXX. Lev. xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 29, 32; Is. lviii. 3, 5). But here it obviously refers to submission to God in a sense parallel to Mic. vi. 8. At first sight it seems difficult to refer "**the fire and the worm**" (sing., not plural), which are to be "**the punishment** [this rather than "vengeance"] **of the ungodly,**" to other than the punishment after death. But in Judith xvi. 17 the same expressions are used in regard to the presumably temporal judgments on the heathen in the Messianic day. With this the descriptions in the Book of Henoch xlvi. and xlviii. also accord. (Comp. Fritzsche on Jud. xvi. 17 in the 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.' 2 Lief., p. 208.) These parallelisms and the general absence in Ecclus. of any reference to the rewards or punishments of another life, lead to the inference that such are not alluded to in our verse. The admonition to humility (17 *a*) may have called up by way of contrast the typical "proud"—the foes of Israel—and their doom in the Messianic day (*v.* 17 *b*).

18. With this begins Part II., which details the rules to be observed towards others; and, first, in regard to *friends* and *dependants* (*vv.* 18–21). There cannot be any doubt that the right reading and rendering of *v.* 18 *a* is: **Exchange not a friend for** [what is] **indifferent,** ἀδιάφορον. The latter is the technical term of Stoic philosophy for the *media*, the *indifferentia*, such as "riches, strength, appearance, honours, rule," &c. (Seneca, 'Epist.' lxxxii. 12). The meaning is, for the

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19 Forego not a wise and good woman: [i] for her grace is above gold.

20 [k] Whereas thy servant worketh truly, entreat him not evil, nor the hireling that bestoweth himself wholly for thee.

21 Let thy soul love a good servant, and defraud him not of liberty.

22 [l] Hast thou cattle? have an eye to them: and if they be for thy profit, keep them with thee.

23 Hast thou children? [m] instruct them, and bow down their neck from their youth.

24 Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and shew not thyself cheerful toward them.

25 Marry thy daughter, and so shalt thou have performed a weighty matter: but give her to a man of understanding.

26 Hast thou a wife after thy mind? forsake her not: but give not thyself over to a ‖ light woman.

27 [n] Honour thy father with thy whole heart, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother.

28 Remember that thou wast be-

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[i] Prov. 31. 10.

[k] Lev. 19. 13. ch. 33. 30. & 34. 22.

[l] Deut. 25. 4. Prov. 27. 23, &c.

[m] Prov. 22. 6. Ephes. 6. 4.

‖ Or, *hateful.*

[n] Tobit 4. 3. ch. 3. 2, &c.

sake of what is *ἀδιάφορον*, do not part with a friend—**neither with a true** [*γνήσιος* here certainly in that sense; comp. 2 Macc. xiv. 8; 3 Macc. iii. 23] **brother for the gold of Ophir** [*Σουφείρ*, as in the LXX.].

19. **Turn not away from a wise and good wife.**] We have rendered *ἀστοχεῖν* by "turn away," as being a more comprehensive term than "forego not." But we have no doubt that the meaning is, as given by Wahl: *noli separari ab uxore sapiente.* This aptly follows on *v.* 18. *Grace* = gracefulness.

20. After the wife comes the servant: **A** [domestic] **servant who worketh truly** [really, honestly] **illtreat not, nor a hireling who devoteth his soul** [life],—who gives himself wholly to it. The expression is probably taken from Deut. xxiv. 15: נַפְשׁוֹ אֵת נֹשֵׂא.

21. **an intelligent servant . . .** *defraud him not of* **release.**] Comp. Jerem. xxxiv. 8–16.

22. Rules in regard to property and family (*vv.* 22–28); and, first, as to kindness towards animals, yet this tempered by prudential considerations.

23. *instruct.*] Rather, **train**—in the sense of discipline. In the Syriac Version the second clause is rendered: "and give them wives in their youth." This might seem only a sarcastic paraphrase of what we read in the Greek. But when in Qidd. 30 *a* (comp. 29 *b*) we read the advice to marry one's son, and in connexion with it find the expression, while "thy hand is upon" his "neck" (אידיך על צוארי דבריך), *i.e.* while he is young, we conclude that this was an old Jewish saying, and that the Syriac Version, which throughout this section is very apt, accurately represents the Hebrew original, of which the younger Siracide only retained so much in his translation as seemed to him suitable. And we are confirmed in this view by the circumstance that Prov. xxii. 6, to which evidently there is reference in Ecclus. vii. 23, is expressly quoted in Qidd. 30 *a*, in connexion with the advice just mentioned.

24. *care of their body.*] That it be preserved pure and chaste.

and make not thy face cheerful towards them.] Let not thy bearing be jocular, but rather austere and severe. In what is known as the 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' (4) we find the following, which may be a parallel to *v.* 23: "Gold requires beating and a young man chastising." Similarly, the Talmud offers a somewhat coarse parallel to *v.* 24, and even more so to Ecclus. xlii. 9, in what it says of a daughter as a doubtful boon to her father (Sanh. 100 *b*). In general, all such sayings seem the outcome of the Rabbinic maxim that "Women are of a light mind" (for example, Qidd. 80 *b*).

25. *Marry.*] Lit., give away, viz. out of the house; a common mode of expression.

thou wilt have performed [completed, accomplished] **a great work: and to a man of understanding give her.**] The Talmud goes much farther than this, and advises a father, if his daughter have attained marriageable age, even to set his slave at liberty and to marry him to her (Pes. 113 *a*).

26. **do not cast her out** [in the sense of divorce]. H, 248, Syr., Vet. Lat. add the following clause, as in the A. V.: *but give not thyself to one that is hateful.* This, either in the sense that it would be dangerous to trust such an one, or else with the meaning attaching to it in the Syr. or in the Arab. Version. The Syr. has, *quod si sit improba ne te concredas illi;* the Arab., *nec fidem adhibeas illi si fuerit impudica.* The current views on divorce are sufficiently known, and receive further illustration in this verse.

27. *sorrows.*] *I.e.* birth-pangs.

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gotten of them; and how canst thou recompense them the things that they have done for thee?

29 Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence his priests.

[o] Deut. 6. 5. [p] Deut. 12. 19.

30 [o] Love him that made thee with all thy strength, [p] and forsake not his ministers.

[q] Lev. 2. 3, 10. & 6. 16. & 7. 7, 9, 34. Numb. 5. 9. & 18. 8–19. [r] Deut. 15. 8, 10.

31 Fear the Lord, and honour the priest; and give him his portion, [q] as it is commanded thee; the firstfruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the firstfruits of the holy things.

32 [r] And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that ‖ thy blessing may be perfected.

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‖ Or, *thy liberality.*

33 A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living; and for the dead detain it not.

[s] Rom. 12. 15.

34 [s] Fail not to be with them that weep, and mourn with them that mourn.

[t] Matt. 25. 36, 39, 43.

35 [t] Be not slow to visit the sick: for that shall make thee to be beloved.

36 Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Whom we may not strive with,* 8 *nor despise,* 10 *nor provoke,* 15 *nor have to do with.*

28. *the things that they have done for thee.*] Lit., "just as they to thee."

29. Directions as to our duty towards the Lord and His priests (*vv.* 29–31). See the marginal references. In the Syr. Version all the clauses in *v.* 31 after "as it is commanded thee" are omitted. In their place the following words are added: "the bread of oblations and the firstfruits of the hands." This is undoubtedly a Christian alteration, and otherwise interesting as probably marking early Christian practice.

32. Our duties towards our neighbour; especially the poor, the sick, and the mourners (*vv.* 32–35). The injunctions are in entire accordance with Rabbinic teaching, which points to God as giving the example of clothing the naked (Gen. iii. 21), visiting the sick (Gen. xviii. 1), burying the dead (Deut. xxxiv. 6), and comforting the mourners (Gen. xxxv. 9). [So often; see, for example, Ber. R. 8.] The "blessing," *εὐλογία*, no doubt represents the Hebrew ברכה, in the sense of blessing received.

33. This verse seems to present real difficulty. We propose translating, supposing the text not to be corrupted: **Bestowal** [boon, shewing of favour, display of kindness] **of gift** [of giving] **towards every one alive, and from the dead withdraw not bestowal.** We believe that the Hebrew original for *χάρις δόματος* was גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים, and we adduce the following as an illustrative parallel from Sukk. 49 *b* (lines 13, 12, 11 from bottom): "In three things does the *benefiting* [boon, favour] *of acts of kindness* excel almsgiving. Almsgiving is by money, *gemiluth chasadim* alike by money and personally; almsgiving is to the poor (mark the prepos. ל), *gem. chas.* is alike to the poor and to the rich; almsgiving is to the living, *gem. chas.* is alike to the living and to the dead" (by attending to their bodies, burial, &c.). And the parallelism is the more marked, that in *v.* 32 there is express reference to almsgiving.

34. Comp. the following in 'Der. er. Zuta,' v. p. 34 *d* (at the close of vol. ix. in the Talmud): "A man should not be weeping among those who laugh, nor laughing among those who weep." The same sentiment is expressed in Rom. xii. 15, but there more truly and beautifully. A somewhat similar admonition to take part in mourning for the dead occurs in Moed. Q., 28 *b*, with special reference to Ecclesiastes vii. 2.

35. **for through these** (things) **thou shalt be beloved.**

36. **In all thy things** (λόγοι = דברים—acts, undertakings).] A similar saying occurs in Ab. iii. 1 in the name of Aqabhya the son of Mahalalel: "Consider three things (דברים), and thou shalt not come into transgression—from whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou shalt have to give a judicial account." Thus we are on thoroughly Jewish ground in these verses.

thou shalt **not ever sin.**] The *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* has evidently here a temporal meaning.

CHAPTER VIII.

From ch. vii. the transition is easy to practical rules of life in ch. viii. These are once more divided into two parts: Part I. details those regarding oneself (*vv.* 1–7); Part II. those which bear reference to others (*vv.* 8–19). Part I. consists of three stanzas, sufficiently indicated by the initial words: "Strive not," *v.* 1; "Jest not," *v.* 4; "Neglect not," *v.* 8. The first stanza is of three verses (2 + 4 + 2), the second of four verses (4 × 2), the third of two verses (2 × 4). Part II. consists of

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STRIVE not with a mighty man, lest thou fall into his hands.

[a] Matt. 5. 25.

2 [a] Be not at variance with a rich man, lest he overweigh thee: for

[b] ch. 31. 6.

gold [b] hath destroyed many, and perverted the hearts of kings.

3 Strive not with a man that is

‖ Or, *of an evil tongue.*

‖ full of tongue, and heap not wood upon his fire.

4 Jest not with a rude man, lest thy ancestors be disgraced.

[c] 2 Cor. 2. 6. Gal. 6. 2.

5 [c] Reproach not a man that turneth from sin, but remember that we are all worthy of punishment.

[d] Lev. 19. 32.

6 [d] Dishonour not a man in his old age: for even some of us wax old.

7 Rejoice not over thy greatest enemy being dead, but remember that we die all.

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8 Despise not the discourse of the wise, but acquaint thyself with their proverbs: for of them thou shalt learn instruction, and how to serve great men with ease.

[e] ch. 6. 34.

9 [e] Miss not the discourse of the elders: for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth.

10 Kindle not the coals of a sinner, lest thou be burnt with the flame of his fire.

11 Rise not up [in anger] at the presence of an injurious person, lest he lie in wait ‖ to entrap thee in thy words.

‖ Or, *for thy mouth.*

12 Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; for if thou lendest him, count it but lost.

four stanzas. It warns against foolish confidence in our private dealings (first stanza, ידי. 10, 11), in business transactions (second stanza, ידי. 12–14), in public association (third stanza, ידי. 15, 16), and in private association (fourth stanza, ידי. 17–19). Thus the arrangement would be: Part I., three stanzas—respectively, $2+4+2$; 4×2; 2×4. Part II., four stanzas—respectively, 2×2; 3×2; 2×4; 3×2.

1. *Strive not.*] Viz. in words.

2. *Be not at variance* [rather, **contend not**] ... *lest he overweigh thee* [rather, **lest he put against thee weight**]—that is, bring down the opposite scale by the weight of his wealth.

destroyed.] Rather, **corrupted.** The reference may be not to actual bribery, but to the influence of greater riches on the mind and in the esteem of others.

3. *full of tongue.*] Rather, **glib of tongue.** Vet. Lat., *linguatus.*

4. *a rude man.*] Rather, **one uncultured.** Our ancestors might be "disgraced" by possible reflections upon them.

5. Omit "but" in the second line. The reasoning is, that as we have all sinned, so we all deserve punishment. Seneca: *Det ille veniam facile, cui venia est opus.*

6. *Dishonour not* [although this is perhaps rather too strong an expression for want of respect] *a man in his old age, for even some of us* **are waxing old.**

7. *Rejoice not over* **the dead.**] H, 248, Co., add: "thy greatest enemy being dead," —correctly as to sense, but not according to the best reading.

8. This verse opens the third series of warnings.

Despise not.] Rather, **neglect not.**

acquaint thyself.] Rather, **be conversant,** busy thyself.

and to serve great men.] Omit "how" and "with ease"—in all probability in the same sense as Horace's: *Quo tandem pacto deceat majoribus uti* = versari cum magnatibus. (Ep. I. xvii. 67.)

9. *elders.*] Rather, **old men.** Last clause: **and in time of need** (viz. when it is required) **to give an answer.**

10. Here begins Part II.

with the flame.] Rather, "**in** the flame."

11. *Rise not up* [in anger or altercation] **before an insolent** *person.*] To judge from the Greek text (ἀπὸ προσώπου), the Hebrew original must have been מִפָּנַי, not לִפָּנַי (perhaps in a causal sense). The rendering "insolent" scarcely fully expresses the meaning of the Greek word, for which the German *übermüthig*, with the additional idea of godlessness, seems the appropriate equivalent. In the LXX. ὑβριστής occurs five times for נָאָל or נָאוֹת. This was probably the word used in the original work of Ben Sira—probably in the same form as in the Targum, מְתַנְּאָה. Grotius supposes the scene to be an assembly. **Lest he seat** [or set] **himself as an ambush** [as lying in wait] **to thy mouth**—to what thou sayest.

12. The meaning of the second clause

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13 Be not surety above thy power: for if thou be surety, take care to pay it.

14 Go not to law with a judge; for they will judge for him according to his ‖honour.

‖ Or, *opinion.*

f Gen. 4. 8.

15 *f* Travel not by the way with a bold fellow, lest he become grievous unto thee: for he will do according to his own will, and thou shalt perish with him through his folly.

g Prov. 22. 24.

16 *g* Strive not with an angry man, and go not with him into a solitary place: for blood is as nothing in his sight; and where there is no help, he will overthrow thee.

17 Consult not with a fool; for he cannot keep counsel.

18 Do no secret thing before a stranger; for thou knowest not what he will bring forth.

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19 Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *We are advised how to use our wives.* 3 *What women to avoid.* 10 *And not to change an old friend.* 13 *Not to be familiar with men in authority,* 14 *but to know our neighbours,* 15 *and to converse with wise men.*

BE not jealous over the wife of thy bosom, and teach her not an evil lesson against thyself.

2 Give not thy soul unto a woman to set her foot upon thy substance.

would be probably better represented by translating, instead of "count it but lost," **make as if** (thou hadst) **lost**,—whether in the sense of pretending or of considering that it was lost. Instead of "for" translate **and**.

13. and . . . consider [have thought, have a care] **that thou shalt** [have to] **pay.**] Be prepared for it.

14. *a judge.*] Bretschneider, however, regards κριτοῦ as the gen. not of κριτής, "a judge," but of κριτός, *electus, egregius, praestans, nobilis.* Δόξα, "honour," "estimation."

15. *bold.*] Rather, **venturous** or **daring.**

lest he become a burden [burdensome] **to thee . . . and thou shalt perish through** [together with] **his folly.**] Vet. Lat.: *Ne forte gravet mala sua in te . . . et simul cum stultitia illius peries.*

16. with a furious [perhaps irritable] **man make not strife.**] Comp. Prov. xv. 18, xxii. 24, xxix. 22, where in the LXX. also the word ἐνμώδης is used.

into a solitary place.] Rather, **through the desert.**

overthrow thee.] In the sense of killing.

17. for he cannot keep a matter secret.] λόγον στέξαι undoubtedly in the original, כסה דבר.

18. *a stranger.*] Probably, although perhaps not exclusively, a non-Israelite.

bring forth—engender, beget, bring into the world: what kind of child he will bring into the world as representing what hast thou done.

19. *lest he requite thee, &c.*] Rather, **lest he return thee ill thanks** [Bissell: and so get an ill return]. Syr.: *ne te beneficio adstringat.*

CHAPTER IX.

The prudential rules for social intercourse are here continued: and, first, in regard to women (*vv.* 1–9), the admonitions being arranged under *four* particulars (*vv.* 1, 2; 3, 4; 5, 6; 7–9); secondly, with reference to what is to be sought or else avoided in intercourse with acquaintances. The arrangement is as follows: first, what is to be desired in regard to friends (*v.* 10); secondly, what is not to be sought nor wished for (*vv.* 11, 12); thirdly, what is to be actually avoided (*v.* 13); lastly, again, what is to be desired (*vv.* 14–16). The two closing verses, which at first sight seem difficult to arrange, form a very apt conclusion: *v.* 17 referring to stanza *vv.* 14–16, and *v.* 18 to the stanza of six lines in *v.* 13.

1. Bretschneider designates this *egregium monitum.* The Rabbis also often warn against groundless jealousy. The reason here given is that it might direct the mind of a wife to the very thing feared. Bretschneider quotes from Tibullus: *Ipse miser docui, quo possit ludere pacto.*

2. On the other hand, the opposite extreme is to be avoided.

Give not up thy soul to a woman, that she set not her feet [step not, trample not] **upon thy power** [authority].] The Talmud has it: "Of three the life is not a life: of him who hopes [looks] for the table of his neighbour, of him over whom his wife holds rule, and of him who is affected with disease in his body. [To these some add, as a fourth, him who has only one shirt.] (Bets. 32 *b*, and otherwise.) In 'Babh. Mets.' 75 *b*,

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3 [a] Meet not with an harlot, lest thou fall into her snares.

4 Use not much the company of a woman that ‖ is a singer, lest thou be taken with her attempts.

5 [b] Gaze not on a maid, that thou fall not by those things that are precious in her.

6 Give not thy soul unto harlots, that thou lose not thine inheritance.

7 Look not round about thee in the streets of the city, neither wander thou in the solitary places thereof.

8 [c] Turn away thine eye from a beautiful woman, and look not upon another's beauty; for many have been deceived by the beauty of a woman; for herewith love is kindled as a fire.

9 Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor sit down with her in thine arms, and spend not thy money with her at the wine; lest thine heart incline unto her, and so through thy desire thou fall into destruction.

10 Forsake not an old friend; for

[a] Prov. 7. 5, &c.
‖ Or, *playeth upon instruments.*
[b] Job 31. 1.
[c] Gen. 34. 2. 2 Sam. 11. 2. Judith 10. 19. & 12. 16. Matt. 5. 28.

three are enumerated who cry in vain: he who lends money without witnesses; he who gets himself a lord over him, and he who is under the rule of his wife.

4. *Use not much the company of.*] Rather, **Be not long with.**

5. We would prefer translating the second clause: "lest thou be made to offend through the honours paid to her;"—if this meaning of ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις αὐτῆς could be established. But it will be safer to render it: **lest thou be offended** (annoyed) **by the penalties for her,**—the money—or other penalties on her account, possibly with reference to Deut. xxii. 29. This seems also to accord with the Syriac Version. The moral code of the Rabbis went much beyond this, and forbade even to look at the finger of a woman, or at her shoe, as well as to exchange any needless words with her. Two Rabbis, shoemakers by trade, are mentioned as extraordinary instances of forbearing any such forbidden gaze, even under the daily temptation of their trade (Pes. 113 *a*).

7 *b*. For "*neither* wander thou *in the solitary places thereof*," the Vet. Lat. has: "nec oberraveris in *plateis* illius"—perhaps after the Syr, and reading רחבתיה for הרבתיה.

8. *beautiful.*] Rather, **handsome,** comely, as referring more to form.

another's beauty.] The beauty of one who is another's.

deceived.] Rather, **led astray.**

for herewith.] Rather, **and therefrom.** This and v. 9 are among the passages quoted in the Talmud as from Ben Sira (Sanh. 100 *b*, Yebam. 63 *b*). As bearing on the mode of quotation in the New Testament, it is instructive to find that these Talmudic citations from Ben Sira are not literal, but probably made from memory. They are as follows: "Avert thine eye lest thou be caught in her snare. Do not resort to her husband to drink with him wine and strong drink. For by the fairness of a beautiful woman many have been destroyed, 'and mighty [either in the sense of numerous, or of strength] are all her slain' (Prov. vii. 26)." "Many are the wounds caused by the pedlar [who sells *articles de luxe* to women], which lead to the committing of sin, as the spark kindles the coal. 'As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit' (Jer. v. 27)." The Syr. places v. 8 after v. 9.

9. A warning against familiarity which may lead to sin. A similar, if not the same, saying is adduced in the Mishnah in the name of José b. Jochanan (Abh. i. 5).

another man's wife.] **A married woman.** The next clause in the A. V., "nor sit down," &c., must be omitted. It is evidently a paraphrastic gloss.

and be not feasting with her at wine.] The expression (συμβολοκοπεῖν) probably means frequent indulgence in feasts or entertainments where wine is drunk. We are not to give in her honour nor to take part in merry wine-parties with her (not necessarily in the absence of her husband—probably rather the contrary). Fritzsche applies it to what he calls "Pikenike," but we have not been able to discover any trace of picnics amongst the ancient Jews. The verb is used for the Hebrew נָגַל in the LXX. Deut. xxi. 20, and also by Aq.; and either as verb or substant. for the same Hebrew word by Theod. in Prov. xxiii. 30; by Aq., Sym., and Theod. in Prov. xxiii. 21, and by Aq. and Theod. in Prov. xxviii. 7 (see the note on the latter passage in Field's 'Hexapla'). Schleusner (*ad voc.*) attaches to the word the somewhat strange meaning of contending in jokes, bandying jests.

through thy desire.] Or **passion, inclination**—πνεύματι (πνεῦμα here = רוּחַ). For πνεύματι Clemens Alex., the Syr., Arab., and Vet. Lat. have = αἵματι. Comp. Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; Prov. vii. 26, 27.

10. The verse begins a new section. The

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the new is not comparable to him: a new friend is as new wine; when it is old, thou shalt drink it with pleasure.

[d] Ps. 37. 1, &c. & 73. 3, 17.

11 [d]Envy not the glory of a sinner: for thou knowest not what shall be his end.

12 Delight not in the thing that the ungodly have pleasure in; but remember they shall not go unpunished unto their grave.

13 Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill; so shalt thou not doubt the fear of death: and if thou come unto him, make no fault, lest he take away thy life presently: remember that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest upon the battlements of the city.

14 As near as thou canst, guess at thy neighbour, and consult with the wise. B. C. cir. 200.

15 Let thy talk be with the wise, [e]and all thy communication in the law of the most High. [e] Ps. 1. 2.

16 And let just men eat and drink with thee; and let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.

17 For the hand of the artificer the work shall be commended: and the wise ruler of the people for his speech.

18 A man of an ill tongue is dangerous in his city; and he that is rash in his talk shall be hated.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The commodities of a wise ruler.* 4 *God setteth him up.* 7 *The inconveniences of pride, injustice, and covetousness.* 14 *What God hath done to the proud.* 19 *Who shall be honoured,* 29 *and who not.*

second clause would be more adequately rendered: **for the fresh one**—he who is newly made (*πρόσφατος*; comp. Delitzsch on Heb. x. 20)—**is not equal to him.** The third line gains in force by omitting (as in the original) the words "is as." The so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' has the same or a similar admonition: "An old friend deny not."

11. *the glory.*] In the sense of "prosperity."

12. **Have not pleasure in** [what is] **the pleasure of the ungodly: remember that they will not be justified** (*i.e.* escape punishment as the sentence of their condemnation) **unto the grave** (Hades); that is, punishment will surely overtake them before their end.

13. If *vv.* 11, 12 had indicated what a man should not seek for nor wish, *v.* 13 continues the same reasoning and shews what he should actually avoid. "The man that hath power to kill" is presumably "the sinner" of *v.* 11 and "the ungodly" of *v.* 12, and his "power to kill" consists in his evil example, and in the danger accruing from his companionship and from fellowship with his deeds, which will entail such punishment on the doer. Keep far from him,—"**and thou shalt not be in the anguish of fear of death; and if thou approach** [or come to] **him, do not go wrong** [err not, in the moral sense], **lest he take away** [rob] **thy life: know** [recognise] that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest on the battlements of a city;" that is, thou art like one who walketh on the battlements of a city besieged—such and so great is thy danger, and so watchful must thou be.

14. The advice that follows is closely connected with what had preceded: **According to thy power** [to the utmost of thy power, so far as thou canst] **seek to make out** [search out] **thy neighbour** (to know what he really is). "Consult" in the sense of taking counsel.

15. **Let thy conference** (*διαλογισμός*) **be with those of understanding.**

16. Omit "and." "Let just [righteous] men **be thy table-companions**" (who dine and sup with thee).

17. **In the** *hand of* **artificers is the work** *commended.*] The skilful artificer produces work that brings its own commendation: the German, *das Werk soll den Meister loben.* "**And the ruler**"—perhaps, rather, the leader—"**of the people is wise in speech.**"

18. **Dreaded** [a matter of fear] *in his city* (is) *a man* **glib of tongue** [*linguatus*], *and he that is rash* [reckless, perhaps violent] *in his* **speech** *shall be hated.*] Thus the two last verses form an apt conclusion of the preceding argument.

CHAPTER X.

The second line of chap. ix. 17 evidently leads up to chap. x., which treats of rulers, both good and evil. From this subject the transition to that of pride is easy and almost natural. Rulership and pride form the theme of the whole chapter. Its division into two parts is clearly marked. In Part I. (*vv.* 1–17)

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A WISE judge will instruct his people; and the government of a prudent man is well ordered.

[a] Prov. 29. 12.

2 [a]As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein.

3 An unwise king destroyeth his people; but through the prudence of them which are in authority the city shall be inhabited.

4 The power of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, and in due time he will set over it one that is profitable.

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5 In the hand of God is the prosperity of man: and upon the person of the scribe shall he lay his honour.

‖ Or, *face.*

6 [b]Bear not hatred to thy neighbour for every wrong; and do nothing at all by injurious practices.

[b] Lev. 19. 17. Matt. 18. 21.

7 Pride is hateful before God and man: and by both doth one commit iniquity.

rulership and pride are viewed in relation to God. The argument turns, so to speak, on the alternate formula: "from God" and "before God." The first stanza, vv. 1–3 (3 × 2), shews how a people is bound up with its rulers. This is followed by a moral reflection, intended to shew that this is of God's appointment, vv. 4, 5 (2 × 2). The next stanza, vv. 6–8 (3 × 2), reverses the reasoning, and points out that the fate of rulers is connected with the state of the people, and winds up with a moral reflection on the folly of pride and the transient character of everything earthly, vv. 9–11 (3 × 2). The Part concludes with a stanza of six verses (vv. 12–17) on the pride of nations—shewing that the origin and the essence of pride are departure from God, and that the issue of such pride are the Divine judgments (2 + 4 and 4 × 2). In Part II. pride is treated in a *parenetic* manner. The following are the principal points: (1) To the question, wherein true honour consists and how is it to be sought, the answer is twofold: first, *positive*, vv. 18–22 (2 + 4; 2 × 2); secondly, *negative:* in two stanzas, vv. 23–25 and vv. 26, 27 (3 × 2; 2 × 2). (2) This is followed by the usual caution against the opposite extreme, vv. 28, 29 (2 × 2). (3) The chapter concludes in a somewhat flat manner in a stanza of two verses (vv. 30, 31; 2 × 2), of which v. 30 may specially refer to theme 1, and v. 31 to theme 2 of Part II.

1. A general introduction to this part of the subject. "Judge" is used in the sense of supreme magistrate, ruler, שׁפט; "instruct," in the sense of moral guidance, discipline. The general proposition is set forth in the second clause of the verse: "And the government of **one of understanding shall be** well ordered."

2. As in v. 1, the governor is presented in his twofold capacity, as judge and as ruler. Lit. **According to the judge of his people, so also his officers** [ministrants], **and according to the ruler of the city all they that inhabit it.**

3. *unwise.*] Rather, **uninstructed:** here also in the moral sense, as in v. 1. The verb answers to the Hebrew יסר, and the common rendering of יסר and מוסר in the LXX. is παιδεύω and παιδεία. **But a city shall be upbuilt** [in the sense of "flourishing"] **through the** (good) **understanding of those in authority.**

4. *in the hand of the Lord* (is) *the* **dominion** *of the* (whole) *earth.*] In the LXX. ἐξουσία is the word used for ממשלה and the Chald. שלטן. Hence it must here be rendered by "dominion" or "rule." **"And him who is serviceable** [profitable, useful for fulfilling God's purpose] **will he raise up** in due time **upon it"** (upon the earth).

5. *In the hand of* **the Lord** *is the prosperity of a man.*] *I.e.* his success—here probably the promotion of an individual to power. And not only does God so promote him, but He afterwards sustains and invests him with His own authority. Instead of "scribe," rather **officer** or **ruler;** the word γραμματεύς here being not the scribe in the ordinary Jewish sense, but the equivalent for שׁטר, "officer" (as in Ex. v. and otherwise), which word is in the LXX. of the Pentateuch always rendered by γραμματεύς, or (in Deut.) by a compound of it.

6. Transition to the next subject. The fate of rulers and kingdoms is connected with the state of the people.

every wrong.] Rather, **any wrong.**

and do not anything at all in works of violence.] Probably in the sense: when violence is wrought against thee. This rather than that a person should not resent wrong by violence.

7. *Hateful before God and before men is pride.*] The next line is difficult, and we render it with some hesitation: **and according to both** (*i.e.* in the judgment both of God and man, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων) **it** (pride)

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8 Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is translated from one people to another.

9 Why is earth and ashes proud? There is not a more wicked thing than a covetous man: for such an one setteth his own soul to sale; because while he liveth he casteth away his bowels.

10 The physician cutteth off a long disease; and he that is to day a king to morrow shall die.

11 For when a man is dead, he shall inherit [c]creeping things, beasts, and worms. B. C. cir. 200.

12 The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker. [c] Isai. 14. 11.

13 For pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it shall pour out abomination: and therefore the Lord brought upon them strange calamities, and overthrew them utterly.

14 [d] The Lord hath cast down the thrones of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead. [d] 1 Sam. 2. 8. Luke 1. 52.

shall commit wrong [offend wrong]. Bretschneider regards the ἐξ as = ἔναντι. Grotius would read εἰς ἀμφοτέρους; but this is to cut rather than unravel the knot. Pride is not only hateful before God and men, but it issues in what is wrong according to God and man.

8. This idea is now further developed: "Because of **unrighteousness, violence, and wrongly gotten wealth**" (greed of wealth?). Such are the moral reasons which by the judgment of God and through the instrumentality of men lead to national decline.

9. All the calamities mentioned in *v.* 8 are really the consequences of that pride to which *v.* 7 refers. But for such pride there is assuredly no reason. "Why is earth and ashes proud?"—what is it proud of? The next two clauses in the A. V. ("There is not . . . soul to sale") must be omitted. Their place is, if anywhere, at the close of *v.* 8. The last line is, if we rightly understand it, not only realistic, but coarse. The question what man has to be proud of is answered by this ironical suggestion: **for in life** [while he liveth] **he casts out** [or according to the other reading: **I cast out?**] **his bowels.** Lindius, "ἐῤῥιψα pro ἔῤῥιψε ut in pluribus codicibus." Alex., 157, 248, Co., ἔῤῥιψαν; Vetus Lat., Orig., *projecit*; but most modern critics adopt the Vat. reading ἔῤῥιψα, "I cast out." The rendering of Fritzsche seems farfetched: "For in life [while he liveth] I have cast down [upset, shaken] his inward organism." Syr.: *cujus latera, dum vivit, vermes perrepunt.* Arab.: *e quo vermes scaturiunt dum vivit.* These variations shew at least the difficulty of the passage. It is not impossible that, as has been suggested, the Greek depends on a misreading of the original Hebrew: רמה, *jacere, dejicere*, for רמם, *tabescere.* Yet, on the whole, the rendering proposed (which refers to the ordinary *fluxus corporis*) seems to us the most likely.

10. *a long disease*, **the physician jokes.**] This either in the sense that he ironically refers to it as such, or else that he speaks of it lightly, as a long disease or weakness; while in truth he who to-day is a king will even to-morrow be dead. This would give good sense. But the Syr. clearly shews us not only what the original bore, but how the error in the Greek version arose. The Syr. has in the first clause: "To-day he walks," instead of the Greek: "to-day a king." As pointed out by Mr. Margoliouth, the Hebrew was יְהַלֵּךְ or יְלֵךְ, "he walketh," which the Greek misread מֶלֶךְ, "a king." The correct rendering of *v.* 10 *b* is therefore: **Yea, he walketh to-day, and to-morrow he shall die.**

11. Such shall be his portion. This and *v.* 10 *b* has been erroneously regarded as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. vi. 8, 9; 2 Macc. ix. 9), and hence as a later, spurious addition. But the restoration of 10 *b* from the Syr. leaves no room for such a conjecture.

12. The verse opens the stanza (*vv.* 12–17), which treats specially of pride, and more particularly of national pride, as appears from *vv.* 14–17. Indeed, pride had all along been the subject of moralising. Comp. *v.* 7. In *v.* 12 the source of pride is pointed out.

13. The better reading is: **For the beginning of pride is sin.** The reading of the A. V. is that of 248, Co., Syr., Chrysost.

strange calamities.] Rather, **unexpected, unwonted, marvellous.** The verb (παραδοξάζω) stands in LXX. Deut. xxviii. 59 for הפלא, and the word generally bears this meaning in the LXX., whether *sensu bono* or *malo.*

14. The verse points out the final issue, and at the same time accounts for the extraordinary calamities referred to in *v.* 13. Omit "proud," and in the second clause "up."

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15 The Lord hath plucked up the roots of the proud nations, and planted the lowly in their place.

16 The Lord overthrew countries of the heathen, and destroyed them to the foundations of the earth.

17 He took some of them away, and destroyed them, and hath made their memorial to cease from the earth.

18 Pride was not made for men, nor furious anger for them that are born of a woman.

19 They that fear the Lord are a sure seed, and they that love him an honourable plant: they that regard not the law are a dishonourable seed; they that transgress the commandments are a ‖deceivable seed.

‖ Or, *unstable generation.*

20 Among brethren he that is chief is honourable; so are they that fear the Lord in his eyes.

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21 The fear of the Lord goeth before ‖the obtaining of authority: but roughness and pride is the losing thereof.

‖ Or, *principality.*

22 Whether he be rich, noble, or poor, their glory is the fear of the Lord.

23 It is not meet to despise the poor man that hath understanding; neither is it convenient to magnify a sinful man.

24 Great men, and judges, and potentates, shall be honoured; yet is there none of them greater than he that feareth the Lord.

25 [e] Unto the servant that is wise shall they that are free do service: [e] Prov. 17. 2.

16. *countries of the heathen.*] Rather, **lands of nations.** But the Syr. here offers a more correct translation, at least in *v.* 15. It reads in *v.* 15, instead of "nations," and in *v.* 16, instead of "the heathen," "the proud," which suits the context better. The Syr. may have vocalised גַּיִם and the Greek גֵּיִם—or more probably the one read גַּאִים, the other גּוֹיִם. The Syr. rendering is supported by 248 and the Vet. Lat. in *v.* 15, but not in *v.* 16.

17. *He took some of them away.*] Thus, if we read with A.C.S., when we may either read with the Compl. ἐξ αὐτῶν or correct αὐτούς (as A.S.[2] and six other Codd. C. has αὐτάς). The Vat. has ἐξήρανεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, "he made waste," dry, "some of them" = הֶחֱרִיב, יְבֵשׁ (Fritzsche). In that case the reference in the next clause, **he destroyed them** (αὐτούς), would be to the inhabitants. On the whole, this gives the better meaning.

18. This verse begins Part II., with manifest, though somewhat loose, reference to what had before been said of nations.

not made.] Lit., "not created"—pride is personified. The outcome of it is: "furious anger" (passionate anger).

of a woman.] Rather, **of women.**

19. The A. V. here follows the Compl. and 248, probably representing what originally had been a marginal gloss. In its place must be substituted from the Alex. and Vat. (also in part quoted by Orig. 'c. Cels.' viii. 50): **What generation** [lit. "seed," זֶרַע] **is honoured? The generation of man. What generation is honoured? They that fear the Lord. What generation is unhonoured? The generation of man. What generation is unhonoured? They that transgress the commandments.** Thus man may either attain to high dignity or the opposite, according to his relation towards God.

20. **In the midst of** [among] brethren, he that is chief **among them** [their chief] is **honoured.**

in his eyes.] *i.e.* in the eyes of God.

21. This verse (found in 106, 248, Co., at the end of *v.* 20) must be omitted.

22. Whatever the outward condition of a man, that which alone constitutes glory is the fear of God. This is shewn in detail in the following verses (23–25). Indeed, the connexion of *v.* 22 with the next stanza is so close that it is not easy to separate them.

23. This verse follows as a corollary from *v.* 22. "Meet" = right, righteous.

a sinful man.] Lit. **a man, a sinner.** Drusius thinks the use of the word "man" (ἄνδρα) indicates a rich man [so also the Syr.], since people generally hold a rich man in honour, though he be a sinner. But perhaps we should not confine the idea to wealth, but extend it to all those outward distinctions to which men pay regard, irrespective of character and conduct. He is but a man, and as such must be judged according to *v.* 22. "Understanding," in the true sense, as opposed to "sin."

25. *wise.*] In the same sense as "understanding" in *v.* 23: "Will not grudge:" rather, **will not murmur** (the verb occurs

and he that hath knowledge *f* will not grudge when he is reformed.

26 Be not overwise in doing thy business; and boast not thyself in the time of thy distress.

27 *g* Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself, and wanteth bread.

28 My son, glorify thy soul in meekness, and give it honour according to the dignity thereof.

29 Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will honour him that dishonoureth his own life?

30 The poor man is honoured for his skill, and the rich man is honoured for his riches.

31 He that is honoured in poverty, how much more in riches? and he that is dishonourable in riches, how much more in poverty?

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f 2 Sam. 12. 13. Prov. 15. 5.

g Prov. 12. 9.

CHAPTER XI.

4 *We may not vaunt or set forth ourselves,* 8 *nor answer rashly,* 10 *nor meddle with many matters.* 14 *Wealth and all things else are from God.* 24 *Brag not of thy wealth,* 29 *nor bring every man into thy house.*

WISDOM lifteth up the head ‖ of him that is of low degree, and *a* maketh him to sit among great men.

‖ Or, *of the lowly.*

a Gen. 41. 40. Dan. 6. 3.

2 Commend not a man for his

seven times in the N. T.). The words "when he is reformed," although occurring in the Syr. and Vet. Lat., should be omitted. Comp. Prov. xvii. 2.

26. Another species of pride. It probably refers to a man who imagines himself superior to doing his own plain work—too wise or clever for it—and afterwards claims merit and piety when failure and distress supervene. For "be not overwise" the Syr. has "be not slow," which the Vet. Lat. reproduces, although in the second clause [for "boast not thyself," which it transfers into the first clause].

28. honour *thy soul.*] Honour thyself—proper self-esteem.

dignity.] Rather, **worth.**

29. The sinning here referred to springs from want of proper self-esteem, from undue self-depreciation.

30, 31. See introductory remarks to the chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

The previous chapter had suggested the contrast between the seeming and the real—appearance and fact. This is the subject of ch. xi., the moral being to avoid rashness and inconsiderate judgment in regard to what we see (*vv.* 2–6), what we hear (*vv.* 7–9), and what we do (*vv.* 10–13). This concludes Part I. In it the writer had already by implication pointed to the Lord as the only Source of all good—He whose giving alone bestows what is real. This forms now the theme of Part II. (beginning with *v.* 14). The argument may be thus summarised: Not the appearance of *outward* possessions, but the judgment of the Lord (*vv.* 14–21); not the *present* and immediate sequences—that which appears—but the final arbitrament as determined by God (*vv.* 22–24), when there shall be a final adjustment of things (*vv.* 25–28), and that which before God was all along the real shall also outwardly be experienced and become apparent. The last stanza, beginning with *v.* 29, seems more naturally to belong to ch. xii., unless indeed we were to consider it as another *species* of that which presents itself to us in outward life, and in regard to which we require to be warned. Thus the chapter would consist of two parts, each of thirteen verses (as *vv.* 15 and 16 in Part II. must be omitted). Part I. would comprise three stanzas (*vv.* 1–6, $3\times2+4+2\times2$ lines; *vv.* 7–9, 3×2 lines; *vv.* 10–13, alternately 4, 2 and 4, 2 lines). Part II. would be similar in its arrangement, having also three stanzas (*vv.* 14–21, omitting *vv.* 15, 16 in the A. V., or $3\times2+4+2+4$ lines; *vv.* 22–24, 3×2 lines; *vv.* 25–28, 4×2 lines). The last stanza in the chapter (*vv.* 29–34) we prefer regarding as part of chap. xii.

1. This verse seems really to belong to the previous chapter, but it may have been placed at the beginning of chap. xi. as an apt introduction. The better reading of the first clause is no doubt the Alex. [also C. S. (X), 248, and seven other Codd.], which has *αὐτοῦ* after *κεφαλήν*. Translate: **The wisdom of the humble** [modest] **shall lift up his head, and make him to sit** *among great men.* There are so many Rabbinic sayings to the same effect that this sentiment may be almost regarded as a Jewish axiom.

2. *Commend not.*] Praise not, make not much of him. The writer had probably 1 Sam. xvi. 7 in view. For the Vat. reading *αἰνέσεις* we must certainly adopt the Alex. (supported by many others) *αἰνέσῃς*. "His

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beauty; neither abhor a man for his outward appearance.

3 The bee is little among such as fly; but her fruit is the chief of sweet things.

[b] Acts 12. 21.

4 [b]Boast not of thy clothing and raiment, and exalt not thyself in the day of honour: for [c]the works of the Lord are wonderful, and his works among men are hidden.

[c] Ps. 139. 14.

‖ Gr. *tyrants.*

5 Many ‖kings have sat down upon the ground; and one that was never thought of hath worn the crown.

[d] 1 Sam. 15. 28. Esther 7. 10.

6 [d]Many mighty men have been greatly disgraced; and the honourable delivered into other men's hands.

[e] Deut. 13. 14. & 17. 6, 7.

7 [e]Blame not before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke.

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[f] Prov. 18. 13.

8 [f]Answer not before thou hast heard the cause: neither interrupt men in the midst of their talk.

[g] Ps. 1. 1.

‖ Or, *in the judgment of sinners.*

9 Strive not in a matter that concerneth thee not; and [g]sit not ‖in judgment with sinners.

‖ Or, *escape hurt.*

10 My son, meddle not with many matters: for if thou meddle much, thou shalt not be innocent; and if thou follow after, thou shalt not obtain, neither shalt thou ‖escape by fleeing.

[h] Prov. 10. 3. Matt. 19. 22. 1 Tim. 6. 9.

11 [h]There is one that laboureth, and taketh pains, and maketh haste, and is so much the more behind.

12 Again, there is another that is

outward appearance;" *i.e.* because of its unattractive character.

3. Before μέλισσα the article should be inserted, with C, H, and many authorities. (Comp. Chrysost., 'Hom. 20 in Eph. v.')

4. Boast not in the putting on of clothes.] Or else, as in the A.V., "of thy clothing and raiment." The reference is to outward prosperity. The Syr. very curiously renders the first two lines: "deride not him who is dressed in rags, nor despise him whose throat is bitter." If the latter sentiment seems Hebraic, the former is scarcely in accordance with Jewish thought. Indeed a Rabbinic work (comp. Zunz, 'Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 104) quotes as from Ben Sira the following sentence (found also in 'Der. er. Z.' towards the end of the last ch.): "The adornment (splendour) of God is man; the adornment of man is his dress." And this agrees with many Rabbinic sayings in which attention to dress is enjoined on the sages. Lines *c* and *d* give the reason for the warning in lines *a* and *b*. God may send sudden reversal in punishment of our pride, or else the prosperity of which we boasted may be only apparent and temporary. Verses 5 and 6 carry out this idea.

7, 8. Before thou blamest, examine [omit "the truth"]: **consider** *first.*] This perhaps rather than "understand first." In Babha B. 98 *b*, we find the following as a quotation from the book of Ben Sira [the last clause in it we italicise to mark the quotation from Ecclus. xi. 8 *b*]: "Everything have I weighed in the balances, and I have not found anything lighter than bran (סוּבִין, the husks which fall off from the flour in the mill), yet lighter than bran the bridegroom who lives in the house of his father-in-law; and lighter than such bridegroom a guest who brings a guest; and lighter than such guest he who returns answer before he has heard, *and interrupt not in the middle of a discourse*" [speech]. Comp. Prov. xviii. 13.

9. of *sinners.*] That is, where sinners sit in judgment.

10. From rashness as to what we see and hear the writer proceeds to rashness in what we undertake and do.

Son, **let not thy deeds** [undertakings, aims] **be about many things.**] The A.V. gives the sense correctly.

for if thou **completest.**] That is, if thou art successful. This seems to suit the sense and context better than "if thou multiply;" viz. if thou engage in many pursuits. The alternative would be: success and failure are here to be equally deprecated. Success will involve what is morally blameworthy; failure will be disastrous.

if thou pursuest [seekest after, followest after, viz. these various objects], **thou shalt not overtake** [seize, catch]; **and if thou runnest away, thou shalt not escape.**] Viz., blame, or else damage. Success involves guilt, the pursuit will lead to failure, and even if abandoned it will involve damage.

11. This verse further illustrates the latter part of *v.* 10, while *vv.* 12, 13 refer to the first two lines in *v.* 10, shewing, in opposition to that haste after many things which involves guilt, that the blessing of God enricheth and exalteth those who are apparently not prosperous but pious and content to wait upon God. Verse 11 reads better by omitting the word "one." It tells us that speed is not success.

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slow, and hath need of help, wanting ability, and full of poverty; [i] yet the eye of the Lord looked upon him for good, and set him up from his low estate,

[i] Job 42. 10.

13 And lifted up his head from misery; so that many that saw it marvelled at him.

14 [k] Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord.

[k] 1 Sam. 2. 7. Job 1. 21. Ezek. 28. 4, &c.

15 Wisdom, knowledge, and understanding of the law, are of the Lord: love, and the way of good works, are from him.

16 Error and darkness had their beginning together with sinners: and evil shall wax old with them that glory therein.

17 The gift of the Lord remaineth with the godly, and his favour bringeth prosperity for ever.

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18 There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this is the portion of his reward:

19 Whereas he saith, [l] I have found rest, and now will eat continually of my goods; and *yet* he knoweth not what time shall ‖ come upon him, and that [m] he must leave those things to others, and die.

[l] Luke 12. 19.

‖ Or, *pass.*

[m] Ps. 49. 10. ch. 14. 4.

20 [n] Be stedfast in thy covenant, and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work.

[n] Matt. 10. 22.

21 Marvel not at the works of sinners; but trust in the Lord, and abide in thy labour: for it is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord on the sudden to make a poor man rich.

12. On the other hand, "**There is that is** slow and hath need of help, **is inferior in strength and aboundeth in poverty,**" &c. It seems a mistake to regard (with Fritzsche) the person here described as one who is idle or wanting in energy. Such an one could not be represented as receiving Divine help—the argument is not in support of fatalism, but intended to shew the superiority of moral worth.

yet.] Rather, **and.**

13. Omit "from misery," and again, "that saw it;" translate the last clause: **and many marvelled at him.**

14, 17. Here begins Part II., which presents the other aspect: so to speak, the Divine view-point. In *v.* 14 the general principle is laid down; in *v.* 17 it is added that what God so giveth [or else His "good will" and "good pleasure;" see i. 10] to the godly is not merely seeming and transient, as is the prosperity of the wicked, but abiding. (*Verses* 15 *and* 16, *which are wanting in all the best MSS.*, and disturbing, *must be omitted, although occurring in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat.*)

18–21. These verses contain an antithesis —two verses (18, 19: 2 + 4 lines) concerning the rich fool being opposed to two other verses concerning the poor who is pious (20, 21: 2+4 lines).

19. The A. V. and commentators close *v.* 18 with a colon, and regard *v.* 19 as indicating what is "the portion of his reward." But we would suggest that *v.* 18 closes with a full stop, and that *v.* 19 constitutes a separate sentence, complete in itself. Probably the Hebrew original, as has been suggested, bore: בְּאָמְרוֹ . . . וְלֹא יָדַע—a well-known Hebrew construction (for the instances of this use of בְּ see 'Noldii Concord. Partic.'). The translator rendered the Hebrew באמרו . . . ולא literally, ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν . . . καὶ οὐκ. The Hebraism ἐν τῷ with infinitive is of frequent occurrence in the N. T. (see Vorstius, 'de Hebraism. N. T.' c. xxxii.). It is also met with in our book (Ecclus. iv. 9, vii. 9, x. 11, xlvi. 5). The meaning is: **While** [or **although**] **he saith** (viz. in his heart) . . . **and now will eat of my good things, and knoweth not** [or **yet knoweth not**—καί for δέ] **what time shall pass.** Comp. our Lord's parable of the rich fool (St. Luke xii. 16, &c.). Similar sentiments are expressed in Rabbinic writings. Thus in the Midr. on Eccles. i. 4: "In this world one man builds a house and another inhabits it, one planteth a garden and another eateth the fruit thereof." Comp. also the Midr. on Eccles. ii. 1.

20. *thy covenant.*] Viz. with the Lord. Grotius here rightly reminds us of Neh. ix. 38.

and have thy conversation in it (ὁμιλεῖν, Schleusner = התהלך; for the use of the word, see LXX. Prov. xxiii. 31).] Do thy work quietly and godly to old age.

21. *Marvel not, &c.*] Either in the sense of marvelling at what a sinner doeth, so as to be disturbed in the quiet pursuit of duty or in the stedfastness of faith; or else: marvel not at the success of his works. According to the better reading, the last

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22 The blessing of the Lord is ‖ in the reward of the godly, and suddenly he maketh his blessing to flourish.

‖ Or, *for a reward.*

23 Say not, [e] What profit is there of my service? and what good things shall I have hereafter?

[e] Mal. 3. 14.

24 Again, say not, I have enough, and possess many things, and what evil can come to me hereafter?

25 In the day of prosperity there is a forgetfulness of affliction: and in the day of affliction there is no more remembrance of prosperity.

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26 For it is an easy thing unto the Lord in the day of death to reward a man according to his ways.

27 The affliction of an hour maketh a man forget pleasure: and in his end his deeds shall be discovered.

28 Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children.

clause must be rendered: "**quickly of a sudden** to make a poor man rich."—The moral of this verse can scarcely be considered elevated.

22. *The blessing of the Lord is* **for reward.**] Or more simply, **is the reward.** The Hebrew had here no doubt בְּ, which was literally translated by *ἐν*. For this use of בְּ, see Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 217 *f* and § 299 *b*.

suddenly.] Literally, **in a swift hour.** It has been suggested (by Mr. Margoliouth) that the Hebrew original had in both lines the word חֶפְיָן, "the blessing of the Lord his blessing;" but that there was a mistake in translating the second חפין by *εὐλογία*, and referring it to God. In that case the word would have been used in the sense of "business," "undertaking," "endeavour." In fact there would be a play on the word חפין, and the meaning of the Hebrew original would have been: **The blessing of the Lord for reward** (in reward) **of the godly, and rapidly He maketh his** (the man's) **business** (undertaking) **to flourish.** This seems to accord with the previous verse. On the arrangement of this (*vv.* 22–24) and the following stanza (*vv.* 25–28), see the introductory remarks. The Syr. omits *vv.* 22–27 *b*.

23. *Say not, What* **need have I?**] The tempting suggestion that the Hebrew original rendered by *τίς ἐστί μου χρεία* may have been מַה חֶפְיָן, is forbidden by the circumstance that although the LXX. twice render חפין, "pleasure," *desiderium*, by *χρεία* (Jer. xxii. 28, xlviii. 38), yet the uniform use in the Book of Sirach is different. It occurs in it nineteen times—seventeen times in the sense of "need," only once (xxxii. 2, or rather xxxv. 2) in the sense of "business" (work), and once doubtfully so (iii. 22). We therefore feel constrained to adopt the common usage of the word. The words in the A. V. "in my service" must be omitted.

and what good things shall I have **from now?**] *I.e.* in the immediate present.

24. Similarly the opposite extreme must be avoided. "Say not, I have **what is sufficient:** and what evil **shall befall me from now?**"—in the immediate present. Omit the words in the A. V., "and possess many things."

25. If in the previous verses the author displayed a considerable knowledge of human nature, his philosophy is weak and his theology poor in the last stanza (*vv.* 25–28), which gives a kind of general summary and application of the teachings of this chapter. Past sufferings will be forgotten by the righteous when prosperity cometh, and the opposite will be the case with the wicked. In his displeasure at not being invited to a feast, a Rabbi is said to have written to his colleague on the day of his son's marriage: "After all thy joy, death; and what advantage hast thou then of thy joy?" (Midr. on Eccles. i. 3.) And it was a common saying that a man did not depart out of this world till he had had at least half of his wishes (*u. s.* i. 13). Some retribution would come in the end to the wicked. None therefore was to be pronounced blessed before his death.

28. **and in his children shall a man be known.**] That is, either generally his punishment would overtake him in the fate of his children, or else, even if he should die unpunished, yet his character will appear in his children and his punishment in their punishment. The Rabbis express similar notions as to sins of the parents leading to physical and moral consequences in their children; while, on the other hand, it was a common saying that before the sun of one righteous person set that of another rose. This was said with reference to the birth of pious sons on the day that a pious father died (Midr. on Eccles. i. 5). The curious idea also prevailed that a son is commonly like his maternal uncle (Baba B. 110 *a*. In general, as to children being morally either like or unlike their parents, see Midr. Shir Hash. 1 *a*, *b*). But, apart from all this, what most painfully impresses us in *vv.* 25–28 is the marked absence of any reference to another life.

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29 Bring not every man into thine house: for the deceitful man hath many trains.

30 Like as a partridge taken [and kept] in a cage, so is the heart of the proud; and like as a spy, watcheth he for thy fall:

31 For he lieth in wait, and turneth good into evil, and in things worthy praise will lay blame upon thee.

32 Of a spark of fire a heap of coals is kindled: and a sinful man layeth wait for blood.

33 Take heed of a mischievous man, for he worketh wickedness; lest he bring upon thee a perpetual blot.

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34 Receive a stranger into thine house, and he will disturb thee, and turn thee out of thine own.

CHAPTER XII.

2 *Be not liberal to the ungodly.* 10 *Trust not thine enemy, nor the wicked.*

WHEN thou wilt do good, [a] know to whom thou doest

[a] Matt. 5. 6.

29. With this verse chap. xii. manifestly begins. The first line is quoted in the Talmud (Yeb. 63 *b*; Sanh. 100 *b*) as from the book of the Son of Sira: "Exclude many from within thy house, and bring not every one to thy house." With this may be compared this other saying: "Never let a man multiply (let him not have many) intimate friends in his house" (Ber. 63 *a*; Sanh. 100 *b*). The second clause should be rendered: **for many are the wiles** (*insidiæ*) **of the deceitful.** For δολίου, 106, 248, Co. read διαβόλου—a strange gloss.

30. The mention of tricks and wiles leads up to what seems in its present form an un-Jewish simile, since, although Aristotle speaks of it ('Hist. An.' ix. 8), we cannot recall any Jewish reference to the training of partridges as decoys. The first clause should be rendered: **A decoy-partridge in a basket.** Κάρταλλος occurs in four passages in the LXX., each time representing a different Hebrew word, but all meaning "basket." The word has also passed into Rabbinic writings as קַרְטִיל and קַרְטָלִיתָא (Babha Mets. 42 *a*; Babha B., 74 *a*; and in Ber. R. 60, Vayy. R. 25). [Bochart—'Hieroz.' Part II., b. i., ch. 13—has a whole chapter on this verse in Ecclus.]

so *the heart of the proud* [ὑπερήφανος, in the O. T. sense of proud = wicked (just as "meek" = pious) answering to the Hebrew זד or נאה; indeed our verse seems based on Ps. cxl. (LXX. cxxxix.) 5, where the LXX. so render גאים]; **and as the spy that watcheth** [looketh out] **with a view to** (for) **the fall** (ἐπιβλέπει).] As already stated, the illustration is based on Ps. cxl. 5, 6.

31. *And* **on** *things worthy* **of** *praise—choice* [excellent] *things*—**will he put a blemish.**] He will affix to them, find in them a blemish, μῶμος, the מוּם of the Levitical law (and otherwise in the O. T.), *maculam*. If even in the O. T. the word was used to indicate a moral spot or blemish (Job xi. 15; xxxi. 7), it is frequently so applied by the Rabbis, as in the following appropriate saying: "he that is proud is one who has a blemish" (בעל מום הוא), Meg. 29 *a*.—The Syr. has instead of this a different verse.

33. *Take heed of* **an evildoer,** *for he worketh wickedness.*] In the sense of *struo* or *machinor;* not so much as regards his own conduct, but what he deviseth and prepareth.

34. *Receive a stranger* [rather: **take a stranger,** viz. to live with thee]: . . . *and he will* **distract thee with disturbances and estrange** [alienate] **thee from** *thine own*—from thine own family. This construction—rather than "turn thee out of thine own," viz. property—accords with the context, and is established by its occurrence in Jos. 'Ant.' iv. 1, 1 (about the middle). There is evidently here a word-play between the ἀλλότριος, "the stranger," whom we are not to take into our house, and its consequence, that he will make us a stranger to our family: ἀπαλλοτριώσει σε τῶν ἰδίων σου.

CHAPTER XII.

The chapter with which, as previously stated, the concluding stanza of ch. xi. should have been joined, treats of our dealings with others. Ch. xii., as in our A. V., consists of three stanzas, each of six verses, which may be roughly headed as follows: To whom to do good, and to whom not to do it (stanza 1, vv. 1–6); the reasons for this advice (stanza 2, vv. 7–12); the consequences of neglecting such advice (stanza 3, vv. 13–18). Each of the first two stanzas might be headed, Give unto the good; and stanza 3, If thou doest otherwise, thou wilt have thyself only to blame. Lastly, each of the three stanzas may be subdivided into two shorter stanzas, each of three verses, which respectively mark progression in thought.

1. This verse forms a general introductory

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it; so shalt thou be thanked for thy benefits.

2 Do good to the godly man, and thou shalt find a recompence; and if not from him, yet from the most High.

3 There can no good come to him that is always occupied in evil, nor to him that giveth no alms.

4 Give to the godly man, and help not a sinner.

5 Do well unto him that is lowly, but give not to the ungodly: hold back thy bread, and give it not unto him, lest he overmaster thee thereby: for [else] thou shalt receive twice as much evil for all the good thou shalt have done unto him.

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6 For the most High hateth sinners, and will repay vengeance unto the ungodly, and keepeth them against the mighty day of their punishment.

7 Give unto the good, and help not the sinner.

8 A friend cannot be known in

statement—as it were, the text. Instead of the first clause, "When thou wilt do good, *know*," &c., the Syr. has: "If thou doest good to one who is *evil*, thou doest nothing" —evidently a confusion of רע and דע. **And there will be thanks for thy benefits**—*beneficia*, "good doings."

3. The meaning of this verse is extremely difficult, and we may conjecture that either the Greek translator did not properly understand the Hebrew original, or that by an attempted literalism he clumsily rendered it into Greek. In either case our commentation must be somewhat conjectural.

There are not benefits [perhaps גמולים טובים, or else חסדים—in the sense that there is not room for them, they are not in place, hence they should not be shewn] (in regard) **to him who is continuous in evil** [perhaps מתמיד ברע, or else מסתכל ברע, in the later usage of that word], *nor* [in regard] *to him* **who** (himself) **bestoweth not** *alms*.] The original may have had מישלם, which bears the twofold meaning of bestowing and retributing (the older Siracide viewing it in the latter, the younger Siracide taking it in the former sense); or it may have been גָּמֵיל חֶסֶד, or even מישלם גמול—for all these expressions occur, while in Rabbinic thought צדקה וגמילות חסדים are always most closely connected.

4. This verse presents a sad contrast to the words of our Lord, St. Matt. v. 42–48. But the saying of the Son of Sirach is entirely in accordance with Rabbinic views. It occurs in the so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' in the following form: "Do not good to the evil, and evil shall not befall thee" (comp. Paul Fagius, 'Sent. mor. Ben Syræ,' c. comment. ix.). It is also found as a proverb in several of the Midrashim (Ber. R. 22; Vayy. R. 22; Midr. on Eccles. v. 9) in the form just cited, and also in the following: "If thou doest good to the evil, thou hast done evil." In the Midr. on Eccles. v. 9 it occurs (among a number of legendary illustrations) in connexion with the story of a man who, having seen a bird restoring another to life by means of a certain herb, took it with the view of raising the dead in Palestine. By the way he saw a dead fox, on whom he made successful experiment of his herb. But when he afterwards applied the same cure to a dead lion, the latter straightway rent him in pieces. —In the Syr. *vv.* 4 and 5 are inverted.

5. *Do well.*] Rather, **do good.**

lowly.] In the moral sense = pious.

hold back.] Probably the Hebrew מנע, as Fritzsche suggests.

thy bread.] Rather, **his bread**, but in the sense of "the bread which thou givest him." "Bread" is here used in the sense of sustenance or support, like the Heb. לחם. The meaning of *v.* 5*c* seems to be: lest by giving him assistance thou furnish him only with the means of injuring thee; and then the consequences will be as described in clauses *d* and *e*. Bretschneider regards *vv.* 5–7 as a later addition, chiefly because *v.* 7 repeats *v.* 4. But each of these verses begins a new stanza and serves as text to it, and the repetition in *v.* 7 only renders the advice more emphatic.

6. *For.*] Rather, **For also**; a vindication of the sentiment expressed in *v.* 5, very different in spirit from Rom. xii. 19–21. The last part of the verse in the A. V. (beginning with "and keepeth," &c.) must be omitted.

7. Another stanza begins with the same heading as the former (*v.* 4).

8. *A friend cannot be* **tested.**] The A. V. adopts the rendering of the Vet. Lat. *agnoscetur*, the reading being ἐπιγνωσθήσεται, with 106, 253; the Alex. has ἐμβληθήσεται. But there is no occasion for departing from the

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prosperity: and an enemy cannot be hidden in adversity.

9 In the prosperity of a man enemies will be grieved: but in his adversity even a friend will depart.

10 Never trust thine enemy: for like as ‖ iron rusteth, so is his wickedness.

‖ Or, *brass.*

11 Though he humble himself, and go crouching, yet take good heed and beware of him, and thou shalt be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a lookingglass, and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away.

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12 Set him not by thee, lest, when he hath overthrown thee, he stand up in thy place; neither let him sit at thy right hand, lest he seek to take thy seat, and thou at the last remember my words, and be pricked therewith.

13 Who will pity a charmer that is bitten with a serpent, or any such as come nigh wild beasts?

14 So one that goeth to a sinner, and is ‖ defiled with him in his sins, who will pity?

‖ Or, *mingled.*

Vat. reading, *ἐκδικηθήσεται*. We feel convinced that the Hebrew word so rendered was דרש, which the LXX. render by *ἐκδικέω* in Deut. xviii. 19. In our passage the Heb. word would be used in the sense of "search out," "test," "prove." Comp. the similar use of *δικαιωθείς* in Aesch. 'Ag.' 393. For "cannot" in both clauses, rather **shall not.**

9. *enemies will be grieved.*] Rather, **his enemies are in sorrow.** For the second clause comp. Prov. xix. 4, 7.

will depart.] Rather, **will separate himself.** There seems little doubt that the original had מרעהו יפרד, as in Prov. xix. 4, which must be rendered: "but the poor—his friend separateth himself." (The R. V. misses the meaning alike in text and margin; comp. Nowack *ad loc.*)

10. Rather, **for as the bronze is covered with rust** [= contracteth rust; Vet. Lat. *aeruginat*], **so his wickedness,** viz. contracteth evil. Wahl (after Bretschneider): *sic malitia ejus semper nova mala parit.*

11. The construction and meaning, especially of the last clause, are somewhat difficult. In any case the Greek cannot be rendered as in the A. V., "and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away." We propose translating the verse: **And though he humble himself and go crouching, take heed to thyself** [the Greek expression = שית לב] **and beware of him** [Bissell], **and be in regard to him as one that hath wiped a mirror, and thou shalt know that it is not always tarnished**—*κατίωσε* or *κατίωται*, as in St. Jas. v. 3, which we would also render "is tarnished." The meaning is: if thou take heed, and wipe the mirror, thou wilt get a true reflexion, and thus experience that it does not always give a false image and representation. The Hebrew original probably had כי לא לנצח חלאה. The word חלא occurs as a substantive חֶלְאָה in Ezek. xxiv. 6, 11; and although it is commonly rendered "rust," its primary meaning is "tarnishing," "dirt" (comp. 'Castelli Lexic.' i. 1133, and especially Pagninus, 'Thes.' 704, 705). Accordingly the Targum renders the word in Ezek. by זְיהוּמְתָּא (= זוהמה, זיהומה) from זהם, "to be dirty," "to defile," "to dirty" (one of the derivat. is used of the manuring of plants: comp. generally Levy *ad voc.*). In later Hebrew "to be rusty" is חלד, and חלודה, "rust." Without prolonging this discussion, we venture to think that the simile of the Son of Sirach gives an apt meaning according to our rendering of it, whereas it would be well-nigh unintelligible if we were to adopt the common interpretation: that it [the mirror] does not cover itself to the last with rust. We scarcely require to add that the mirror was of polished metal. [The Syr. has here some strange variants.]

12. *Set him not* **up beside thyself,** *lest when he hath overthrown thee he* **set himself up in thy position.**] *τόπος*, here condition in society, dignity.

seat him not at thy right hand [Bissell] —[give him not the place of honour], **lest he seek thy chair** [*καθέδρα*, the seat of honour], **and at the last thou come to recognise** [know the truth of] **my sayings, and thou be afflicted** [Wahl, *acri dolore afficior*, either והתעצב, as in LXX. Gen. xxxiv. 7, or נכאה, as in Ps. cix. (cviii.) 16] **over my words.**] That is, because thou hast neglected them.

14. With this verse begins the third double stanza (see introd. to the chapter). The verb is continued in *v.* 14, which reads: "So (who will pity) **him that goeth unto a sinner, and is mingled up** (with him) **in his sins.**" As in the case mentioned in *v.* 13, so here: a man has himself to blame

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15 For awhile he will abide with thee, but if thou begin to fall, he will not tarry.

16 An enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips, but in his heart he imagineth how to throw thee into a pit: he will [b] weep with his eyes, but if he find opportunity, he will not be satisfied with blood.

[b] Jer. 41. 6.

17 If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first; and though he pretend to help thee, yet shall he [‖] undermine thee.

‖ Or, *supplant.*

18 He will shake his head, and clap his hands, and whisper much, and change his countenance.

CHAPTER XIII.

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1 *Keep not company with the proud, or a mightier than thyself.* 15 *Like will to like.* 21 *The difference between the rich and the poor.* 25 *A man's heart will change his countenance.*

HE that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith; and [a] he that hath fellowship with a proud man shall be like unto him.

[a] Deut. 7. 2.

2 Burden not thyself above thy power while thou livest; and have no fellowship with one that is mightier and richer than thyself: for how agree the kettle and the earthen pot together? [‖] for if the one be smitten against the other, it shall be broken.

‖ Gr. *this shall smite against it, and be broken.*

for the consequences, if he deliberately goes into such dangers.

15. *For awhile.*] For a brief time.

but if thou begin to fall.] Rather, **but if thou turn aside**,—that is, if thou no longer entirely consort with him and co-operate in all his schemes.

he will not **be staunch.**] In such case you must be prepared for his giving you up, so that you cannot even reckon on his sympathy unless you go with him in everything.

16. **And with his lips sweetly speaks the enemy,** *and* [but] *in his heart* **he is planning** *to throw thee into a pit.*] The expression "he will not be satisfied with blood" is generally understood as meaning: he will not be satisfied, even although thy blood has been shed. But taking it in connexion with the following verse, which in our view further develops the thought, we understand it as meaning that such a hypocritical enemy will not be satisfied to let matters have their course to our destruction, but will himself take part in it.

17. *If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there* **before thee.**] This cannot mean: as if to sympathise, for in such case he would not be there "before" the adversity came; but must mean that he will be in waiting for the event, not leave it simply to take its course (*v.* 16): **and as though helping he will trip thee up** [Bissell].

18. He will "whisper" [as does a hypocrite] every kind of evil against thee, and "change his countenance," openly now assuming the appearance of an enemy.

CHAPTER XIII.

From warnings of the dangers attaching to intercourse with evil, the writer proceeds to describe unwise intercourse: such as the attempted companionship of the poor with the rich (*vv.* 2–23); and he concludes by moralising with the view of dissuading the pious poor from either wrongfully seeking riches and courting the rich, or being discontented with their lot. Apart from *v.* 1, which, as often, serves as a link of connection with the previous chapter, and omitting *v.* 14 as a spurious addition, the chapter consists of twenty-four verses, and is divided into two parts: Part I., *vv.* 2–13; Part II., *vv.* 15–26. Part I. contains two double stanzas, each of six verses (*vv.* 2–4 + *vv.* 5–7 and *vv.* 8–10 + 11–13), shewing the *folly* of such attempted intercourse between poor and rich. In Part II. the first double stanza, *vv.* 15–20, shews the *impossibility* and the *danger* of such intercourse (*vv.* 15–17: what fellowship? *vv.* 18–20: what peace?). There is really no equality between the rich and the poor (*vv.* 21–23), although we ought at the same time to take the higher view of riches and poverty (*vv.* 24–26). Thus Part II. also consists of two double stanzas, each of six verses (3 + 3, 3 + 3).

1. Omit "therewith." The Syr., "it sticks to his hand." The saying has passed into a common proverb.

shall be like unto him.] Better, **shall become like him.** Syr., "put on of his ways" — *didicit mores ejus* (Payne Smith). The verse forms a transition from the former to the present chapter.

2. **A burden** (which is) **above thy power lift not up, and with mightier than thou and richer than thou have no fellowship; what fellowship shall** (earthen) **pot have with** (brass) **kettle** [caldron]? **It shall hit** [knock] **against it** [viz. the kettle against the pot, reading *αὐτῇ*, and not *αὗτη*—so also the Syr.], **and it**

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3 The rich man hath done wrong, and yet he threateneth withal: the poor is wronged, and he must intreat also.

4 If thou be for his profit, he will use thee: but if thou have nothing, he will forsake thee.

5 If thou have any thing, he will live with thee: yea, he will make thee bare, and will not be sorry for it.

6 If he have need of thee, he will deceive thee, and smile upon thee, and put thee in hope; he will speak thee fair, and say, What wantest thou?

7 And he will shame thee by his meats, until he have drawn thee dry twice or thrice, and at the last he will laugh thee to scorn: afterward, when he seeth thee, he will forsake thee, and shake his head at thee.

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8 Beware that thou be not deceived, and brought down ‖in thy jollity.

‖ Or, *by thy simplicity.*

9 If thou be invited of a mighty man, withdraw thyself, and so much the more will he invite thee.

10 Press thou not upon him, lest thou be put back; stand not far off, lest thou be forgotten.

11 ‖Affect not to be made equal unto him in talk, ‖and believe not his many words: for with much communication will he tempt thee, and smiling upon thee will get out thy secrets:

‖ Or, *Forbear not.*

‖ Or, *but.*

(the pot) **shall be broken.**] Thus much for the folly and danger of such attempts.

3. The folly of the whole thing, viewed from the standpoint of the rich, could scarcely be more graphically set forth than in this and the following verses to the end of the stanza (*vv.* 3–7). The A. V., although not quite literal, gives the sense with sufficient accuracy: "and yet he threateneth withal;" rather, **and is very wroth besides.**

4. *if thou have nothing.*] Rather, **if thou be in want.** Similarly we read in Abh. ii. 3: "Be cautious (in your intercourse) with the great [lit., those in authority], for they do not bring near [to themselves] a man except for their own purposes: they appear as friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the hour of his need."

In all probability the ἐργᾶται ἐν σοί represents the Hebrew עָבַד בְּ.

5. *If thou have* [anything], *he will live with thee.*] In the sense of associating and making a companion. The Syr. has: "he will speak fair"—probably יְחַלֶּה.

make thee bare.] Rather, **empty thee** [Bissell].

but he himself will not be sorry.] Bissell: "will not trouble himself."

6. *If he have need of thee,* **he will lead thee astray.**] Not necessarily (as Fritzsche thinks) to hurt and damage.

What wantest thou?] Viz. I shall get it for thee.

7. We cannot help thinking that the Hebrew had here a word-play between the αἰσχυνεῖ, הֶבִישֵׁךְ, from בוש, "to be ashamed," and הֹבִישֵׁךְ, from יבש, "to make dry," for the ἀποκενώσει in the second clause. (The word is only used by Aq., Sym., and Theod.: comp. Field's 'Hex.,' Judg. iii. 25; 1 Kings [1 Sam.] xxiv. 4.)—For "by his feasts" the Syr. has: "by his devices"—the Greek deriving the word from אבל, the Syr. from נבל.

drawn thee dry.] Better, **emptied thee.** The idea seems to be that, incited by the banquets of the great man, the poor man tries to imitate his prodigality, and, while he is drained, he is only laughed at for his pains. The interpretation, that the great man borrows from him and so drains him (Fritzsche), is unsuited to the context.

8. *Beware* **lest thou be led astray.**] This verse begins a new stanza. The "jollity" refers to the invitations described in *v.* 9. The transition from *v.* 7 seems clearly marked. The Vet. Lat. reads ἀφροσύνῃ, which the Syr. shews to represent the original.

brought down.] Rather, **humbled,** or **humiliated.**

9. *withdraw thyself.*] Possibly, "appear reluctant" (Bissell). This would at any rate be in accordance with Jewish ideas, according to which a man should require a repeated invitation to a feast before going to it, and, when called upon for a public function in the synagogue, at first decline. But the Son of Sira at the same time warns us to avoid alike one and the other extreme, *v.* 10.

11. *Affect not* [aim not, make not a point of it] **to talk with him as an equal.**] *I.e.* familiarly, or rather freely and without reserve.

with much talk he will tempt thee.] Viz. unreservedly to open up all that is in thy mind.

and as smiling he will search thee

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12 But cruelly he will lay up thy words, and will not spare to do thee hurt, and to put thee in prison.

13 Observe, and take good heed, for thou walkest in peril of thy overthrowing: when thou hearest these things, awake in thy sleep.

14 Love the Lord all thy life, and call upon him for thy salvation.

15 Every beast loveth his like, and every man loveth his neighbour.

16 All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like.

[b] 2 Cor. 6. 14.

17 [b] What fellowship hath the wolf with the lamb? so the sinner with the godly.

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18 What agreement is there between the hyena and a dog? and what peace between the rich and the poor?

19 As the wild ass is the lion's prey in the wilderness: so [c] the rich eat up the poor.

[c] Jam. 2. 6.

20 As the proud hate humility: so doth the rich abhor the poor.

21 A rich man beginning to fall is held up of his friends: but a poor man being down is thrust also away by his friends.

out.] (Similarly, Bissell.) The rendering of the A. V. depends on another reading which seems a gloss on the text.

12. **Merciless, he that keepeth not words** [concealeth not counsel, *i.e.* betrays what is said either in confidence or in the freeness and openness of conversation], **nor will he spare** [viz. to inflict, or cause to be inflicted—in the original, either חום or חמל, both frequently so translated in the LXX.] **injury or bonds.**] He is reckless of consequences.

13. **Keep thyself** [=take care of thyself], **and take good heed, for thou walkest** [goest about—Bissell] **with thy fall.**] A figurative expression (comp. Job xxxi. 5: Prov. xiii. 20), as it were: thou hast thy fall as a close companion in thy walk under such circumstances. The last clause in the A. V., beginning with "when thou hearest," &c., must be omitted.

14. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted as a spurious addition; perhaps a gloss embodying moral reflection.

15. This verse begins Part II. (see introductory remarks), shewing the reasonableness and the propriety of the advice hitherto given, as representing a universal law in the physical and moral world, as well as of society. *Similis simili gaudet; aequalis aequalem delectat.*

and every man loveth his neighbour.] In the sense of kindred in mind or station.

16. *All flesh consorteth according to kind.*] לְמִינֵהוּ, LXX. Gen. i. 25, *κατὰ γένος*. The passage is quoted in the Talmud (Babha K. 92 *b*) in illustration of the proverb, "A bad date-tree goes and joins itself to the reed." This saying is illustrated by examples from the Law, Gen. xxviii. 9: and from the Prophets, Judg. xi. 3; to which is curiously added as an illustration from the Hagiographa what is evidently our passage in Ecclus.: "Every bird dwells with its kind, and man with him that is his like." It will be noticed that the Talmud has "every bird" (כל עוף) instead of "all flesh" (*πᾶσα σάρξ*)—the Greek translator probably having misread (as Raymundus Martini already suggests) כל גוף for כל עוף. Other similar sayings occur in Rabbinic writings. The Syr. has a somewhat different, but unsatisfactory, rendering.

17. This figure, taken from Is. xi. 6, has its parallel in classical writings, among which the best known is probably that of Horace ('Epod.' iv. 1): *Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit, tecum mihi discordia est.* For other parallels, see Grotius and Bretschneider.

18. *What* **peace** *is there between the hyena and a dog?*] Classic writers describe the enmity between these two, and how the hyena contrives to allure and then to devour the dog. The curious reader is referred to Bochart, 'Hieroz.' Pars i., pp. 832, &c.

19. **The prey of lions** (are) **wild asses** *in* [of] **the wilderness** [פראים במדבר, Job xxiv. 5, LXX. *ὄνοι ἐν ἀγρῷ*, but see Field's 'Hexapl.' *ad loc.*]: *so* **the fodder of the rich** (are) **the poor.**] For the plural use of the subst. see Winer, 'Gram. d. N. T. Sprach-Id.' § 27, 3.

20. **An abomination to the proud is lowliness; so** (is) **the poor an abomination to the rich.** The verse is omitted in the Syr.

21. *beginning to fall.*] Rather, **The rich when he is moved**—beginning to shake—in the biblical acceptation, especially in that of the Psalms (as in Ps. x. 6, and often) where the LXX. render מוט by *σαλεύω*. It is not necessary to confine the meaning of the clause to the threatening decay of outward fortune; it had better be understood

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22 When a rich man is fallen, he hath many helpers: he speaketh things not to be spoken, and yet men justify him: the poor man slipped, and yet they rebuked him too; [d] he spake wisely, and could have no place.

[d] Eccles. ix. 15, 16.

23 When a rich man speaketh, [e] every man holdeth his tongue, and, look, what he saith, they extol it to the clouds: but if the poor man speak, they say, What fellow is this? and if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him.

[e] Job 29.

24 Riches are good unto him that hath no sin, and poverty is evil in the mouth of the ungodly.

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25 The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether it be for good or evil: and [f] a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.

[f] Prov. 15. 13.

26 A cheerful countenance is a token of a heart that is in prosperity; and the finding out of parables is a wearisome labour of the mind.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *A good conscience maketh men happy.* 5 *The niggard doeth good to none.* 13 *But do thou good.* 20 *Men are happy that draw near to wisdom.*

in the most general and wide application. Grotius: *sustentatur ne ruat.*

the lowly when he is fallen [when he is down] **is besides pushed away by friends** (προσαπωθεῖται).] One might almost be tempted to render: "is besides kicked by friends." Syr.: *pellitur ex malo in peius*— evidently a confusion between רַע and רָעַע. With this verse a new stanza begins. See introductory remarks.

22. *When* **the rich maketh a fall** [σφαλέντος] (there are) *many helpers.*] To take hold of him, to help him, to take his part.

he speaketh [spoke] *things not to be spoken.*] What really only reflects upon or incriminates him.

and they *justify him* [declare him just]. **The lowly cometh to a fall, and they rebuke him besides; he speaketh forth reason** [what is reasonable] **and no room is given him**]—*locum dare alicui;* he is not listened to, nor his reasonable statement accepted.

23. There is a realistic force in the A. V. which makes us hesitate to substitute the more literal rendering: "The rich speaketh and **all are silent, and what he saith they extol** [Syr. "and his favourers extol him"] **to the clouds; the poor speaketh, and they say, Who is this? and if he stumble, they overthrow him besides.**" [So Bissell, with the exception of the last four words.]

24. From these worldly experiences the writer turns in the last stanza to somewhat tardy and scarcely elevated moralising.

Good are riches to which no sin attaches.] This seems to suit the context better than the rendering of the A. V., which, however, is admissible.

and poverty is evil [wrong?] **in the mouths of the ungodly.**] *I.e.* according to their sentence, in their view, they declare it such.

25. But happiness or misery depends not on outward circumstances, but on the inner state of a man, on his heart. "Good" and "evil" must not be here taken in the moral sense. The saying is quoted in the Midrash in the name of Ben Sira in illustration of Gen. xxxi. 2: "The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether for good or for evil" (בין לטוב בין לרע, Ber. R. 73). The last clause in the A. V., beginning "and a merry heart," &c., must be omitted.

26. Literally, "The token of a heart in prosperity [in good, in happiness] is a cheerful countenance, but the finding out of parables is thinking [cogitations, considerations] with pain." Manifestly the two sentences must be intended as antithetical, and equally manifestly they are a further development of the thought in v. 25 in some such form as this: A heart in prosperity changeth the countenance *for good:* on the other hand, as regards the change *for evil,* the strain of the mind, whether in finding out wise sayings, or interpreting parables, or reading the deep things of Providence or the problems of social life,—in short, troubling oneself with such problems and cares only makes a man miserable, and his appearance indicates it. Probably the writer had in his mind Eccles. xii. 12, which warns against much study, as יגעת בשר, "weariness of the flesh." There also the previous verses (9–11) bear reference to "parables" and "sayings of the wise." Beyond these (ויתר מהמה) we are warned not to go, since much study is weariness to the flesh. But by the side of this parallelism we also mark the wide contrast between Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus. For while Eccles. xii. 12 is followed by the noble conclusion in vv. 13, 14, Ecclus. xiii. 26 leads

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[a] ch. 19. 16. & 25. 8. Jam. 3. 2.

Or, *sorrow.*

[b] Rom. 14. 22. 1 John 3. 21.

BLESSED [a] is the man that hath not slipped with his mouth, and is not pricked with the ‖ multitude of sins.

2 [b] Blessed is he whose conscience hath not condemned him, and who is not fallen from his hope in the Lord.

3 Riches are not comely for a niggard: and what should an envious man do with money?

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4 He that gathereth by defrauding his own soul [c] gathereth for others, that shall spend his goods riotously.

[c] ch. 11. 19. ver. 15.

5 He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good? he shall not take pleasure in his goods.

up to the doubtful, if not actually Epicurean, stanza in xiv. 11–19.

CHAPTER XIV.

There is a close sequence between this chapter and the previous one. The latter had ended by shewing that riches are not always and absolutely desirable, and that happiness comes from within rather than from without, concluding with a hint not to burden oneself with thought or care. Chapter xiv. begins with a prologue of two verses, which, as usually, forms a transition from the subject of the previous to that of the present chapter. Then follows stanza 1 in eight verses (*vv.* 3–10), presenting another aspect of the possible undesirableness of riches: they may not really be of benefit to a man—not even give him pleasure. The second stanza of eight verses (*vv.* 11–18) advises us rather to enjoy life so far as we can, closing with a transition in *v.* 19 to the third stanza of eight verses (*vv.* 20–27), in which the writer once more assumes the functions of the moralist, this time in favour of wisdom.

1. The warning against the trouble and labour of "finding out parables" leads the writer to consider more serious consequences which may ensue: since a man may offend with his lips, and there may be a more bitter cause of sorrow than anything outward, even an evil conscience: "**Happy** [blessed] **the man that slippeth not** with his mouth" [possibly such passages may have been in the writer's mind as Ps. xvii. 3; xxxix. 1; cxli. 3: comp. St. James iii. 2], "and is not pricked [grieved] with the **sorrow of sin**" (so according to the better reading), *i.e.* with mourning for sin. The Aethiop. somewhat boldly renders, or rather paraphrases: "Happy is the sinner who is not troubled by grief." The Syr. has for the second clause: "from whose eyes justice is not hidden." Probably the Greek read: ולא התעצב כיעוניו; the Syr. ולא התעצם כיעיניו.

2. **Happy** [blessed] (he) **whom his soul convicteth not.**] The word *καταγινώσκω*, as in the parallel passages 1 St. John iii. 20, 21, means more than "accuse" and less than "condemn" in the sense of the actual pronouncing of sentence; in the LXX. it represents several Hebrew words and bears different meanings. In the second clause the words "in the Lord" in A. V. must be omitted, although in Hebrew "hope" is sometimes put for the object of hope. Possibly, however, Eccles. ix. 4, &c., may have been in the mind of the writer, in which case it would indicate absolute and final despair.

3. With this verse begins the subject-matter of the first stanza: "**To a niggard** [to a man who is niggard] **wealth is not comely,**"—it does not really adorn. We suppose that the writer had in view Eccles. v. 10–17, which leads up to *v.* 18. Riches in themselves do not make happy—all depends on the enjoyment of them. Accordingly Eccles. v. 18 proceeds: "Behold, what I have found good, what is comely [that it is comely] is to eat and to drink," &c. The LXX. here render "comely" (יפה) by *καλόν*. We suppose then that the Hebrew original of Eccles. also had פה, and applied the reasoning in Eccles. as follows: Since the niggard does not eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, his wealth is not *καλός*, not יפה. On the other hand, the second clause of the verse takes us to Prov. xxviii. 22: "The man of evil eye hasteth after riches, and he knoweth not that want will come upon him." The expression, "the man of evil eye," is rendered in the LXX. by *ἀνὴρ βάσκανος*: and similarly in the passage before us: **to what** [purpose] **are all riches to a man of evil eye?** (*ἀνθρώπῳ βασκάνῳ*)—since in the end want will overtake him (Prov. xxviii. 22): comp. Hor. 'Sat.' i. 1, 59, &c. The meaning of "man of an evil eye" (comp. also Prov. xxiii. 6) is best gathered from its opposite: "he of good eye," Prov. xxii. 9.

4. *He that gathereth* **from** (off) *his own soul* [*i.e.* by pinching himself] *gathereth for others* [*ἄλλοις*], *and* **on his good things shall others fare sumptuously** [revel, *τρυφήσουσιν ἕτεροι*].] Comp. Hor. 'Od.' ii. 14, 25, &c.

5. Clause 1 seems an application and farther development of Prov. xi. 17: "He that doeth good to his soul [not in the spiritual

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6 There is none worse than he that envieth himself; and this is a recompence of his wickedness.

7 And if he doeth good, he doeth it unwillingly; and at last he will declare his wickedness.

8 The envious man hath a wicked eye; he turneth away his face, and despiseth men.

[d] Prov. 27. 20.

9 A [d] covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion; and the iniquity of the wicked drieth up his soul. B. C. cir. 200.

[e] Prov. 23. 6, 7.

10 [e] A wicked eye envieth [his] bread, and he is a niggard at his table.

11 My son, according to thy ability do good to thyself, and give the Lord his due offering.

12 Remember that death will not be long in coming, and that the covenant of the grave is not shewed unto thee.

sense] is a gracious man, and he that afflicteth his flesh is cruel." *And he shall not* **have** *pleasure in* [be happy in] *his* **riches.**

6. *There is none* **more evil** [or else wretched] *than he that* **has an evil eye** [grudgeth?] **towards** *himself.*] In the second clause we should prefer, instead of "a recompense," "the recompense," which suits the context better. The worst evil is when a man grudges things to himself, and this is what he gets as return and reward of his wickedness. But according to some the τοῦτο refers to *v.* 7.

7. *And if he doeth good, he doeth it* **unwittingly** [lit., in forgetfulness—so also the Aeth. —viz. of his real character and course of conduct. But this forgetfulness does not last], *and* **in the end he sheweth forth** *his wickedness.*

8. Wicked (is he) **who is evil of eye.**] Viz. in regard to others, who has not pity nor mercy on them. Βασκαίνω seems = βασκανίζω ὀφθαλμῷ, by which the LXX. render תרע עינו, Deut. xxviii. 54, comp. *v.* 56.

and despiseth men.] The original would bear this rendering, but the better and more literal translation would be "and neglecteth souls," in the sense of the needy and craving. The Syr. omits this verse.

9. Rather: *is not satisfied* **with a portion, and wicked injustice** *drieth up* **the** *soul.* The A. V. reads ἀδικία πονηροῦ with 248, Co. The meaning is: not satisfied with a part, he wants all, and his wicked injustice as regards the claims of others drieth up every better feeling. Syr.: *qui autem usurpat quod proximi sui est*, evidently mispointing רַע for רָע.

10. Some misreading of the Hebrew must have caused the Syr. rendering: *Oculus nequam multiplicat panem.* The Greek has: "**An evil** eye **is envious over** bread, and [yet?] **there is lack** (deficiency) at his table"—although such an one grudgeth and envieth even bread to his neighbour, yet his own board is bare; or else, and at the same time his own board is bare. This latter view suits better as a transition to the stanza beginning with *v.* 11, which recommends free enjoyment of what we possess, so long as it is in our power.

11. Son, according as thou hast, *do good to thyself, and* **properly** [rightly, duly, in measure proportionate to thy possessions] **bring oblations to the Lord.**] A kind of attempted combination of enjoyment with piety, which reminds us of a similar proposal recorded in Eccles. ii. 3. But perhaps the writer may have had Prov. xvii. 1 in his mind, —the "dry morsel" there becoming here whatever a man has, and the "sacrifices" being no longer "of strife." The Syriac has substantially the same for the first clause, but instead of the second virtually repeats the first clause: *And if thou hast anything, do good to thyself.* The alteration in this case seems to us to have been in the Syr.

12. *the covenant of the grave.*] Rather, **a covenant of Hades**—perhaps a reference to Isa. xxviii. 15. The expression naturally conveys the thought that one knows not such a covenant, that he has not seen it, and that such an agreement does not exist; in other words, we have not drawn up a bargain with Hades that we shall die at a certain fixed period, and know not at what moment we may have to depart. Yet there may be another view of it, which the Greek translator may have either misunderstood or else chosen to keep back. We find it, although with an explanatory paraphrase (marked by us with square brackets), in the Talmud, which reproduces *vv.* 11, 12, 18, although without quoting them. The subject is introduced by this admonition of a Rabbi: "Make haste to eat, make haste to drink, for this world which we leave is like a wedding" (equally brief). To which another Rabbi adds this: "If thou hast anything, do good to thyself [for in Sheol there is no pleasure], and death knows no delay:" comp. Ecclus. xiv. 11, 12 *a*. "And [if thou say, I will leave to my son] the law in Sheol who will declare to thee?" (חוֹק בִּשְׁאוֹל מִי יַגִּיד לָךְ): comp. Ecclus. xiv. 12 *b*. "The children of man are like the herbs of the field —some bloom and some fade away:" comp. Ecclus. xiv. 18 (Erubh. 54 *a*).

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13 [f] Do good unto thy friend before thou die, and according to thy ability stretch out thy hand and give to him.

14 [g] Defraud not thyself of [h] the good day, and let not the part of a good desire overpass thee.

15 [i] Shalt thou not leave thy travails unto another? and thy labours to be divided by lot?

16 Give, and take, and sanctify thy soul; for there is no seeking of dainties in the grave.

17 [k] All flesh waxeth old as a garment: for the covenant from the beginning is, [l] Thou shalt die the death.

18 As of the green leaves on a thick tree, some fall, and some grow; so is the generation of flesh and blood, [m] one cometh to an end, and another is born.

19 Every work rotteth and consumeth away, and the worker thereof shall go withal.

20 [n] Blessed is the man that doth

[f] Tobit 4. 7. Luke 14. 13.
[g] Eccles. 5. 18, &c. & 6. 1, &c.
[h] Or, *the feast day.*
[i] ver. 4.
[k] Ps. 102. 26. Isai. 40. 6. Hebr. 1. 11. Jam. 1. 10. 1 Pet. 1. 24.
[l] Gen. 2. 17. & 3. 19.
[m] Eccles. 1. 4.
[n] Ps. 1. 2.

13. *Do good unto thy friend.*] Rather: **to a friend.**

14. **Miss not a** *good day.*] The Alex. omits *ἀπὸ ἀγαθῆς*. There can be little doubt that the Vat. represents the proper reading. But we must not (with Fritzsche) understand the "good day" in the later technical signification of יוֹם טוֹב = festive day. The writer had Eccles. vii. 14*a* in his mind, and perhaps intended this as a paraphrase of בְּיוֹם טוֹבָה הֱיֵה בְטוֹב—LXX. *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀγαθωσύνης*. The second clause reads: "And let not **a portion** of a good desire [perhaps, a part in desirable good—presumably, participation in lawful pleasure] **go past** thee." In short, *carpe diem*. The Syr. paraphrases the last clause: "and desire not an evil desire."

15. *thy travails . . . thy labours.*] Viz. the fruit of them.

16. The more than doubtful sentiment of this verse led to early attempts at emendation. Grotius would read *ἀγάπησον* for *ἀπάτησον*—a conjecture in which he was anticipated by the Armen. Version. But we cannot conceive such a use of the word אהב in the original. The Syr. has "nourish thy soul." It adds, probably as an apologetic corrective: "and whatever is fair to be done before the Lord, that do." Some Codices have *ἁγίασον*, as the A. V.—evidently a later apologetic emendation; the Vet. Lat. has *justifica*. It is needless to give other conjectural emendations. The meaning of the verse is: "**Beguile** [Böttcher = *oblecta*] **thy soul** [let thy soul enjoy itself], for there is no seeking **after** dainties [here the cause for the effect: seeking for finding] in **Hades**." It is indicative of the former estimate of the Apocrypha that, like Ecclus. xiii. 1, the first clause of v. 16 ("give and take") has passed into a popular adage, although with a very different meaning attaching to it.

17. *All flesh.*] כל בשר, a frequent expression, = every living creature, and specifically all men. But possibly the Hebrew original simply quoted Ps. cii. 27, וְכֻלָּם כַּבֶּגֶד יִבְלוּ, which the Greek translator paraphrased for greater clearness. The LXX. render the verse in the Ps. by the same words as the Hebrew: *πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται.*

for the covenant from **everlasting** [*ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, but both in the Hebrew usage and here (comp. xliv. 2) it might be rendered: "from the beginning"] (is): **Dying thou shalt die** (מוֹת תָּמוּת, here literally rendered from the Hebrew, as in LXX. Gen. ii. 17).] The underlying thought may have been the same as that of certain Rabbis that death was not the sequence of sin, but from the first appointed to man; although the other idea is not necessarily excluded, that physical death came upon all in consequence of Adam's sin. In Siphré (ed. Friedmann, p. 141*a*) we find a curious application of the words in Numb. xix. 14, זֹאת הַתּוֹרָה, as implying a Divine decree of death upon all men. The Syr. has the following, no doubt later (Christian?) modification of v. 17: "for all the sons of men are certainly for corruption (*corrumpendi sunt*), and the generations of the world are certainly to die."

18. **As green leaves** [it is not possible literally to render *φύλλον θαλλον*] *on a thick tree.*] Thick in the sense of "with branches," perhaps רַעֲנָן; but see Schleusner *ad voc.*

flesh and blood.] The well-known expression for man: בישר ודם.

19. Conclusion of this and transition to the next stanza. "**Every work which is corruptible** [or perhaps: being corruptible] **shall consume away, and the worker thereof shall pass away with it.**" The Syriac has here also what seems a Christian modification: "and all his works shall be searched into before him, and the work of his hands shall follow after him."

20. New stanza. **Happy he** *that doth meditate* [so the Alex. reading, and others, and this is preferable to the Vat. *τελευτήσει*] *in wisdom.*] Omit "good things." The

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meditate good things in wisdom, and that reasoneth of holy things by his understanding.

21 He that considereth her ways in his heart shall also have understanding in her secrets.

22 Go after her as one that traceth, and lie in wait in her ways.

23 He that prieth in at her windows shall also hearken at her doors.

24 He that doth lodge near her house shall also fasten a ‖ pin in her walls.

‖ Or, *stake.*

25 He shall pitch his tent nigh unto her, and shall lodge in a lodging where good things are.

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26 He shall set his children under her shelter, and shall lodge under her branches.

27 [n] By her he shall be covered from heat, and in her glory shall he dwell.

[n] Wisd. 10. 16.

CHAPTER XV.

2 *Wisdom embraceth those that fear God.* 7 *The wicked shall not get her.* 11 *We may not charge God with our faults:* 14 *for he made, and left us to ourselves.*

verse is evidently based on Ps. i. 2, although significantly "wisdom" now takes the place of "His law,"—a difference characteristic, on the one hand, of the age and date of Ps. i., and, on the other, of the standpoint of the Siracide.

and **discourseth** (about it) **in** *his understanding.*] This may also answer to יהגה in Ps. i. 2.

21. **He considereth** [or, "he that considereth"—if we regard the "happy" of *v.* 20 as still carried on to this verse] *her ways in his heart,* **and pondereth on** *her secrets.*] Wisdom is here personified.

22. *that traceth.*] Viz., her footsteps. The figure is of a hunter. This sentence must be either regarded as intercalated, by way of admonition, or else we must suppose that the Syr. here represents the Hebrew more accurately when it connects all these sentences as subordinate to and dependent on *v.* 20.

23. *He prieth in* . . . **and listeneth.**] In other words, all means are used to learn her secrets.

24. In pursuit of the same object: "**He lodgeth** . . . and **fasteneth the peg** in her walls." The peg, viz., of his tent. Mark that Wisdom is represented as having a house —solid and permanent; whereas the human searcher after her is described as in a tent. See next verse. In the LXX. πάσσαλος always represents the Heb. יָתֵד, except in Ex. xxxix. 33 (of the Hebrew text; in the LXX. there is a different order, or rather disorder, and *v.* 33 is represented by *v.* 9).

25. *and shall lodge in a lodging where good things are.*] Lit., "in a hostelry of good things."

26. *under her shelter.*] The figure varies now to that of a tree. The shelter which his lodgment under her branches affords, extends to "his children" (descendants). The Syr. has: *manus suas jactabit super ramos eius.* At first sight we might conjecture that the Syr. read יָדָיו, "his hands," for יְלָדָיו, "his children" (as in the Greek Version). But on further consideration it seems more likely that the Syr., which here is throughout confused, had somehow transferred hither the κατὰ χεῖρας αὐτῆς ("by the side of her") of *v.* 25. But, manifestly, it is impossible to make any good sense out of the Syr. Version. When, however, the Syr. has in *v.* 27 *b*: *et in habitaculis eius relaxabit animum,* it is evident that it read instead of הָדָר, "glory," חֶדֶר, "chamber," while it understood the word rendered in the Greek καταλύσει, "**he shall lodge,**" as *relaxabit,* viz. *animum,* just as the LXX. similarly use the same Greek word (six times) for שָׁבַת or הִשְׁבִּית.

CHAPTER XV.

This chapter forms a natural and easy continuation of the preceding, and a progression upon it. If we might borrow the language of our public life, what in the last stanza of the previous chapter (xiv. 20–27) was the moral "amendment" on "the original motion" to do good to oneself, becomes in ch. xv. (1–10) "the original motion," to which the objections or excuses on the part of a sinner in *vv.* 11–20 are again a proposed "amendment" which is discussed and rejected. Thus the chapter consists of two parts. Part I. (*vv.* 1–10): praise of Wisdom, in two stanzas —stanza 1 (*vv.* 1–5), Wisdom from its objective aspect; stanza 2 (*vv.* 6–10), Wisdom from the subjective aspect—the relation of the wise and of the fool or sinner to Wisdom. Naturally, the latter is chiefly dwelt upon. This prepares us for the excuses which the sinner makes for not submitting to Wisdom, that is, for continuing in his sinful ways. This forms the subject of Part II. (*vv.* 11–20), which also consists of two stanzas, each of five verses. The first stanza (*vv.* 11–15) once more presents the objective aspect of the answer to the sinner's excuse: I cannot help myself—cir-

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HE that feareth the Lord will do good; and he that hath the knowledge of the law shall obtain her.

2 And as a mother shall she meet him, and receive him as a wife married of a virgin.

3 With the bread of understanding shall she feed him, and give him the water of wisdom to drink.

4 He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.

5 She shall exalt him above his neighbours, and in the midst of the congregation shall she open his mouth. B. C. cir. 200.

6 He shall find joy and a crown of gladness, and she shall cause him to inherit an everlasting name.

7 But foolish men shall not attain unto her, and sinners shall not see her.

8 For she is far from pride, and men that are liars cannot remember her.

9 [a] ‖Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner, for ‖it was not sent him of the Lord.

10 For ‖praise shall be uttered in wisdom, and the Lord will prosper it.

[a] Ps. 33. 1. Prov. 26. 7.

‖ Or, *A parable.*

‖ Or, *he was not sent of, &c.*

‖ Or rather, *a parable.*

cumstances, or rather God, caused my choice. Lastly, the second stanza (*vv.* 16–20) contains the answer to be given to the sinner, from the subjective aspect of the question, viz. man has liberty, and God will help him, if he seeks to do well. Naturally the two aspects (and stanzas) merge into each other (comp., on the one hand, *v.* 15; and, on the other, *vv.* 18, 20).

1. *He that feareth the Lord* **shall do this** [viz. so follow, and cleave to, Wisdom, as described in the last stanza of ch. xiv.]; *and he that* **is an adept in** *the law* [a master in it] *shall obtain her.*] Viz. Wisdom. This verse is both important and characteristic as marking Hellenistic views. The object is to represent fear of the Lord as the search after wisdom, and a proper and full knowledge of the Law as the attainment of Wisdom. The transition from "the Law" to "Wisdom" which was in process in the so-called *Chokhmah*-books (Wisdom-books) of the Old Testament appears here as an accomplished fact.

2. *and receive him as a wife* **of** (one's) **youth.**] Comp. Prov. ii. 17. That *γυνὴ παρθενίας* means not virgin-wife, but wife of one's youth, seems established by LXX. Jer. iii. 4, where *παρθενία* is the translation of נְעוּרִים, "youth." And here it may be well to bear in mind that the Book of Jeremiah was apparently a favourite one with the Alexandrians (comp. Philo, 'de Cher.' § 14).

3. Fritzsche explains the simile: as bread and water are the ordinary daily food, so wisdom supplies him spiritually with ordinary daily food. But the addition of these adjectives seems needless. The meaning conveyed to our minds is that of a supply, which differs from that of ordinary men as regards its source, and is suitable for nourishment. Here and in the following verses we mark a gradation: food, support (*v.* 5), advancement (*v.* 6), joy (*v.* 7).

6. Omit "He shall find."

joy and a crown of gladness, and **an everlasting name shall he inherit.**] This begins the second stanza of Part I., and serves as transition to what follows.

7. Some authorities have *καί*—in the A. V. "but"—which must be omitted. Fools shall not attain to wisdom; sinners have this goal not even in sight. Comp. here Erubh. 55 *a*.

8. *cannot remember her.*] Rather, **shall not be mindful of her** (Bissell)—either in the sense of bearing her in mind, or caring for her. For the first part of this verse there are many Rabbinic parallels, such as: "God lifteth up him that abaseth himself, and abaseth him that uplifteth himself" (Erubh. 13 *b*; comp. St. Matt. xxiii. 12); or "he that becometh proud shall fall into Gehenna" (Babh. B. 10 *b*), &c.

9, 10. These are perhaps among the most difficult verses in Ecclus. The A. V. represents the Greek text with sufficient accuracy. Nothing can be learned from a comparison with the Syriac. We would suggest that the writer, or the translator, had in his mind and wished to improve upon Prov. xxvii. 21 *b*, which in the LXX. has a clause added. It reads in the LXX. as follows: "but a man is tried [in the sense of "tested"] by the mouth of them that praise him. [LXX. adds:] The heart of the transgressor seeks after evil [mischief], but an upright heart seeks after knowledge." In whatever sense we may understand the somewhat difficult clause in the Hebrew of Prov. xxvii. 21, the writer of Ecclus. would, if our view be correct, have paraphrased or applied it in the following manner: Such praise as cometh from a sinner is not seemly, becoming, beautiful.

B. C. cir. 200.

11 [b]Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away: for thou oughtest not to do the things that he hateth.

Jam. 1. 13.

12 Say not thou, He hath caused me to err: for he hath no need of the sinful man.

13 The Lord hateth all abomination; and they that fear God love it not.

B. C. cir. 200.

14 He himself [c]made man from the beginning, [d]and left him in the hand of his counsel;

[c] Gen. 1. 26, 27. [d] Gen. 2. 16, 17.

15 If thou wilt, to [e]keep the commandments, and to perform acceptable faithfulness.

[e] Matt. 19. 17.

It is not real praise, however many may utter it, because it is not sent of the Lord and has not His sanction. Praise—real praise—is uttered in wisdom (= by the truly wise = the pious); and such praise the Lord will prosper, that is, confirm and add His blessing to it. Bretschneider would regard *αἶνος* as = מִשְׁל, *dicta sapientiæ*; Fritzsche understands it as referring to praise of God (*Lobgesang*)—both, in our view, impossible explanations, alike as regards the meaning of the words and the context.

11. With this verse Part II. begins (see introductory remarks). The connexion between this verse and *vv.* 9, 10 seems as follows: Praise (although coming from the ungodly) might lead a man to imagine that he had the Divine approbation, and so hurry him on to his fall, which in that case he might attribute to God. But for any such error the second clause furnishes a corrective by giving this test: **for what He hateth, thou shalt not do** (so more accurately than in the A. V.). It is not necessary to correct *οὐ ποιήσεις* into *οὐ ποιήσει*. On the imperative use of *οὐ* with the indic. fut., see Winer, 'Gram. d. Neut. Spr.' § 43, 5*c*, and § 56, p. 445. On the passage generally, comp. St. James i. 13—which here, as in so many places, shews lines of correspondence with Ecclus. (comp. the General Introduction).

12. *Say not thou*, [God] **Himself hath made me stray**: *for He hath no* **pleasure in** *a sinful man.*] In LXX. Prov. xviii. 2 *οὐ χρείαν ἔχει* is the translation of לֹא־יַחְפֹּץ; comp. also Is. xiii. 17. As the rendering "He hath no need of a sinful man" does not give any proper meaning, we conclude that the Greek translator used the same expression as in LXX. Prov., where the original had יחפץ. In that case the meaning would be: it is impossible to impute your conduct to God, since He has no pleasure in a sinner. Or else, as Symmachus renders by *χρεία* the חפץ of Eccles. iii. 1, 17, v. 3, which in the first two passages means "purpose," while in later Hebrew it stands for "a thing (or a thing valued)," the sentence might also mean: "for He has no purpose with, or else, He has no dealing with, or even, He attaches no value to a sinful man." But our first rendering is confirmed by the Syr.: *non enim oblectatur homine sceleroso.*

13. *The Lord hateth* **every** *abomination, and* **it is not loved by** [not loveable to] **them that fear Him.**] The Syr. renders the last clause: "and will not give them [it] to them that love Him." The rendering "will give" is unintelligible unless, as has been suggested by Mr. Margoliouth, the Syr. misread יהב, *dabit*, for יֶאֱהַב.

14. Similar evidence of direct translation from the Hebrew original comes to us from the use here in the Syriac of the expressions בראשית for *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* and יצר for *διαβούλιον*. There can be little doubt that the original contained the term *Yetser*, although not in the later application of it to either the good or the evil impulse in man, but in the earlier meaning of disposition, mind, counsel (*Sinn, Gesinnung*). The Greek rendering also is manifestly Hebraistic. The original may have been: וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ בְּיַד יִצְרוֹ, while the *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* of the first clause may represent the Hebrew מִבְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה. But it is not only these expressions which are of interest. The verse is important as confirming the conclusion derived from Ecclus. xiv. 17. For whatever meaning we may attach to the first clause of xv. 14, the second clause, when taken in conjunction with *v.* 15, implies a virtual denial of the moral consequences of the fall.

in the hand of his counsel.] A Hebraism; rather, "**in the power of his counsel**" [will, mind] = to his own free choice. In passing we may notice that the later Alexandrian distinction between the *ἔπλασε*, which was in reference to the "earthly," and the *ἐποίησε*, which applied to the "heavenly man," had not yet been made; comp. Philo, 'Leg. Alleg.' i. 12, 16.

15. Rather, "If thou wilt, **thou shalt** [canst] keep the commandments, [in?] **working** [doing] acceptable faithfulness." The infinitive *ποιῆσαι* in the second clause we suppose to represent the Hebrew לַעֲשׂוֹת, here used in an adverbial or gerundial sense, in further explanation of what preceded (comp. Ewald, 'Lehrb.' pp. 698, 699). It is need-

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16 [f] He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt.

17 [g] Before man is life and death; and whether him liketh shall be given him.

18 [h] For the wisdom of the Lord is great, and he is mighty in power, and beholdeth all things:

19 And [i] his eyes are upon them that fear him, and he knoweth every work of man.

20 He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man licence to sin.

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[f] Deut. 30. 19. Josh. 24. 15.
[g] Jer. 21. 8.
[h] Ps. 147. 5.
[i] Ps. 33. 18. & 34. 15. Hebr. 4. 13.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *It is better to have none, than many lewd children.* 6 *The wicked are not spared for their number.* 12 *Both the wrath and the mercy of the Lord are great.* 17 *The wicked cannot be hid.* 20 *God's works are unsearchable.*

DESIRE not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons.

less to mention the explanations and corrections proposed by others, since they only involve fresh difficulties.

16, 17. These verses begin the last stanza.

16. *stretch forth.*] Rather, "**thou mayest** stretch forth thy hand." "Fire and water," in the sense of opposite extremes, yet probably not without some reference to their effects. The harsh Greek rendering of 16 *b* would represent what was elegant in the Hebrew original: שְׁלַח יָדְךָ.

17 *b. and* **whichever** *he liketh.*] In the Hebrew either רצה or חפץ, for both of which the word is used in the LXX.—whichever of the two may be pleasing to him, or engage his choice: naturally not life or death, but that which leads to them, shall be his portion, or "be given him," in the end. Bearing in mind that verses 16 and 17 are based on Deut. xxx. 15 (comp. Jer. xxi. 8), we are struck with the absence of any reference to God as placing this choice before man. Can the translator have intended thus to emphasize man's absolute self-determination? The Syr., although in what seems a paraphrastic rendering, may perhaps more faithfully represent the meaning of the Hebrew original. It translates: "For life and death are given to the children of man that they may choose life and eschew death." The last verses form the general conclusion and application of Part II. With *v.* 19 *a* comp. Ps. xxxiii. 18; xxxiv. 16.

CHAPTER XVI.

This chapter is one of the most lofty in the book. Omitting *vv.* 15, 16—which, although found in 106, 248, Co., and in the Syr., are manifestly an interpolation—the chapter consists of twenty-eight verses, which naturally divide themselves into two equal parts: Part I., *vv.* 1–14: Part II., *vv.* 17–30. Taken as a whole, the chapter forms an exact counterpart to the preceding one. In ch. xv., Part I. in praise of Wisdom (*vv.* 1–10) led up in Part II. to man's free determination, shewing his absolute liberty of choice, in accordance with which God would ultimately hold him responsible, therein also vindicating His own character. On the other hand, in ch. xvi., Part I. (*vv.* 1–14) leads up, not to man's choice and doings, but to God's determination and work (*v.* 26 and following), which appear in those benefits which He so freely bestowed upon earth. So close is the correspondence between the two chapters that Part II. of ch. xvi. (*v.* 17) begins with exactly the same words ("Say not thou") as Part II. of ch. xv. (*v.* 11). In both cases an objection is met: in ch. xv. that man is not responsible; in ch. xvi. that he will not be called to account. In both chapters the refutation of the objection leads up to the statement of the positive truth which forms not only the climax, but the real subject-matter of each chapter. Part I. of ch. xvi. consists of three stanzas (5 + 5 + 4 verses). Stanza 1 is connected with the previous chapter, and shews that, since man is a responsible agent, even the most coveted possession—that of a numerous posterity—may not always prove a blessing. Stanza 2 illustrates the general inference that only the good will remain, while those who are evil shall perish in judgment. This is shewn by a reference to the history of Israel (*vv.* 6–10). Lastly, in stanza 3 the writer proceeds to shew that God deals in this manner not only with nations, but also with individuals (*vv.* 11–14). At this point the objection is artistically introduced that it is unreasonable to imagine that every single individual in this vast universe will be called to give a separate account, *v.* 17, which opens the first stanza of Part II. (*vv.* 17–23). The answer to this objection lies in higher views of God, which exhibit His often hidden wisdom and justice (*vv.* 18–23). Lastly, in the second stanza of Part II. (like the first, of seven verses: *vv.* 24–30) this is farther enforced by a consideration of the sovereignty, care, and personal rule of God.

1. *unprofitable.*] In LXX. Hos. viii. 8 the

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2 Though they multiply, rejoice not in them, except the fear of the Lord be with them.

3 Trust not thou in their life, neither respect their multitude: for one that is just is better than a thousand; and better it is to die without children, than to have them that are ungodly.

4 For by one that hath understanding shall the city be replenished: but the ‖kindred of the wicked shall speedily become desolate.

B. C. cir. 200.

5 Many such things have I seen with mine eyes, and mine ear hath heard greater things than these.

‖ Or, *tribe.*

6 [a]In the congregation of the ungodly shall a fire be kindled; and in a rebellious nation wrath ‖is set on fire.

[a] ch. 21. 9.

‖ Or, *hath been.*

7 [b]He was not pacified toward the old giants, who fell away in the strength of their foolishness.

[b] Gen. 6. 4. Wisd. 14. 6.

same word stands for אֵין חֶפֶץ בּוֹ. In Jer. xxii. 28, xlviii. 38 (in LXX. xxxi. 38), the same Hebrew expression is similarly rendered (οὐκ ἔστι χρεία αὐτοῦ). Comp. also Philem. *v.* 11 (see the excellent remarks on the expression in Philem. in the 'Speaker's Comment.' *ad loc.*). In any case the word ἄχρηστος conveys here a much stronger meaning than our ordinary usage of "unprofitable," although probably not one so strong as in the Hebrew passages referred to, which seem rather to be represented in Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 20.

neither delight in.] Better, **neither have joy over.** The general meaning of the verse is farther set forth in *v.* 2.

3. *neither respect their multitude.*] Rather, **neither have respect** [in the sense of reliance] **to their place** [in the sense of *rank* or *condition*]. The difficulty of the expression led to such attempts at correcting the text as the Alex. reading (and that of other authorities), τὸ πλῆθος, "the multitude," for τὸν τόπον—adopted in the A. V.—or the Vulg. reading, κόπον, *labores*. But from the usage in the LXX. there cannot be any doubt that the Hebrew original for τόπος was מקום—here in the later Targumic and Talmudic sense of rank, condition (comp. the beautiful saying: "Not his rank maketh a man honourable, but the man his rank," Taan. 21 *b*, anticipating Burns). Indeed that meaning of the word seems already implied in Eccles., as in Eccles. iii. 16, and especially x. 4. Accordingly the words of the Siracide mean: trust not in their life, and have no reliance on, look not to, their present rank and condition. In the next clause the words "that is just" must be omitted as a later gloss. The last line of the verse reads: **And to die childless than to have ungodly children** [Bissell].

4. Omit "speedily" in the second clause.

the city.] Rather, **a city.** We retain the rendering "shall be replenished" for συνοικισθήσεται, as more general, and including more than merely the population of a city. The expression seems to have been chosen as antithetic to the ἐρημωθήσεται ("shall be made desolate") in the second clause.

but the **house** *of the wicked shall become desolate.*] "House" in the wider Hebrew sense of בית or משפחה = the whole kindred and family, viewed as a unit. "Desolate:" the Hebrew word was either חרב or שמם.

5. *greater.*] Rather, **more mighty,**—I have heard, or come to know, even more striking instances of this than those which I have personally witnessed.

6. This verse begins the stanza of historical illustrations. If we regard *v.* 6 as the first instance of them, the reference would be primarily to Numb. xi. 1, comp. Ps. lxxviii. 21, although the history of Korah may also have been in view (Numb. xvi.). In that case we would translate: "*In the congregation of* **sinners fire was kindled**;" the Greek translator having for some reason rendered the Hebrew imperfect (in the first, though not in the second clause) by the future (in the LXX. Numb. xi. 1 reads: ἐξεκαύθη ἐν αὐτοῖς πῦρ). But it is at least conceivable that *v.* 6 *a* is intended not as a reference to any particular event, but as a general summary and inference from the past, and as a prediction of what would take place in the future. This would avoid the strange transition from a much later event to the history of the giants, of Lot, and of Israel, in the following verses, which are all related in their chronological order. If this view of *v.* 6 be adopted, the future tense must be retained in the translation: "*shall fire be kindled.*" See note on *v.* 8.

7. *toward the old giants.*] Rather, **in regard to.** The reference is to Gen. vi. 1–4. On the view here taken of this narrative comp. Wisd. xiv. 6; Bar. iii. 26; 3 Macc. ii. 4, the Pseudepigr. (B. of Hen.; B. of Jubil. Comp. Dillmann, 'B. Hen. Einl.' p. xlii.), Jos., Philo, and as regards the Greek text of Gen. vi. 1, Field's 'Hex.' *ad loc.* On the interpretation of Gen. vi. 1–4 see the special literature in Dillmann, 'Die Genesis' (Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb., ed. 1882), pp. 113, 114,

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8 [c]Neither spared he the place where Lot sojourned, but [d]abhorred them for their pride.

[c] Gen. 19. 24.
[d] Ezek. 16. 49, 50.

9 He pitied not the people of perdition, who were taken away in their sins:

Numb. 14. 15. 35. & 16. 21. & 21. 6. & 26. 64.

10 [e]Nor the six hundred thousand footmen, who were gathered together in the hardness of their hearts.

11 And if there be one stiffnecked among the people, it is marvel if he escape unpunished: for [f]mercy and wrath are with him; he is mighty to forgive, and to pour out displeasure.

[f] ch. 5. 6.

12 As his mercy is great, so is his correction also: [g]he judgeth a man according to his works.

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[g] Ps. 62. 12.

13 The sinner shall not escape with his spoils: and the patience of the godly shall not be frustrate.

14 Make way for every work of mercy: for every man shall find according to his works.

15 [h]The Lord hardened Pharaoh, that he should not know him, that his powerful works might be known to the world.

[h] Exod. 7. 3. & 14. 4, 8. Rom. 9. 17, 18.

16 His mercy is manifest to every creature; and [i]he hath separated

[i] Gen. 1. 4.

and Delitzsch, 'Comm. ü. d. Gen.' (ed. 1872), pp. 190, &c.

in the strength of their foolishness.] Rather, **in their strength,** omitting what evidently was a gloss (emendatory or else apologetic).

8. **He spared not those who dwelt with Lot, whom He abhorred** *for their pride.*] According to the common interpretation, the reference is here to the people of Sodom. But these would not have been "the sojourners with Lot;" rather was Lot a sojourner with them. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the following two verses (יחיד. 9, 10) can only refer to Israel. Hence we conclude that all these historical illustrations are taken from what befell the professing children of God. Accordingly they "who dwelt with Lot" must be those of his own family whose pride prevented their listening to his warning—*παροικία* standing for the Hebrew בית, and not מגור, as sometimes in the LXX. On the other hand, the Syr., which has here several alterations, seems to wish to apply יחיד. 6–9 not to Israel, but to their enemies,—as we think, wrongly.

9. *the people of perdition.*] *I.e.* devoted to perdition. The reference may be to what is recorded in Ex. xxxii., or else in Numb. xi. The Syr. would read the Heb. וְלֹא רִחֵם עַל עַם חֲרֵמוֹ—a play on the words.

10. *Nor.*] Rather, **and so.** The reference here is to the fact that the 600,000 footmen who came out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 37) perished in the wilderness on account of the hardness of their hearts. The rendering of the Greek: "who were gathered together,"—*ἐπισυναχθέντας*,—is due to a misunderstanding of the verb אסף (הַנֶּאֱסָפִים, or it may have been אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱסְפוּ), which means indeed "to gather," but in the twofold sense of gathering together and of gathering away = taking away = destroying. The meaning of the Hebrew original no doubt was: **who were carried off** [swept away] **in the hardness of their hearts.**

11. Third stanza, preparing for Part II. Not only a community, but individuals are punished of God. Omit "among the people."

13 *b.* **nor will He delay** [defer, cause to come too late] **the hope of the godly.**] Briefly, God will fulfil, and that ere long, the hope of His people. The wicked shall not be allowed to be rich in his robbery, nor yet the just to fail of his hope. We have rendered *ὑπομονή* not "patience," but "hope," in accordance with the usage of the LXX. The Hebrew may have been: וְתִקְוַת צַדִּיק לֹא יְאַחֵר.

14. **He will make a place for all mercy; every one** *shall find* (= receive) *according to his works.*] The difficulty here is whether the "mercy" (*ἐλεημοσύνη*) referred to is that shewn by man, of which God will make acknowledgment, or that displayed by God in the sense that, while He will prove very merciful, every one shall receive a just retribution. The meaning of the expression "He will make a place" (*ποιήσει τόπον*) is illustrated by Acts xxv. 16; Rom. xii. 19; Heb. viii. 7, xii. 17. It corresponds to the Hebrew נתן מקום ל. Although the term *ἐλεημοσύνη* is very rarely employed in reference to God, it is so used in Ecclus. xvii. 29, and in LXX. Ps. cii. (Heb. ciii.) 6 *a*, where it stands for "righteous acts," צדקות. Indeed, this latter passage may have been in the mind of the writer, and the *ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας* of that Ps. have become the *πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ποιήσει τόπον* of our passage. At the same time it must be admitted that the addition of *πάσῃ* seems to point to the exercise of human rather than Divine mercies. In that case "make a place" would = assign a place.

B. C. cir. 200.

his light from the darkness with an ‖adamant.

17 Say not thou, I will hide myself from the Lord: shall any remember me from above? I shall not be remembered among so many people: for what is my soul among such an infinite number of creatures?

‖ Or, *strong partition.*

[k] 1 Kings 8. 27. [l] Chron. 2. 18. [m] Pet. 3. 10.

18 [k]Behold, the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the deep, and the earth, and all that therein is, shall be moved when he shall visit.

19 The mountains also and foundations of the earth shall be shaken with trembling, when the Lord looketh upon them.

B. C. cir. 200.

20 No heart can think upon these things worthily: [l]and who is able to conceive his ways?

[l] Rom. 11. 33.

21 It is a tempest which no man can see: for the most part of his works are hid.

22 Who can declare the works of his justice? or who can endure them? for his covenant is afar off, and the trial of all things is in the end.

17. Omit *vv.* 15, 16. (See introductory remarks.) It adds to our difficulties of interpretation that *vv.* 15, 16 are found in the Syr. Again, the Syr. also gives a totally different turn to *v.* 17 (comp. Syr. *v.* 18), and presents it in a sense foreign, as we believe, to the purpose of the original writer. It is not difficult to perceive the apologetic motives for these alterations — although some may regard it as open to question whether the Greek or the Syriac translator tampered with the Hebrew original. For our own part we have no hesitation in abiding by the Greek Version. The last clause of the verse should be rendered: "For what is my soul **in immeasurable [infinite] creation?**" It must, however, be admitted that alike the thought and its mode of expression (κτίσις) are not Hebrew, but Alexandrian.

18. Omit the words "and all that therein is"; "shall be moved," &c.—rather: **shall be shaken at His visitation.** It is possible that *vv.* 18–22 still continue the objections of *v.* 17, derived from a misapplication of the observed greatness of God. But it seems difficult to imagine such language on the part of an unbeliever. On the other hand, if, as we suppose, *vv.* 21, 22 are intended as an answer to his secret thinking, *vv.* 18, 19 must also be regarded as part of the same argument. In that case the reasoning would be: True, God is very great; yet He is not far from His creation, but penetrates, pervades, and directs all—both physically and ethically—even though this may be unperceived or unheeded.

19. *shall be shaken, &c.*] Rather: "**are shaken** with trembling when **He** looketh upon them."

20. **But** (καὶ for δέ) **upon** (ordinarily, περί) **these things the mind** (לב) **shall not think.**] The future here in the sense of "cannot," to express what is morally impossible: comp. Rom. v. 7; 1 Cor. viii. 8 (Winer's 'Gramm.' p. 250). Most commentators, however, regard the words as implying a reproof of such a state of mind.

and His ways who shall consider?] The interpretation proposed by us of this and the preceding clause, although not free from difficulty, agrees best with *v.* 19. We may add that the Syr. Version offers not any help on these difficult verses, and indeed is not trustworthy.

21. **As a** *tempest, &c.*] The figurative comparison of God's dealings with the wind seems to have been not only frequent, but to have become almost proverbial. Comp. Ps. cxxxv. 7; Prov. xxx. 4; Eccles. i. 6 (viii. 8?), xi. 5; and especially St. John iii. 8.

22. **The works of** (God's) **justice** [righteousness] **who shall announce, or who shall expect** [await]?] Ὑπομένειν stands in the LXX. for a number of Hebrew words, but in a very large proportion of instances for such as mean "to expect" or "await." The meaning here is: as it is extremely difficult, almost impossible, to announce and anticipate the manner in which God's justice shall be manifested (since it is secret, sudden, irresistible, like the storm), so, on the other hand, there are few who expect it.

for **far off is the covenant.**] The clause following on these words in the A.V. must be omitted (in the Syr. the whole verse is wanting). These words express the false inference drawn by men from the impossibility of announcing God's judgments, as well as the reason why they are not expected. They imagine: far off is the covenant. The reference to the διαθήκη is a favourite one with the Son of Sirach, who employs the term twenty-two times. In the LXX. it stands almost invariably for ברית. We suppose that "the covenant" here in view is that with death and Hades, to which reference was made in Ecclus. xiv. 12, 17. The writer had probably in his mind LXX. Is. xxviii. 15, and especially *v.* 17: "And I will cause

B. C. cir. 200.

23 He that wanteth understanding will think upon vain things: and a foolish man erring imagineth follies.

24 My son, hearken unto me, and learn knowledge, and mark my words with thy heart.

25 I will shew forth doctrine in weight, and declare his knowledge exactly.

[m] Ps. 111. 7, 8.

26 [m] The works of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning: and from the time he made them he disposed the parts thereof.

B. C. cir. 200.

27 He garnished his works for ever, and in his hand are the ‖ chief of them unto all generations: they neither labour, nor are weary, nor cease from their works.

‖ Or, *beginnings.*

28 None of them hindereth another, [n] and they shall never disobey his word.

[n] Ps. 148. 8.

29 After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings.

judgment to be for hope (here ἐλπίς), and my compassion (ἐλεημοσύνη, as in Ecclus. xvi. 14) for *just* measures, and ye that trust vainly in falsehood *shall fall:* for the tempest (καταιγίς, as in Ecclus. xvi. 21) shall not by any means pass by you except it also take away your covenant of death (διαθήκη, as in Ecclus. xvi. 22), and your hope in Hades shall by no means stand; if the rushing tempest (καταιγίς) should come upon you, ye shall be beaten down by it." In our view this passage explains not only the expression "for far off is the covenant," but also the following verse.

23. *He that wanteth understanding* [lit. heart, חֲסַר־לֵב] *will think* **these** *things, and an* **unwise and erring man will think foolish things** [μωρά = נְבָלָה].

24. Stanza of final admonition. The expression "mark with the heart," as often in the Hebrew (שִׂים לֵב), here apparently derived from Deut. xxxii. 46 (both in the Heb. and LXX.). Comp. also Ezek. xliv. 5. Hence the proper translation is: "**And set thy heart upon** my words."

25. *I will shew forth* **instruction by weight** [carefully and accurately measured out, perhaps also with a secondary reference to its value], *and declare* [announce, set forth] **knowledge with exactness** [accuracy, precision].

26. **By** [according to] **the counsel** [appointment, decree — כְּמִשְׁפָּט] **of the Lord** (are) **His works** *from the beginning, and from* [the time of?] **their making** *He* **assigned** [apportioned] **their parts** [to each its part? perhaps וּלְכָל־אֶחָד חֶלְקוֹ חָלַק.] This vast creation, so far from leading us to infer—as the foolish had suggested in the previous stanza—that the individual is lost or unheeded amidst the vast mass, rather leads to an opposite conclusion. From the first all things have had the law of His appointment impressed upon them, and in every part of creation we mark this orderly distribution.

27. *He* **ordered** [settled, appointed, prepared — adorned?] **for ever His works, and their rule to their generation.**] Simple as these words seem, it is not easy to decide how exactly to render them. "The works" here referred to are God's chief works: the sun and stars to which Jewish Alexandrian philosophy attached such high importance, as well as the regulation of all nature (comp. here especially Philo, 'de Monarch.' i. § 1; comp. ii. 5, 6, and the art. Philo in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.'). We have rendered ἐκόσμησεν: He "ordered," "settled," which meaning it certainly bears in LXX. Mic. vi. 9, as well as a kindred meaning in other passages. The common rendering, "garnished" or "beautified," seems to give no meaning, while ours suits the context. Again, we have rendered τὰς ἀρχάς by "their rule," being the expression used in reference to the rule of sun and stars in LXX. Gen. i. 16, 18, and Philo similarly designates them as ἄρχοντας ('de Monarch.' i. 1). As to their "ordering for ever," the writer had probably Ps. cxlviii. 6 in view, where the same language is used. Indeed it is not improbable that the Hebrew original reproduced the וַיַּעֲמִידֵם לָעַד לְעוֹלָם of that Ps. (comp. also Ps. cxxxv., in the Heb. cxxxvi. 8, 9). It is even possible that the following clause also, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν, may be the younger Siracide's peculiar mode of rendering the second clause of Ps. cxlviii. 6: חָקַק־נָתַן וְלֹא יַעֲבוֹר—"they neither labour," — rather: **they hunger not.**

28. *hindereth* [**crowdeth**, in the sense of moving out of its place] *another* [lit. "his neighbour"]. "**Each presseth not upon his neighbour**, and **unto everlasting** [Aeon] **shall they not** disobey His word."

29. **And** *after this.*] Viz. after having

30 [o]With all manner of living things hath he covered the face thereof; [p]and they shall return into it again.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *How God created and furnished man.* 14 *Avoid all sin:* 19 *for God seeth all things.* 25 *Turn to him while thou livest.*

THE Lord [q]created man of the earth, and turned him into it again.

2 [b]He gave them few days, and a short time, and power also over the things therein.

3 He endued them with strength by themselves, and [c]made them according to his image,

4 And put the fear ‖of man upon all flesh, [d]and gave him dominion over beasts and fowls.

5 [They received the use of the

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[o] Gen. 1. 25.
[p] Eccles. 3. 20.
[q] Gen. 1. 27. & 3. 19. & 5. 2. Eccles. 3. 20. Wisd. 2. 23. & 7. 1, 6.

B. C. cir. 200.

[b] Job 14. 1.
[c] Gen. 1. 26. & 9. 6. 1 Cor. 11. 7. Coloss. 3. 10.
‖ Or, *him.*
[d] Gen. 1. 28.

thus established and regulated for ever what is in heaven above.

30. *living things.*] Rather, "**living creatures.**" The Hebrew may have been: מְלֹא פָנֶיהָ נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־חָי.

and they shall return into it again.] Lit. "and unto it the return of them."

CHAPTER XVII.

The argument of the previous chapter is here continued. What had previously been stated in regard to the world is now shewn to apply also to man—only that in his case personal responsibility is superadded. The world has a Divine Law inherent in itself; for man, as made in the image of God, his mental and moral individuality—the mind, conscience, heart, and free will—are that Law. Man is thus in the highest sense a law unto himself. In his case there exists not any necessity of nature, but he has the moral freedom of a personal choice, for which he is also endowed with the necessary moral qualifications. Hence he is absolutely and personally responsible (comp. xvi. 17, &c.). This forms the subject of the first stanza (*vv.* 1–8; *v.* 9 must be omitted). Turning next from this subjective to the objective aspect of the question, the writer lays down this further position, that man is intended by God to glorify Him, for which purpose God has made Himself known to him, and this involves another and still higher degree of responsibility. This forms the subject of the second stanza (*vv.* 10–15, *v.* 15 marking the climax, while *v.* 16 must be omitted). But the highest responsibility attaches to Israel (stanza 3: *vv.* 17–24). In a concluding stanza (*vv.* 25–32) the writer makes a religious application of what had preceded. Thus the chapter consists of four irregular stanzas. We add that *vv.* 5, 9, 16, 18, and 21 in our A. V. must be omitted as spurious.

1. *and turned him.*] But the sense requires: "**and shall turn him.**" In the Heb. it was no doubt יְשִׁיבֵהוּ, or more probably יְשִׁיבֵנּוּ (comp. Kautzsch-Gesenius, 24th ed., p. 145, 4, note); or, as in the Syr., with יוּב before it. In the latter case the meaning would have been: He shall certainly turn him again (Ewald, p. 782). The Greek translator used the aorist instead of the future, possibly as in Rev. x. 7; 1 Cor. vii. 28 (Winer, *l. l.* p. 248). The statement itself is parallel to Ps. cxlvi. 4.

2. *few days.*] ἡμέρας ἀριθμοῦ, lit. "days of number." A common Hebraism, as in שָׁנוֹת מִסְפָּר, "a few years," Job xvi. 22, and ימים מספר, "a few days," Numb. ix. 20 (LXX. ἡμέρας ἀριθμῷ), where the words in the Heb. are however in apposition, while in Ecclus. the original had יְמֵי מִסְפָּר. The use of the word "number" for "numbered" = few, is frequent, alike in the Heb. and in the LXX.

and a (definite) **time** [a season].] No doubt עֵת, perhaps, as suggested by the next clause, with the secondary sense of a Divine appointment attaching to it, as in Eccles. iii. In Ezek. vii. 7, 12, the words "day" and "season" are also conjoined, both in the Heb. and the LXX., but in the inverse order of Ecclus.

and He gave them the dominion [*imperium*, as apparent from the gen. of the object] **of what is upon it.**] Viz. of all that is upon the earth.

3. *He endued them with* **their own strength.**] *I.e.* strength of their own (so the Aethiop.), strength which was their own, human; while the Figure, which was behind that strength and directed it, and of which they were "the image," was Divine. καθ' ἑαυτούς, probably for the sake of antithesis to the κατ' εἰκόνα ("according to His image") in the next clause. The καθ' ἑαυτοὺς stands here instead of the genitive: comp. Acts xvii. 28, xviii. 15, xxvi. 3; Eph. i. 15 (Winer, *l. l.* p. 139, and § 30, Anm. 5, p. 174 of the 6th ed.). The Syr., which renders the second clause, "and covered them with terror," seems inapt and a confusion with the first clause of the next verse.

5. This verse must be omitted. As Grotius

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five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof.]

6 Counsel, and a tongue, and eyes, ears, and a heart, gave he them to understand.

7 Withal he filled them with the knowledge of understanding, and shewed them good and evil.

8 He set his eye upon their hearts, that he might shew them the greatness of his works.

9 He gave them to glory in his marvellous acts for ever, that they might declare his works with understanding.

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10 And the elect shall praise his holy name.

11 Beside this he gave them knowledge, and the law of life for an heritage.

12 He made an everlasting covenant with them, and shewed them his judgments.

13 Their eyes saw the majesty of

remarks, it is probably the marginal gloss of some Stoic annotator.

6. *Counsel.*] Rather, **a disposition.** Cp. xv. 14. The Syr. omits, as we think rightly, this word. It should be noted that διαβούλιον in the singular does not occur in the LXX. and only twice in Ecclus.: here and in xv. 14 [see note] in the sense of disposition, mind = יצר. It occurs in the plural (whether of διαβουλία or διαβούλιον) in the sense of "counsels," "purposes," and "thoughts," in LXX. Ps. v. 11 and ix. 23 (Heb. x. 2), and in Hos. xi. 6; also in Hos. iv. 9, v. 4, vii. 2, where the Heb., however, has "doings" (for the rendering of קֶשֶׁר in 2 Sam. [LXX. 2 Kings] xv. 12 by διαβούλιον, see Field, 'Hex.' *ad loc.*). We infer that the use of διαβούλιον and of יצר in that sense was post-biblical, and, as regards the Greek term, we would suggest, Alexandrian. In omitting the word, the Syr. is probably faithful to the original. We farther mark that the Syr. order of the verses differs from the Greek, there being an inversion of *vv.* 6 and 7 as well as of clauses *a* and *b* in *v.* 9, while clause *a* of *v.* 8 is omitted. The Syriac order therefore is: *vv.* 7, 6, 8 *b*, 9 *b*, 9 *a*, these last three clauses forming Syr. *v.* 8, then *v.* 9, which is *v.* 10 of the A. V. The Vulgate, it must be remembered, represents in Ecclesiasticus the ancient Latin Version (Vet. Lat.). See the Introd. It omits *v.* 5 and adds a clause both at the beginning and the end of *v.* 6 (in A. V.). It also inserts a clause between *a* and *b* in *v.* 7, and adds a clause to, while it generally confirms, *vv.* 8–10 (in our A. V.). Lastly, the reading of A. V. differs from that of the Vatican, which we are throughout following. From all this we infer that the text of these verses has been altered, probably by successive "hands," from philosophical and theological motives, which, so far as *vv.* 5–7 are concerned, will be easily understood. On the whole, we prefer the Syr. arrangement of the verses.

to understand.] Perhaps, **to consider.**

7. Omit "withal."

9, 10. Verse 9 is omitted in the LXX. (Vatic.), while *v.* 10 reads as follows: **And they shall praise His holy Name** [in the Syr. only: "And that they may praise His holy Name"] **that they may declare** (tell) **the greatnesses of His works** (μεγαλεῖα = גְּדֻלּוֹת, Ps. lxxi. 19). Here—or perhaps at the next verse—begins a new stanza.

11. He gave them besides.] But we are inclined, in accordance with the Syr., to emend προσέθηκεν into προέθηκεν: **he set before them.** This would suit the context much better.

and made them inherit a law of life.] Houbigant understands this as an allusion to the Law of Nature in man. But this seems incompatible with clause *a* and with *v.* 12, both of which—as we understand them, and as the original no doubt intended—would point to the Law of Moses. But we suspect that some alterations were purposely made in this verse by the younger Siracide. The Syr. has "covenant," and we suspect that the younger Siracide purposely changed the ברית, "covenant," of the original into "wisdom," ἐπιστήμη, in order to give the verse a more general, Alexandrian sense. Similarly the Syr. has in the second clause "He taught them" (perhaps הוֹדִיעָם), which was changed into "made them inherit," as if it were a general human inheritance. Thus Houbigant may, after all, have rightly indicated the intention of the Greek translator, though not the meaning of the original.

12. This verse confirms our previous interpretation. "His judgments," in the sense of the Hebrew מִשְׁפָּטָיו = laws, commandments, ordinances.

13. Here it is no longer open to doubt that the reference is to the revelation on Sinai. "*The majesty of his glory*,"—rather, **the greatness of the glory** (omitting "his");

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his glory, and their ears heard his glorious voice.

14 And he said unto them, Beware of all unrighteousness; and he [e]gave every man commandment concerning his neighbour.

15 [f]Their ways are ever before him, and shall not be hid from his eyes.

16 Every man from his youth is given to evil; neither could they make to themselves fleshy hearts for stony.

17 For [g]in the division of the nations of the whole earth he set a [h]ruler over every people; but [i]Israel is the Lord's portion:

18 Whom, [k]being his firstborn, he nourisheth with discipline, and giving him the light of his love doth not forsake him.

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19 [l]Therefore all their works are as the sun before him, and his eyes are continually upon their ways.

20 None of their unrighteous deeds are hid from him, but all their sins are before the Lord.

21 But the Lord being gracious, and knowing his workmanship, [m]neither left nor forsook them, but spared them.

22 The [n]alms of a man is as a signet with him, and he will keep the good deeds of man [o]as the apple of the eye, and give repentance to his sons and daughters.

[e] Exod. 20, & 21, & 22, & 23.
[f] ch. 15. 19. ver. 19. Hebr. 4. 13.
[g] Deut. 32. 8, 9.
[h] Rom. 13. 1.
[i] Deut. 4. 20. & 10. 15.
[k] Exod. 4. 22.
[l] ver. 15.
[m] Deut. 31. 6.
[n] ch. 29. 12, 13.
[o] Ps. 17. 8.

and again in the second clause, **and the glory of their voice** [sound = their glorious sound] **heard their ear.** Many authorities correct *αὐτῶν*, "their" [after *φωνῆς*], into *αὐτοῦ*, "His," and the Syr. has the same reading. But there seems no need for the correction. "Their" voice or sound was that of the commandments, *v.* 12, while they only saw "the greatness of glory," not "His" glory itself.

14. The reference seems to be to the chapters following the ten commandments, especially Ex. xxi., xxii.

15. This verse sets forth the final inference from all as regards Israel's personal responsibility, in answer to the objections mentioned in Ecclus. xvi. 17, &c.

16. The whole verse must be omitted. It is so evidently an interpolation and of late, probably Christian, authorship, that it is difficult to understand its insertion.

17. Omit "For in the division of the nations of the whole earth." Fritzsche regards the "rulers" whom God had set over each nation as their guardian angels, through whom He stood in some relationship to "every people," and he refers in corroboration to LXX. Deut. xxxii. 8 and Heb. ii. 5. The latter passage has not any reference to this subject, nor does even the former bear out the contention of Fritzsche, since the parallelism between the verse in Ecclus. and that in LXX. Deut. is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. It is indeed true that the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxii. 8 reproduces the tradition in the Jer. Targ. on Gen. xi. 7, 8, where the "We" who came down to confound the languages and to scatter the people are explained to be the seventy angels, having reference to the seventy nations who would be formed (comp. also Pirqé d. R. El. 24). In the later Midrash this is further developed, and God not only assigns to the nations their bounds "according to the number of the angels of God" (LXX. Deut.), but these angel-princes are protectors of the nations, hostile to Israel, and shall ultimately be cast down (Ber. R. 56; Shem. R. 21; Vayy. R. 29; Ruth R. ed. Warsh. p. 36 *b*). But in Ecclus. there is as yet not any mention of such hostility to Israel on the part of the "angel-princes," nor even a clear indication of the legend underlying the LXX. gloss on Deut. and the Jer. Targum. When to this we add that Michael was similarly regarded as the "Angel-prince" of Israel, we are inclined to regard "the rulers" of Ecclus. xvii. 17 as secular princes, and the reference —if any—to be to Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 in the Hebrew. And words of comfort like these would be very appropriate in the political condition of Israel in the time of the older Siracide.

18. This verse must be omitted.

19. Omit "therefore."

20. **Their unrighteous deeds are not** *hid from Him*, **and** *all their sins are before the Lord.*] The Syr.: "and open before Him are all their thoughts"—perhaps more true to the original, or else by way of softening it.

21. This verse must be omitted.

22. The last clause after "apple of the eye" must be omitted. From the nation the writer passes to the individual. Although Israel as a people may suffer for their sins, yet there are the righteous among them. We have here clear indication of the later doctrine of

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23 [p]Afterwards he will rise up and reward them, and render their recompence upon their heads.

24 [q]But unto them that repent, he granted them return, and comforted those that failed in patience.

25 [r]Return unto the Lord, and forsake thy sins, make thy prayer before his face, and ‖ offend less.

26 Turn again to the most High, and turn away from iniquity: for he will lead thee out of darkness into ‖ the light of health, and hate thou abomination vehemently.

27 [s]Who shall praise the most High in the grave, instead of them which live and give thanks?

28 Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: the living and sound in heart shall praise the Lord.

29 How great is the lovingkindness of the Lord our God, and his compassion unto such as turn unto him in holiness!

30 For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal.

[p] Matt. 25. 34, 35.
[q] Acts 3. 19.
[r] Jer. 3. 12.
‖ Or, *lessen thy offence.*
‖ Or, *illumination.*
[s] Ps. 6. 5. & 115. 17. Isai. 38. 18, 19. Baruch 2. 17.

the meritoriousness of "good works," especially of "almsgiving." Altogether the verse forms a later Judaic paraphrase, or rather transformation, of Deut. xxxii. 10. It is now "almsgiving" which is precious as "the signet" on the hand, and which God guards as carefully as the apple of the eye. Nothing can annul what that signet has sealed; nothing shall disturb or dim that eye. The meaning which we attach to this verse is confirmed by the paraphrastic Syr. rendering: "The righteousness [merit] of all the sons of men is sealed and deposited with Him, and the goodness of all the sons of men is as the apple of the eye preserved before Him."

23. From the use of the expression "and render their recompence upon their **own** heads," which is not only exactly parallel to Joel iii. (Heb. iv.) 6, 7, but reproduces the wording of the LXX., we conclude that this verse refers not to the subject of *v.* 22, but to the punishment of the wicked. With this agrees the Syr.: "and return [give] their sins (in the Heb. it was probably גְּמוּלָם; comp. also Ps. xxviii. 4) upon their head."

24. **granteth . . . comforteth . . . fail** *in* **confidence.**] That is, those whose hope or confidence of forgiveness faileth. The Syr. either misread or misunderstood the original.

25. Last stanza. *and offend less.*] Rather: **and lessen** (the occasion for) **offence**; lit., "the stumble." The word *πρόσκομμα* is used in that sense (although for different Hebrew words) in LXX. Ex. xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 12; Is. viii. 14, xxix. 21; and in N. T. Rom. ix. 32, 33, xiv. 13, 20; 1 Cor. viii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 8. Substantially, therefore, the advice is to avoid what would lead to sin. The Syr. had here either a different text, or altered the original. Or it may be that the younger Siracide had modified it in his own fashion. The Greek is certainly feeble as compared with the Syriac.

26. The clause beginning "for he will lead thee," and ending "into the light of health," must be omitted.

27, 28. *grave.*] Rather, **Hades.**

thanks . . . thanksgiving.] Rather, **praise.** Verses 27 and 28*a* seem again to imply a denial of personal immortality. On the other hand, the Syr. has: "For what delight hath the Lord in all those who perished in the world instead of them who live and render praise to Him?" Does the Greek text represent an alteration on the part of the younger Siracide, or is the Syr. version a Christian emendation? After "sound" in *v.* 28 omit the words "in heart." The gloss may have been intended to mitigate what might seem offensive in the original, while the limitation of "praise" to corporeal and temporal benefits is quite in the spirit of at least the younger Siracide.

29. Omit as glosses, similar in character to that just noticed, in clause *a*, "our God;" and in clause *b*, "in holiness."

30. The first clause in the Greek gives no meaning. If we were to alter *πάντα* into *ταῦτα*, it would agree with the Syr. and the sense would be: "For these things are not in man." But this does not fit in either with what precedes or with what follows. It seems not unlikely that the Hebrew original was כִּי לֹא אֵל בְּאָדָם or אֱנוֹשׁ—"**for the Lord is not as man,**" and that the younger Siracide misread כל for אל and בְּאָדָם for כְּאָדָם (comp. Horowitz, in Frankel's 'Monatschr.' xiv. p. 198). If we may thus account for the first clause by a misreading of the Hebrew, it is not easy to explain the second clause. It accords indeed with the first clause in the Greek, but we can scarcely imagine that it faithfully represents the original. Can it have been intended to convey the same meaning as *vv.* 27, 28 *a*—or else to attenuate that meaning

B. C. cir. 200.

31 [t]What is brighter than the sun? yet the light thereof faileth: and flesh and blood will imagine evil.

32 He vieweth the power of the height of heaven; and all men are but earth and ashes.

[t] Job 25. 5, 6.

CHAPTER XVIII.

4 *God's works are to be wondered at.* 9 *Man's life is short.* 11 *God is merciful.* 15 *Do not blemish thy good deeds with ill words.* 22 *Defer not to be justified.* 30 *Follow not thy lusts.*

HE that liveth for ever [a]created all things in general.

B. C. cir. 200.

2 The Lord only is righteous, and [b]there is none other but he,

[a] Gen. 1. 1.
[b] Deut. 4. 35.

3 Who governeth the world with the palm of his hand, [c]and all things obey his will: for he is the King of all, by his power [d]dividing holy things among them from profane.

[c] ch. 42. 23.
[d] Lev. 10. 10.

4 To whom hath he given power to declare his works? [e]and who shall find out his noble acts?

[e] Ps. 106. 2.

by a vague generality? The Syr. has: "nor is his counsel like that of the sons of flesh."

31. Whether we adopt the Greek or the Syriac version of *v.* 30, *v.* 31 is evidently intended to set forth in contrast to the greatness and goodness of God the inherent weakness of the creature: **What is more shining** [more brilliant] **than the sun? yet even this is obscured: and an evil man will think of flesh and blood.** Fritzsche translates: "taketh flesh and blood into consideration," and regards it as referring to a moral obscuration. But this explanation is not satisfactory. For in that case we should have the inapt comparison of the natural obscuration of the light of the sun with the voluntary moral obscuration of the wicked. Our A. V. adopts the Alex. reading, which must be regarded as an attempt at emendation. The Syr. paraphrases. Horowitz (*u. s.*) conjectures that the Hebrew original was: אף כי מחשבות אנוש בישר ודם, "how much more the thoughts of man who is flesh and blood;" or else, on a like supposition, אף כי יצר אדם הרע בישר ודם, "how much more the evil imagining of man who is flesh and blood." If so, the Greek translator might have treated the substantive יצר as a verb, and interpreted it by "meditateth," or "imagineth."

32. *He* **surveys the host** *of the height of heaven, and* **men, all** [of them], *are earth and ashes.*] We have rendered *δύναμιν* by "the host," supposing the original to have been חֵיל or חַיִל, which is generally rendered in the LXX. by *δύναμις*. The Syr. has: "He judgeth the host of heaven, also the children of flesh . . ."

CHAPTER XVIII.

As is the case in other chapters, so here also the closing part of chap. xvii. becomes the subject of farther teaching in chap. xviii. It consists of two Parts: Part I., *vv.* 1–18; Part II., *v.* 19–end. Part I. contains three stanzas (6—originally 7? — + 7 + 4 verses). The first stanza (*vv.* 1–7) sets forth the greatness of God relatively to man; the second stanza (*vv.* 8–14), the smallness of man relatively to God in His greatness and goodness; while the third stanza (*vv.* 15–18) admonishes man in his own way to imitate the goodness of God. This forms the transition to Part II., which deals with man. Here also we have three stanzas (7 + 4 + 4 verses), which may be thus summarized: stanza 1 (*vv.* 19–25), man relatively to God; stanza 2 (*vv.* 26–29), general inferences; stanza 3 (*vv.* 30–33), moral application, or rather the commencement of a series of useful commonplace sayings.

1. The text seems here corrupt. The Syr. begins with what we number as *v.* 4. In the A. V. *v.* 3 must be omitted, so that the first stanza would only consist of six verses. But we would suggest that both *vv.* 1 and 2 must in the original have had a second clause, and that there is a *lacuna* between *vv.* 2 and 4. Thus stanza 1 may originally have consisted of seven verses.

in general.] Rather, **generally.** This in the sense of the world as a whole (comp. the use of *κοινῇ* in 2 Macc. ix. 26). We conjecture that if this verse was in the original Hebrew, it contained a strong assertion of the Divine creation of everything out of nothing, and that the younger Siracide, entertaining the Alexandrian notion of the pre-existence of matter, had modified it, but disguised this under the ambiguous expression *κοινῇ*, which might mean "together," "as a whole," or "generally."

2. *The Lord* **alone shall be justified** [perhaps: "declared righteous"].] This verse seems also fragmentary. We can only conjecture that it expressed an antithesis to the imperfectness and defects of all creatures. See under *v.* 5. The second clause in the A. V., "and there is none other but he," as well as *v.* 3, must be omitted.

4. **To no one** [so the better reading] **gave He** *power* **to proclaim** *His works.*] Schleusner: *facultatem dedit, seu copiam fecit—*

B. C. cir. 200.

5 Who shall number the strength of his majesty? and who shall also tell out his mercies?

6 As for the wondrous works of the Lord, there may nothing be taken from them, neither may any thing be put unto them, neither can the ground of them be found out.

7 When a man hath done, then he beginneth; and when he leaveth off, then he shall be doubtful.

8 What is man, and whereto serveth he? what is his good, and what is his evil?

B. C. cir. 200.

9 *f* The number of a man's days at the most are an hundred years. *f* Ps. 90. 10.

10 As a drop of water unto the sea, and a gravelstone in comparison of the sand; so are a *g* thousand years to the days of eternity. *g* Ps. 90. 4. 2 Pet. 3. 8.

11 Therefore is God patient with them, and poureth forth his mercy upon them.

12 He saw and perceived their end

i.e. none of His creatures is able or sufficient for it; none is qualified fully to proclaim them. Fritzsche regards it as = ἐνεποίησε in Ecclus. xlii. 17. But although the two passages are parallel, the meaning of ἐμποιέω (in Ecclus. xlii.) is somewhat different from that of ἐκποιέω. The expression "to proclaim His works" is the same as in LXX. Ps. cvi. (Heb. cvii.) 22, although the idea is rather parallel to LXX. Ps. cv. (Heb. cvi.) 2. In the Syr.: "Who is able to shew forth—manifest, declare—His works?"

and **who can search out His mighty acts?**] The same word (as for "search out") is used in the LXX. both for דרשׁ and for חקר; "mighty acts," μεγαλεῖα, as in LXX. Ps. lxx. (Heb. lxxi.) 19: גְּדֻלּוֹת.

5. In the Syr. the Greek *v.* 4 (there *v.* 1) is followed (as *v.* 2) by what is fragmentarily preserved in the Greek *v.* 2: "The whole world shall be examined together, and the Lord alone be just." The Greek *v.* 5 is omitted in the Syr. "Number" = enumerate; "tell out" = set forth. In the Hebrew original the second clause (if genuine) may have been: מִי יוֹסִיף לְהַגִּיד חֲסָדָיו.

6. **There is not** [it is not possible] **to make fewer** [to diminish] **nor to add to, nor is there** (fully) **to search out the wonderful works** [נִפְלָאוֹת; generally—thirty-one times—so translated in the LXX.] **of the Lord.**

7. *When a man hath* **ended,** *then he beginneth.*] *I.e.* when he is at the end of his attempts to compute or understand, he is really only at the beginning of his task and of God's wonderful works.

and when he **ceaseth** [Bretschneider aptly, *scil. opere peracto*—when he gives up the search, rests from it], *then* **is he perplexed.**] *I.e.* astonied, confounded, in utter perplexity, viz. alike by what he cannot search out and by the multitude of the things opening to his view. The most apt rendering here is the Latin *obstupescere.* This not only answers to the Syr. rendering, but ἀπορέω is used in the same sense in the LXX. (see, for example, Gen. xxxii. 8 (LXX. 7), where it stands for וַיִּצַר לוֹ) and repeatedly in the N. T. The Syr. translates "when they return," instead of "when he ceaseth." Possibly the original may have been יָשַׁב, which the Greek translator rendered "when he ceaseth:" while the Syr. derived it from שׁוּב. The Greek gives a better sense.

8. This leads up to the second stanza about man. Instead of "whereto serveth he?" the Syr. has, "what is his defect and what his advantage?"—Heb. מַה חֶסְרוֹנוֹ וּמַה יִתְרוֹנוֹ —a word-play. Altogether a pessimist view of man and of life.

9. *The number of* **days of a man** [the duration of his life] **many years, (if) an hundred.**] Bretschneider quotes from Seneca, 'de brevit. vitae,' c. 3: "Pervenisse te ad ultimum aetatis humanae videmus: centesimus tibi, vel supra, premitur annus." But then the philosopher continues to shew how much has to be deducted from this age on account of trouble, illness, and needless or frivolous waste, so that the real span of life is after all very short (ed. Ruhkopf, i. pp. 497, 498).

10. *As a drop of water* **out of** *the sea and a* **little stone out of** *the sand* [the omission of the prepos. in the second clause is a Hebraism. See Winer, *l. l.*, p. 373, &c.], *so* **a few years in** *the* **day** *of eternity.*] The Syr. here paraphrases in targumic manner.

11. *Therefore* **is the Lord long-suffering towards them.**] He bears with them in their sins. Bretschneider notes here the absence of any reference to another life. This appears especially in *v.* 12.

12. *their end.*] Καταστροφή is a rather stronger word than "end," and used *sensu malo.* The Hebrew had probably אַחֲרִיתָם, as in the Syr.

B. C. cir. 200.

to be evil; therefore he multiplied his compassion.

13 The mercy of man is toward his neighbour; [h]but the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh: he reproveth, and nurtureth, and teacheth, and bringeth again, [i]as a shepherd his flock.

14 He hath mercy on them that receive discipline, and that diligently seek after his judgments.

15 [k]My son, blemish not thy good deeds, neither use uncomfortable words when thou givest any thing.

16 Shall not the dew asswage the heat? so is a word better than a gift.

17 Lo, is not a word better than a gift? but both are with a gracious man.

18 A fool will upbraid churlishly, and a gift of the envious consumeth the eyes.

19 Learn before thou speak, and use physick or ever thou be sick.

20 Before judgment [l]examine thyself, and in the day of visitation thou shalt find mercy.

[h] Ps. 145. 9.

[i] Jer. 31. 10.

[k] ch. 41. 22.

[l] 1 Cor. 11. 28, 31.

13. *toward his neighbour.*] The Syr., "him that is near in flesh:" this, in accordance with Rabbinic usage and ideas.

reproving, and disciplining, and teaching, and bringing back.] The reference is to God.

14. *He hath mercy on them that* **accept** *discipline, and* **who hasten** [make haste] *after His* **ordinances.**] Lit., "judgments," מישפטים—who submit to the discipline which He administers and become obedient. The Syr. here substitutes: "Happy they who hope in His compassion and they who receive [approve] His judgments."

15. Third stanza: see Introd.

Son, add not blame in *thy good deeds.*] Lit., give not blame, viz. joining words of reproach to benefits bestowed—a not uncommon mode of pharisaic churlishness. The opposite characteristic in the gifts of God in St. James i. 5—one of the many parallelisms between that Ep. and Ecclus. (see General Introd.).

nor with [in] **every gift sadness** [mourning] **of words.**] *I.e.* words that cause sadness. The Syr. evidently misunderstood this verse. The sentiment is truly Jewish in the best sense.

16. *heat.*] Perhaps "scorching east-wind:" in that case it would mean that it restores what such east-wind, קָדִים, "has scorched" (see Grimm, 'Lex. in l. N. T.' sub *καύσων*).

17. *a word.*] Viz. a good, kind word.

better than a gift.] In the Hebrew probably: טוֹב מִמַּתָּן. The Talmud contains many similar statements. Thus Sukk. 19*b*: Alms are rewarded only according to the graciousness which accompanies them. In 'Jer. Peah,' viii. 9, it is pointed out that in Ps. xli. 1 it is said, "Blessed is he that considereth" (not "that giveth to") "the poor." In 'Babh. B.' 9*b* we read that he that gave to the poor a Perutah (the smallest coin) was blessed with six blessings (according to Is. lviii. 8, 9), but he that comforted them with words was blessed with eleven blessings (according to Is. lviii. 10–12). Lastly, in 'Ab. de R. Nath.' xiii. we are told that if one bestowed on another all the gifts in the world, but with an unpleasant countenance, it would be reckoned as if he had not given anything, while if a man received his neighbour with a pleasant face, even if he gave him nothing, it would be reckoned as if he had bestowed on him all the gifts in the world.

but.] Rather, **and.**

gracious.] The same expression in St. Luke i. 28.

18. *A fool will upbraid* **ungraciously,** *and* **the gift of a churl** [*βάσκανος*, Ecclus. xiv. 3, and often—here not exactly = envious, but corresponding to the German *scheelsüchtig, misgünstig*] **melteth** *the eyes.*] Not, as Fritzsche understands it: "causeth weeping," but as in Job xxxi. 16, for כָּלָה; here possibly מְכַלֶּה עֵינַיִם—"consumeth the eyes," perhaps in the sense of their looking and longing in vain.

19. This verse begins the second Part.

use physick.] Rather, **attend to thy health,** or else **get thee medicine.** The Syr.: "before thou fightest procure for thyself an helper, and before thou art sick a physician."

20. *Before judgment.*] Here evidently that of God, whether the controversy be between Him and man, or between man and man.

and in the **hour** *of visitation thou shalt find* **reconciliation.**] Syr.: "Before adversity comes upon thee, pray, and in the hour of adversity thou shalt find it, and it will procure favour for thee." The meaning

B. C. cir. 200.

21 [m]Humble thyself before thou be sick, and in the time of sins shew repentance.

22 [n]Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vow in due time, and defer not until death to be justified.

23 Before thou prayest, prepare thyself; and be not as one that tempteth the Lord.

24 [o]Think upon the wrath that shall be at the end, and the time of vengeance, when he shall turn away his face. B. C. cir. 200. [o] ch. 7. 17, 36.

25 When thou hast enough, remember the time of hunger: and when thou art rich, think upon poverty and need.

26 From the morning until the

[m] ch. 7. 17.
[n] Deut. 23. 21. Eccles. 5. 4.

of the Greek is, that if a man thus makes timely self-examination, and combines with it humiliation and repentance, judgment will not descend upon him.

22. The second clause may refer to the practice of delaying to perform a vow till just before death, and then discharging his obligation, and thereby becoming "justified," that is, escaping punishment.

In general ירש. 19–21 are strictly Judaic and find their parallel in Rabbinic writings. Thus we read ('Jer. Taan.' iii. 6, p. 9 *a*): "Honour thy physician before thou hast need of him." In the Midrash it is quoted as a proverb (Shem. R. 21), and explained to mean that we are to worship and to entreat God before we are overtaken by sickness or adversity (comp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 1). In another place (Shabb. 32 *a*) we find this: "Ever let a man seek mercy before he is ill. For when he becomes sick they say to him: Shew thy merits, and thou shalt be delivered." In Sanh. 44 *b* we read: "Ever let a man pray before adversity comes." Again in Nedar. 41 *a* it is said: "The sick does not rise from his sickness till all his sins are forgiven him;" and in 'Babh. K.' 46 *b*, "There is no medicament like the medicine of prayer and of the Law." Other passages might be quoted from the tractate 'Berakhoth,' setting forth the connexion of prayer and humiliation with the healing of disease. The Syr. renders the passage somewhat differently, and as it seems to us, at any rate, paraphrastically.

23. *Before thou* **vowest**, *prepare thyself.*] That is, we are to consider whether the vow should be made, and whether we are prepared to perform it. In the Midrash 'Tanchuma' (Par. Vayyishlach, ed. Warsh. p. 43 *b*) this saying of Ben Sira is quoted as follows: "Before thou vowest, prepare thy vow lest thou be [or, that thou be not] as one that causeth to err." This agrees with the Syr., which, however, renders the second clause: "and be not as a man that tempteth his lord"—possibly altering the אדני of the Hebrew original into אדניו. But from the quotation in 'Tanchuma' it would rather seem that neither the one nor the other word was in the original. The passage is evidently based on Eccles. v. 4, 5, with which it is brought into connexion in 'Tanchuma.'

24. The Syr. here paraphrases what the translator either did not or else would not understand.

Remember [think upon the] *wrath* **in the days of** *the end* [death?], *and the time of* **retribution in the turning away** [or hiding] **of the countenance.**] Viz. when God shall turn away or hide His countenance. This rendering is established by the use of the similar expressions in LXX. Deut. xxxi. 18, on which, indeed, the saying of the Siracide seems founded. Comp. for the expression also Deut. xxxii. 20 and other passages. (In general we mark the frequent reference in Ecclus. to LXX. Deut.) The verse under consideration has been generally understood as referring to the time of a man's death: "the days of the end" = "the days of death." But in that case we should have expected the singular, not the plural: "in the day," as in Ecclus. xi. 26, not "in the days." Accordingly we would suggest that the expression refers not to "death," but represents the Hebrew אַחֲרִית: that which cometh afterwards, the end, in later Heb. especially the future. Indeed, in LXX. Prov. xxiv. 14 אחרית is rendered by τελευτή. Thus the meaning of the verse would be: remember the wrath in the days hereafter, in the future, in the end, and that there will be a time of tribulation when He turneth away His countenance. We would farther suggest that the reference is primarily to the making of vows by which God is provoked (*v.* 24), and secondarily to all sins of rashness. Thus it would, in the strictest sense, be a paraphrase of Eccles. v. 6, which should be rendered (not as in the A. V., nor as in the R. V., but): "Suffer not [cause not] thy mouth to bring punishment upon thy flesh."

25. **Remember the time of hunger in the time of satiety,** (and) **poverty and need in the days of wealth.**] Here also the reference seems primarily to vows rashly made in a season of prosperity without bearing in mind the future difficulties which this may involve. Besides, the verse may also be intended generally to enjoin the

B. C. cir. 200.

evening the time is changed, and all things are soon done before the Lord.

27 [p] A wise man will fear in every thing, and in the day of sinning he will beware of offence: but a fool will not observe time.

28 Every man of understanding knoweth wisdom, and will give praise unto him that found her.

29 They that were of understanding in sayings became also wise themselves, and poured forth exquisite parables.

30 [q] Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites.

31 If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies that malign thee.

32 Take not pleasure in much good cheer, neither be tied to the expence thereof.

33 Be not made a beggar by banqueting upon borrowing, when thou hast nothing in thy purse: for thou shalt lie in wait for thine own life, and be talked on.

[p] Prov. 28. 14.

[q] Rom. 6. 5. & 13. 14.

CHAPTER XIX.

2 *Wine and women seduce wise men.* 7 *Say not all thou hearest.* 17 *Reprove thy friend without anger.* 22 *There is no wisdom in wickedness.*

need of timely preparation for the future. The Rabbis are urgent on the same topic, chiefly with the view of counselling preparation in this life for that which is to come: preparing during the week for the Sabbath; providing before setting out for the requirements of the journey, &c.

26. By a natural transition the writer passes to the rapidness of great changes and the consequent need of preparedness.

From morning to evening.] *I.e.* in the brief space between these two. For the expression, comp. Ruth ii. 7; Job iv. 20.

the time is changed.] We might almost incline to regard καιρός = *tempus*, in the sense of "weather," but it gives good sense even if we retain the ordinary rendering "time."

and all things are **rapid** *before the Lord.*] As the time quickly flieth—or else as the weather rapidly changes—from morning to evening, so all things are in their changeful occurrence rapid before God.

27. Omit "but a fool will not observe time."

A wise man will **be careful** [cautious] *in every thing, and in the* **days of sins**—i.e. in those in which sin abounds—*will beware of offence* [transgression].] The Syr. must here have had another text, since it conveys a different kind of lesson from the Greek.

28. The Syr. has: "Every wise man has to teach wisdom, and to render thanks to them that know her." It must be admitted that this fits in better with the following verse.

29. *They* **who are** *of understanding in sayings*—who understand their meaning—*become also wise themselves*—probably: **also display their wisdom,** *and* **pour** *forth exquisite* **proverbs.**] Their wisdom shews itself in this.

30. This verse is headed in the Greek text by the words: "Mastery (control) over the soul." This can scarcely have been in the original, and probably slipped from the margin into the text. It is therefore all the more remarkable that there should be an indication of this inscription in the Syr.—unless, indeed, the translator, or a later "hand," had the Greek before him. The heading itself is not inapt. In all probability the writer intended to begin with *v.* 30 the exquisite commonplaces or proverbs to which reference was made in *v.* 29.

but.] Rather, **and.**

31. *If thou* **ministerest** [suppliest] **to** *thy soul the* **pleasure** [gratification] **of desire** [appetite, passion], **it** *will make thee, &c.*] Omit the words: "that malign thee." A man who gives the reins to his desires will soon become a laughing-stock to his enemies.

32. **Delight not in much luxuriousness, nor suffer thyself to be bound to its association.**] So literally; the purport being to warn against being drawn into association with, or the society of, *bons vivans.* Συμβολή, in the LXX. always for חִבָּרָה or כִּיחֻבָּרָה — "Luxuriousness," not merely in the pleasures of the table, but including all the wantonness of which this formed part.

33. *banqueting.*] The expression refers to having a share in joint banquets. Philo ('de Ebr.,' § 6, ed. Mang. i. p. 360) makes curious reference to such joint feasts, and in haggadic manner traces the word συμβολοκοπέω to a connexion between συμβολαί, the contributions to these feasts, and κόπτω, "I strike," "wound," "smite." The last clause in the A. V. after "thy purse" must be omitted. The Syr. paraphrases or rather is a Targum on the verse.

B. C. cir. 200.

A LABOURING man that is given to drunkenness shall not be rich: and he that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little.

[a] Gen. 9. 21. & 19. 32. &c. [b] 1 Kings 11. 1, 4.

2 [a]Wine and [b]women will make men of understanding to fall away: and he that cleaveth to harlots will become impudent.

3 Moths and worms shall have him to heritage, and a bold man shall be taken away. B. C. cir. 200.

4 [c]He that is hasty to give credit is lightminded; [d]and he that sinneth shall offend against his own soul. [c] Josh. 22. 11. [d] Prov. 8. 36.

5 Whoso taketh pleasure in wickedness shall be condemned: but he that resisteth pleasures crowneth his life.

6 He that can rule his tongue

CHAPTER XIX.

From what seems a confusion in the text of *vv.* 3–5, it is not easy to arrange the chapter. But its general subject seems an admonition to carefulness: first in reference to sinful indulgence (*vv.* 1–3 of A. V.); secondly, in regard to what we listen to, and say (*vv.* 4–12 of A. V.), and what we credit (*vv.* 13–17). Then follows a caution as regards true and false wisdom, and what hypocritically assumes the appearance of wisdom (*vv.* 20–28); the last two verses forming a general conclusion (*vv.* 29, 30).

1. This verse connects itself with the close of the previous chapter.

and he that **despiseth the few** *things* —either he who is not careful over the few things which he hath, or else he who freely spends what in itself seems little, small sums —*shall* **speedily** [soon] **fall**, in the sense of being ruined. The Syr. has: "he that loveth flesh shall inherit poverty." It is difficult to account for this: the Greek seems more congruous with the first clause of *v.* 1; the Syr. with *v.* 2.

2. *fall away.*] Viz. from God: "will become impudent;" rather, **will be more reckless** (daring, audacious), viz. than those referred to in the first clause.

3. *moths.*] In the wider sense of insects of that kind (maggots).

and a **reckless soul** *shall be* **destroyed.**] Several considerations seem to suggest corruption in the text. Thus the description of him that cleaveth to harlots as more reckless seems strange, while the second clause of *v.* 3 is not only needless, but weakens the first clause. Accordingly it has been suggested that the words "will be more reckless" (τολμηρότερος) have somehow intruded from the second clause of *v.* 3 (ψυχὴ τολμηρά), and that the verse should read: "he that cleaveth to harlots, moths and worms shall have him to heritage." This would be parallel to such passages as Prov. v. 5; vii. 26, 27; ix. 18. But in that case it would also seem necessary to strike out the second clause of *v.* 3, as now doubly incongruous. That clause may originally have been a marginal gloss, which somehow crept into the text, and then in turn gave rise to the intrusion of τολμηρότερος ἔσται in *v.* 2. The alterations thus made may seem extensive, but they are in accordance with the Syr., which has: "and he that cleaveth to whoredom shall perish."

4. The writer now passes to an entirely different subject, which is connected with the verses following.

He **that hastily** [quickly] **trusteth** [giveth credence]—who is hasty to give trust and credence—**is of a light mind.**] The next clause presents difficulties. Its literal translation would be: **and he that sinneth against his soul shall offend,** or else **be guilty.** This, rather than the somewhat unnatural arrangement of the words adopted in the A. V. and by Fritzsche. But in any case it is difficult to see the connexion between this and the first clause of the verse. As in the LXX. the expression "against his own soul" is rendered by εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν (LXX. Prov. xx. 2; comp. viii. 36) and not ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, we might be inclined to suppose that the Son of Sirach had meant that one who sinned against the soul of another (not "his own") by lightly crediting a report was guilty of offence. But in the Book of Sirach ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ is also used for "his own soul." We would therefore suggest that the whole of this difficult clause was not in the original, but has somehow crept into the Greek text. And we are confirmed in this view by the circumstance that the Syr. substitutes for it: "he that condemneth himself, who shall justify him?"—which is an interpolation from x. 29, and is omitted in the Arabic Version.

5, 6. We notice, first, that clause 2 of *v.* 5 and clause 1 of *v.* 6 must be omitted. But even so the Greek text is evidently corrupt. Although generally unwilling to adopt extensive emendations, yet those proposed by Drusius are so reasonable and give such a good meaning that we accept them, although

B. C. cir. 200.

shall live without strife; and he that hateth babbling shall have less evil.

[e] ch. 41. 23.

7 [e]Rehearse not unto another that which is told unto thee, and thou shalt fare never the worse.

‖ Or, *of friend or foe.*

8 Whether it be ‖to friend or foe, talk not of other men's lives; and if thou canst without offence, reveal them not.

B. C. cir. 200.

9 For he heard and observed thee, and when time cometh he will ‖ hate thee.

‖ Or, *shew his hatred.*

10 If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not burst thee.

they involve some difficulties. The present text runs: ὁ εὐφραινόμενος καρδίᾳ καταγνωσθήσεται—"he that rejoiceth in heart" [is of joyous heart (?)] "shall be condemned;" καὶ ὁ μισῶν λαλιὰν ἐλαττονοῦται κακίᾳ—"and he that hateth babbling shall have less evil." Even Fritzsche admits that nothing can be made of καρδίᾳ in the first clause. It is therefore easiest to suppose with Drusius that the καρδίᾳ of the first clause, and the κακίᾳ of the second, have been misplaced and must be interchanged. This gives a very good sense for the first clause: "He that taketh pleasure in evil shall be condemned," *i.e.* he whose delight it is to hear and spread evil. In the second clause a further emendation is required. Drusius supposes that the Hebrew text had שֹׁנֵא, "he that repeateth a thing," lit. a word, and that the translator misread it שֹׂנֵא, "he that hateth," and accordingly rendered "he that hateth babbling" (דבר). That the original had "he that repeateth" is confirmed by the Syr., which has the same word. The difficulties unsolved are the substitution of the א for the ה, and that in *v.* 7 what at first sight seem to have been the same Hebrew words (אַל תְּשַׁנֶּה דָּבָר) are correctly rendered in the Greek: μηδέποτε δευτερώσῃς λόγον (but see *v.* 7). Still the suggestion of Drusius offers the only satisfactory emendation of the verse. We have little doubt that the same inattention or ignorance which appears in the rendering "he that hateth babbling," also led to the strange error of literally translating חֲסַר לֵב by ἐλαττονοῦται καρδίᾳ. Thus corrected, the second clause in the Hebrew may have read as follows: וְשֹׁנֵא דבר (בדבר) חֲסַר־לֵב; and the whole verse (*vv.* 5, 6 in A. V.) would have to be thus rendered: **He that taketh pleasure in evil shall be condemned; and he that repeateth a matter is wanting in understanding.**

7. **Never repeat a speech** [a word], *and thou shalt fare never the worse.*] Thus in the Greek. In the Syriac the last clause reads: "and no one shall revile thee." The Greek evidently took the root to be חָסַר, while the Syr. derived the word from חָסַד in the Piel, "to revile." Which of these was correct? We incline to the Syr., which would be a virtual adaptation of Prov. xxv. 9 *b*, 10 *a*. If we were conjecturally to reconstruct it according to that passage, the Hebrew of *v.* 7 may have differed from that in *v.* 6 (see above), and perhaps have run as follows: אַל־תְּגַל דָּבָר [וְלֹא] פֶּן־יַחַסְדְּךָ אִישׁ, "reveal not a matter [we prefer giving דבר the wider meaning of "matter," rather than "word" or "speech"] lest man revile thee;" or if וְלֹא, "and no one shall revile thee." But perhaps the construction may have been somewhat different.

8. Our conjecture of the derivation of *v.* 7 from Prov. xxv. 9 *b*, 10 *a*, is strengthened by *v.* 8, which would be an enlargement of the advice in Prov.—in fact, we have the אל תגל in the μὴ ἀποκάλυπτε at the close of the verse. The Syr. has here something quite different—whether by way of "targum" or otherwise, it is impossible to say. But we cannot suppose that it gives a correct representation of the Hebrew text, if only because it does not in any wise fit into the context. The Greek text runs: **Relate not** [viz. a speech, or any matter] **whether to friend or to foe** [an enlargement on Prov. xxv. 9], **and, unless sin** [fault, blame] **attach to thee, reveal** (it) **not,** *i.e.* either in the sense that blame or guilt would be imputed or else that it would really accrue, in which cases it would be duty to disclose a matter.

9. The Syr. has: "lest he that heareth thee hateth thee, and regard thee as an harmful person." This seems a closer paraphrase of Prov. xxv. 10 than the Greek text. But the whole section to the end of *v.* 12 bears evident reference to that passage. The verse reads: **For he heareth thee, and is on his guard against thee; and on occasion** [when occasion arises] **he will hate thee;** he will not only feel, but shew hatred. Grotius aptly: *occasione exacta odium tui monstrabit.*

10. **Hast thou heard a thing?** [lit. "a word," but λόγον here = דבר]. *Let it die with thee.* **Take courage!** [cheer up.] *It will not burst thee.*] For this latter the Syr. uses another illustrative figure.

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11 A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child.

12 As an arrow that sticketh in a man's thigh, so is a word within a fool's ‖ belly.

‖ Or, *heart.*

13 [f] Admonish a friend, it may be he hath not done it: and if he have done it, that he do it no more.

[f] Lev. 19. 17. Matt. 18. 15.

14 ‖ Admonish thy friend, it may be he hath not said it: and if he have, that he speak it not again.

‖ Or, *Reprove.*

15 Admonish a friend: for many times it is a slander, and believe not every tale.

16 There is one that slippeth in his speech, but not ‖ from his heart; and who is he that hath not offended with his [g] tongue?

‖ Or, *willingly.*

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17 ‖ Admonish thy neighbour before thou threaten him; and not being angry, give place to the law of the most High.

[g] ch. 14. 1. & 25. 8. James 3. 2.

‖ Or, *Reprove.*

18 [h] The fear of the Lord is the first step ‖ to be accepted [of him,] and wisdom obtaineth his love.

[h] Prov. 1. 7. ch. 40. 26.

‖ Or, *of receiving him.*

19 The knowledge of the commandments of the Lord is the doctrine of life: and they that do things that please him shall [i] receive the fruit of the tree of immortality.

[i] Rev. 2. 7. & 22. 2, 14.

20 The fear of the Lord is all wisdom; and in all wisdom is the

11, 12. Two apt illustrations follow. "A fool **will travail** over [by reason of] **a matter** [*ἀπὸ προσώπου λόγου* = מִלְּפְנֵי דָבָר] **as over an infant she that giveth birth.** An **arrow stuck in the fleshy thigh**, so (is) **a matter** [lit. "word," as above] **in the inside of a fool.**" In the Heb. (after the analogy of Ps. xl. 9) probably בְּתוֹךְ מֵעֵי סָכָל: this, rather than בְּלֵב, since לֵב is never rendered in the LXX. by *κοιλία*; or it may have been, though less probably, בְּקֶרֶב. The Syr.: "the thigh of a man."

13. The writer proceeds a step further. From warning against telling a thing, he goes on to caution against crediting a matter or else allowing it a permanent influence.

Cross-question *a friend.*] More than merely "question," and not exactly "admonish," = the German *zurechtweisen*, probably somewhat stronger than Fritzsche's *zur Rede stellen:* frequently in the LXX. = הוֹכִיחַ. The Syr. adds: "that he may not do evil." This would require in the Greek *ποιήσῃ*, instead of the *ἐποίησε* of the text.

and if he **did something.**] *I.e.* if he did any part, although perhaps not the whole of what is imputed to him, &c.

14. **Cross-question** [perhaps: "expostulate with"—and so in the following verses] **a friend, perhaps he did not say** (it) [the Syr. makes here an alteration in the verb similar to that in *v.* 13]; *and if he* **has said** (it), *that he* **may not repeat** (it) [say it again].] Fritzsche supposes that the subject of the admonition, alike in *vv.* 13 and 14, is "a friend," and that the difference lies in this, that in the one case his deed, in the other his speech, is the object of expostulation. Fritzsche reads with C, Sin., some MSS., the Syr., and Vet. Lat., "the neighbour" instead of "a friend." In that case the distinction seems to extend also to the persons—in the one case, a friend; and the admonition would be, that we should speak to a friend about what he is supposed to have done, and to a neighbour about what he is reported to have said.

15. *Admonish.*] Rather, **cross-question**; see *v.* 13.

16. *There is* **that slippeth** [omit "in his speech"]; *but not from his* **soul.**] The reference here seems not to sins of speech (Fritzsche), but to slips in outward conduct, which do not always proceed from inward badness, so that we must not in all cases judge the one from the other.

and who **sinned not** *with his tongue?*] Sins of deed do not necessarily imply a bad heart, and every one is guilty of sins of speech. Syr.: "For there is that sinneth but not from the heart, and there is that stumbleth but not with the tongue."

17. Omit in the second clause the words "not being angry."

Admonish [rather, **cross-question**] *before thou threaten, and give place to the law of the most High.*] Fritzsche understands this to mean that in doing as directed in the first clause we shall obey the law of God, as in Lev. xix. 17. But the phrase means, as in Rom. xii. 19, Eph. iv. 27, "to give free scope to a thing." Here: expostulate first, and, if needful, reprove and threaten; but beyond this allow the Law of God to take its course, give free course to it. Thus Rom. xii. 19 would really be a reference to this passage. The Syr. is here quite different.

18, 19. These verses must be omitted.

20. **All wisdom is fear of the Lord;**

B. C. cir. 200. performance of the law, and the knowledge of his omnipotency.

[k] Matt. 21. 29. 21 [k]If a servant say to his master, I will not do as it pleaseth thee; though afterward he do it, he angereth him that nourisheth him.

22 The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom, neither at any time the counsel of sinners prudence.

23 There is a wickedness, and the same an abomination; and there is a fool wanting in wisdom.

24 He that hath small understanding, and feareth God, is better than B. C. cir. 200. one that hath much wisdom, and transgresseth the law of the most High.

25 There is an exquisite subtilty, and the same is unjust; and there is one that turneth aside to make judgment appear; and there is a wise man that ‖justifieth in judgment. ‖ Or, *judgeth.*

26 There is a wicked man that hangeth down his head ‖sadly; but inwardly he is full of deceit, ‖ Or, *in black.*

27 Casting down his countenance,

and in all wisdom (there) **is doing** [fulfilling, observance] **of** *the Law.*] The words that follow in the A. V. must be omitted. The writer naturally passes from reference to the Law of God to true wisdom, which is its fulfilment. As regards the expression "doing of the Law," we again mark a similar use in St. James i. 25 (comp. *v.* 22), and the parallelism extends beyond the wording to the reasoning. But in the form in which the saying appears in Ecclus. it is so Alexandrian that we instinctively turn to the Syr. This has: "The words of prophecy and all wisdom is the fear of the Lord [religion?], and the fear of God is wisdom." If we could accept this as representing or approximating to the true text, it would, first, imply a desire to combine the prophetic and the "Wisdom"-books of the Old Testament as constituting the substance of true religion; and thus, secondly, represent the *via media* in the combination of a moderate Hellenism with Palestinianism, before their separation and later antagonism; in short, what we consider to have been the peculiar theological standpoint of which the Book of Sirach is the expression. It is scarcely necessary to add that if we adopt the Syriac text, the Greek rendering must be regarded as an Alexandrian adaptation by the younger Siracide.

21. This verse must be omitted.

22. **And wisdom is not knowledge of wickedness, nor is, where** *the counsel of sinners* (is), *prudence.*] Or else, "there is no case where the counsel of sinners is prudence." Fritzsche omits ὅπου with the Alex.: "nor is the counsel of sinners prudence." The verse seems aptly to follow the reasoning of *v.* 20. The Syr. gives the sentiment in a concrete form: "He is not wise who is wicked," &c.

23. As the first clause yields no proper meaning, Fritzsche proposes to substitute for πονηρία, "wickedness," πανουργία, "cleverness," as in *v.* 25—supposing that πονηρία had crept in from the preceding verse. But there is little MS. support for this emendation. Besides, even if we were so to correct the first clause of the verse, a similar want of meaning exists in the second clause. On the other hand, it has been well suggested that a comparison with the Syr. shews that the word πονηρία, "wickedness," in the first clause, has been interchanged with σοφία, "wisdom," in the second clause. Thus corrected, the text reads: "There is a **wisdom and it is** an abomination, and there is **a silly person who is without** [free from] **wickedness.**" With this the following verse agrees.

24. **Better one inferior in understanding who feareth** (the Lord) **than one who excelleth** [aboundeth] **in cleverness and transgresseth the Law.**] The Syr. is only a virtual repetition of the previous verse.

25. *There is an* **exact** [accurate, precise] **prudence** [subtilty], **and it is** *unjust.*] The outcome of this precise subtilty is not truth nor justice, but unrighteousness and injustice.

and there **is that** *turneth aside* (judgment) **for the sake of making it appear judgment.**] *I.e.* he not only makes his turning aside of judgment appear as if it were true judgment, but he is so subtle as to give to that which is really a turning aside of judgment the appearance of having been done for the sake of shewing forth judgment and vindicating the right. The clause is confessedly very difficult. We supply κρίμα after διαστρέφων; the same expression occurs in LXX. Ex. xxiii. 6 for הַטֵּה מִשְׁפַּט.

26. The transition is natural from the clever deceiver to the clever impostor. "There is **that is wicked who is bowed down with sadness, and . . .**"

27. **He boweth down the face and**

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and making as if he heard not: where he is not known, he will do thee a mischief before thou be aware.

28 And if for want of power he be hindered from sinning, yet when he findeth opportunity he will do evil.

29 A man may be known by his look, and one that hath understanding by his countenance, when thou meetest him.

[l] ch. 21. 20.

30 A man's attire, and [l] excessive laughter, and gait, shew what he is.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Of silence and speaking.* 10 *Of gifts and gain.* 18 *Of slipping by the tongue.* 24 *Of lying.* 27 *Of divers advertisements.*

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THERE is a reproof that is not ‖ comely: again, some man holdeth his tongue, and he is wise.

‖ Or, *season-able.*

2 It is much better to reprove, than to be angry secretly: [a] and he that confesseth his fault shall be preserved from hurt.

[a] Prov. 28. 13.

3 How good is it, when thou art reproved, to shew repentance! for so shalt thou escape wilful sin.

4 As is the lust of an [b] eunuch to deflower a virgin; so is he that executeth judgment with violence.

[b] ch. 30. 20.

5 There is one that keepeth silence, and is found wise: and another by much babbling becometh hateful.

is deaf with one ear; when he is not observed [perceived], **he will anticipate** [surprise, prevent] **thee.**] The A. V. correctly gives the meaning of the writer.

29. *By his look* [*i.e.* by what is seen of him, as it were the impression made by his appearance — מִרְאֶה] **shall a man be known,** *and one that hath understanding* **shall be known**—occursu faciei—**by the meeting of countenance.**] *I.e.* by the manner in which his countenance is met, the expression it wears.

30. The Talmud also gives rules in regard to appearance and demeanour by which a man may be known. Two of those here mentioned—dress and gait—are referred to in Ber. 43 *b*. Comp. also the three things in which it is said that a man shews what is in him: in his cups, in his purse, and in his anger, to which is added as a fourth—in his merriment (Erubh. 65 *b*).

CHAPTER XX.

From the long parenthesis in chap. xix. 20–30 the writer returns to the topic of chap. xix. 13–17. The main subject discussed in chap. xx. seems to be that of speech. The various points in the reasoning are somewhat loosely connected—rather linked together than of one piece. But this is characteristic of the whole book. In the first eight verses the advantages and disadvantages of silence and speech are discussed; the moral being that it is impossible to lay down any absolute rule, and that sometimes what seems the worse is the better and more desirable, and *vice versâ*. This leads the writer into a series of other illustrations, *vv.* 9–13. With *v.* 14 the writer returns to his subject, treating of the silly man in his talk (*vv.* 14–17), of the unpleasant man in his conversation (*vv.* 18–20), of rashness, especially in speech (*vv.* 21–23), of false speaking (*vv.* 24–26), and lastly, of the bearing of the wise, whether as regards speech, silence, or conduct.

1. *There is* **an expostulation** [arguing, ἔλεγχος] **which is not seasonable.**] Ὡραῖος bears the twofold sense of our word "seasonable,"—timely and seemly. As previously indicated, there is not an exact English equivalent for ἔλεγχος: it is not precisely admonition nor yet reproof, but that arguing which may imply either, or both, or on the other hand may fall short of them. The second clause is, if not quite literally, yet so forcibly rendered in the A. V. and so fully expresses the meaning of the writer that it had best be adopted, although for "again, some man" it will be better to substitute "**and there is.**"

2. **How** *much better to* **expostulate** *than to* **cherish anger.**] Omit "his fault."

hurt.] Rather, **damage.** The Syr. has here something quite different.

Omit *v.* 3 in A. V.

4. We should be disposed to regard this as an interpolation, since, at first sight at least, it does not seem to fit into the context, but it occurs also in the Syr. If, however, we regard ποιεῖν κρίματα not as meaning to execute judgment, but, like עֲשָׂה מִשְׁפָּטִים, in the Heb. and in the LXX., as occasionally meaning "to do judgments," in the sense of doing what is righteous, it would yield a good sense: "**so he that doeth judgments** (but) **in** [by] **violence.**" The point of comparison in the coarse illustration of clause 1 would then be the incongruity and impossibility of the attempt in both cases. If this be the correct view, *v.* 4 may be connected with the first clause of *v.* 2.

5. *There* **is that** *keepeth silence* **who** *is found wise, and* **there is that is odious**

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6 Some man holdeth his tongue, because he hath not to answer: and some keepeth silence, [c]knowing his time.

[c] Eccles. 3. 7.

[z] ch. 32. 4.

7 A wise man will hold his [d] tongue till he see opportunity: but a babbler and a fool will regard no time.

8 He that useth many words shall be abhorred; and he that taketh to himself authority therein shall be hated.

9 There is a sinner that hath good success in evil things; and there is a gain that turneth to loss.

10 There is a gift that shall not profit thee; and there is a gift whose recompence is double.

11 There is an abasement because of glory; and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.

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12 There is that buyeth much for a little, and repayeth it sevenfold.

13 [e]A wise man by his words maketh himself beloved: but the ‖ graces of fools shall be poured out.

[e] ch. 6. 5.

‖ Or, *pleasant conceits.*

14 The gift of a fool shall do thee no good when thou hast it; neither yet of the envious for his necessity: ‖ for he looketh to receive many things for one.

‖ Or, *lost*, or, *spilt.*

‖ Gr. *for his eyes are many for one to receive.*

15 He giveth little, and [f] upbraideth much; he openeth his mouth like a crier; to day he lendeth, and to morrow will he ask it again: such

[f] ch. 41. 22.

on account of [through] **much talk.**] "Found," probably נִמְצָא, and used in the same wide sense as = turn out, appear, be.

6. **There is that is silent,** *because he hath not* **a reply;** *and* **there is that is silent,** *knowing* **the proper time** [the opportunity, עֵת].] There is the silence of the foolish—because he has nothing to say; and there is the silence of the wise, who waiteth for the proper time and opportunity for speaking.

7. *A wise man will* **be silent till the proper time,** *but a* **boaster** *and a fool will* **pass beyond the opportunity.**] The one because he deems himself independent of opportunity, the other because he does not discern it.

8. *and he that* **assumeth** *authority.*] That is, he who speaks in an authoritative manner, as if every one must listen and obey.

9. *There* **is prosperity in adversity** [lit. "evils"] **to a man** [that is, as we understand it, what appears to be adverse may turn out for good], *and there is a gain* **unto** *loss.*

10. "Recompence" = return, גְּמוּל; "double," rather **twofold.** The Rabbis speak of certain good deeds, the fruit or interest of which is enjoyed in this world, while the capital itself still remaineth for the next world (Peah, i. 1; Shabb. 127 *a*; Qidd. 39 *b*, 40 *a*). But here it probably refers to the return which men make to us for our benefits. The Syr. of vv. 10 *b* and 11 is quite different.

11. *There is* **loss** [damage] **on account of** *glory.*] That is, a man may sustain loss or damage by reason of the glory which he either seeks after or attains unto.

from a low estate.] Out of a low estate, out of humiliation. The expression "there is" = there may be. The attainment of high estate may entail real loss, while sinking to a humble condition may issue in real exaltation. In all these matters outward or temporary appearance must not deceive us.

12. In the end it will cost him seven times the amount: "repayeth," יְשַׁלֵּם.

13. **The** *wise man by his* **speech . . .** *but the* **amenities** *of fools shall be poured out.*] That is, all the speeches and the like in which fools do their best to make themselves pleasant shall be like water, or some other fluid, that shall be poured away.

14. The middle clauses in A. V. must be omitted.

The gift of **one** [who is] **senseless** [silly, foolish — אויל, or else כסיל] **shall not profit thee, for in his view** [opinion, lit. his eyes—in the Heb. בְּעֵינָיו, "in his eyes," or it may have been בעיניו = כי עיניו] **instead of one many.**] *I.e.* he considers one thing as if they were many: not necessarily with a view to the return which he expects, but it is characteristic of certain persons that they look upon every little thing that they have or bestow as if it were an immense quantity, and so indefinitely multiply in their own minds any favour or benefit. This view is confirmed by the following verse. [We would here call attention to the Syr. and the Vet. Lat., both for their additions and the remarkable agreement between them, as specially noticed in the General Introduction, § VIII., when treating of the Vet. Lat.]

15. Omit the closing words "of God and man."

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an one is to be hated of God and man.

16 The fool saith, I have no friends, I have no thank for all my good deeds, and they that eat my bread speak evil of me.

17 How oft, and of how many shall he be laughed to scorn! for he knoweth not aright what it is to have; and it is all one unto him as if he had it not.

18 To slip upon a pavement is better than to slip with the tongue: so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily.

‖ Or, *An unpleasant fellow.*

19 ‖An unseasonable tale will always be in the mouth of the unwise.

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20 A wise sentence shall be rejected when it cometh out of a fool's mouth; for he will not speak it in due season.

21 There is that is hindered from sinning through want: and when he taketh rest, he ‖shall not be troubled.

‖ Gr. *shall not be pricked.*

22 [g]There is that destroyeth his own soul through bashfulness, and by accepting of persons overthroweth himself.

[g] ch. 42. 1.

23 There is that for bashfulness promiseth to his friend, and maketh him his enemy for nothing.

24 [h]A lie is a foul blot in a man, yet it is continually in the mouth of the untaught.

[h] ch. 25. 2.

16. *speak evil of me.*] We should prefer rendering: **are paltry** [sorry] **of tongue.** Φαῦλος gives the idea of meanness rather than evil, and this suits the context very well, since a silly, boastful person who had an overweening opinion of himself would not complain that those who receive his benefits—eat his bread—speak evil of him, but that they do not make enough of him or of his good deeds, give him not sufficient public praise, are mean and sorry of speech.

17. Omit all after "laughed to scorn."

18. The subject of *vv.* 5 and following is now resumed, although tongue and speech have throughout been in the mind of the writer.

A slip [Slipping] **on** [because of, on account of] **the ground rather than by** [in] **the tongue**; *so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily* [quickly].] The idea seems to be: A slip on the ground brings a person to a sudden fall; but a slip as regards speech is far worse: he who committeth sins of speech may look for a sudden fall, far worse in every sense than the sudden downfall of a person who slips while he walks. The Syr. is quite different.

19. **An ungracious man** [is like] **unseasonable talk** [speech, saying]: **in the mouth of the uncultured it will be continuous.**] Viz. as unseasonable—not necessarily foolish or wrong—talk is continuous in the mouth of uncultured persons, so is an ungracious personage: even when in the right he is always *mal à propos*. This is followed out in the next verse.

20. *A* **parable from the mouth of a fool shall be rejected** [not necessarily because it is silly or false, but from this cause], *for he* **speaketh it not** *in* **its season.**] It is spoken unseasonably: so an ungracious person is always unseasonable in what he says and does, even if in itself it were right, and like an unseasonable saying he is rejected.

21. Silence from want of having anything proper to say may be preferable to unseasonable speech. This is illustrated by an analogous case.

There is that is hindered from sinning through want.] Lack of means prevents his sinning—just as a man may be silent because he has not anything to say. But what of that? So far from being a real disadvantage: **and in his repose he shall not feel remorse.** Once more the Syr. is, for one reason or another, not of any help to us.

22. On the other hand, there is false and wrong silence: "there is that **through bashfulness destroyeth himself**" (lit. his soul, נַפְשׁוֹ) = he is ashamed or afraid to speak out and ruins himself by such silence—"**and through a silly face overthroweth himself.**" The Syr. has "by covering his face." This may be merely a Targum of the Hebrew, just as the Greek was probably a paraphrase of it—or there may have been a confusion of the roots כָּסָה, "to cover," and כָּסַל, "to be foolish."

23. Similarly bashfulness may lead a person by his silence to give the impression of having made a promise to a friend, and thereby turn him into an enemy "for nothing"—when there is really no cause for it.

24. **in the mouth of the uncultured it will be continuous.**] They will always tell and do lies.

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25 A thief is better than a man that is accustomed to lie: but they both shall have destruction to heritage.

26 The disposition of a liar is ‖dishonourable, and his shame is ever with him.

‖ Or, *ignominy.*

27 A wise man shall promote himself *to honour* with his words: and he that hath understanding will please great men.

28 [i]He that tilleth his land shall increase his heap: and he that pleaseth great men shall get pardon for iniquity.

Prov. 2. 11. & 28. 19.

29 [k]Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and ‖stop up his mouth that he cannot reprove.

[k] Exod. 23. 8. Deut. 16. 9.

‖ Or, *as a muzzle in the mouth.*

30 Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profit is in them both?

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31 [l]Better is he that hideth his folly than a man that hideth his wisdom.

[l] ch. 41. 15.

32 Necessary patience in seeking the Lord is better than he that leadeth his life without a guide.

CHAPTER XXI.

2 *Flee from sin as from a serpent.* 4 *His oppression will undo the rich.* 9 *The end of the unjust shall be nought.* 12 *The difference between the fool and the wise.*

MY son, hast thou sinned? do so no more, but [a]ask pardon for thy former sins.

[a] Ps. 41. 4. Luke 15. 21.

2 Flee from sin as from the face

26. The Syr. has instead of what is rendered "disposition" the word "end." It has been suggested that the Heb. had אַחֲרִית, "the end," "what cometh after," and that the Greek misread it אֹרְחוֹת, "the paths;" in which case the Greek would have to be corrected: "The end of a liar is dishonour, and his shame is continuous with him." But it must be admitted that the Greek gives also a good sense and that it suits the context, while, on the other hand, the second clause in the Syr. shews that the rendering of the verse was paraphrastic, in which case we can understand the use of the word "end" for "paths," mode of life.

27. From sin and folly in speech, with their consequences, the writer again turns to wisdom in speech. The Vatican text has here again an inscription: "Sayings of Parables," or rather "Parabolic" or "Proverbial sayings." This has evidently crept into the text from the margin. It seems probable that these inscriptions represent an early attempt to arrange the somewhat loosely connected reasoning, especially in some parts, of this book under definite headings. "Shall promote himself" = make himself promoted.

and **a prudent man will please the great** [Bissell].] The morality of the sentiment is not very elevated. The Syr. is doubtful and at best paraphrastic.

28. *and he that pleaseth* **the great shall atone for unrighteousness.**] The point of comparison is successful labour: as regards the soil (comp. Prov. xii. 11) and as regards "the great"—in both cases it is not easy, but in both it will certainly yield a good return. The Syr. is quite different.

29. *Presents* [to guests—*xenia*, in Lat. as in Gr.] *and gifts blind the eyes of the wise* [all but the first word is a quotation from LXX. Deut. xvi. 19]; *and,* **as a muzzle on the mouth, they turn away reproofs** [Bissell].

30, 31. These verses occur again in xli. 14, 15. They may have been common sayings; but their repetition in the one or the other place is probably due to a marginal reference.

that is hoarded.] Rather, **that is not seen,** or, **that does not appear.** In either case, to be of use they must be brought forth.

he.] Lit. **a man.**

32. This verse in A. V. must be omitted.

CHAPTER XXI.

The writer returns in *v.* 1 to xix. 13 *b.* But it is difficult to perceive any orderly arrangement in this chapter, which is even more loosely strung together than others. It was perhaps on this ground that the marginal heading (see xx. 27) "Parabolic" or "Proverbial sayings" was chosen. We can, however, mark the antithetic description of the sinner and the righteous, and, side by side with it, of the wise and the fool. The best arrangement seems to be that of grouping the chapter into triplets of verses (*v.* 28 forming a general conclusion), in which case a progression of thought may be marked.

1. Comp. xix. 13 *b.* "Thy former:" viz. sins or else doings. Lit. **entreat for thy former ones.**

2. "As from the face of" = as from before, מִפְּנֵי נָחָשׁ. The danger of sin is illustrated by three figures: the serpent in its stealthy

B. C. cir. 200.

of a serpent: for if thou comest too near it, it will bite thee: the teeth thereof are as the teeth of a lion, slaying the souls of men.

3 All iniquity is as a two edged sword, the wounds whereof cannot be healed.

4 To terrify and do wrong will waste riches: thus the house of proud men shall be made desolate.

[b] Exod. 3. 9. & 22. 23. Ps. 34. 6.

5 [b]A prayer out of a poor man's mouth reacheth to the ears of God, and his judgment cometh speedily.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [c]He that hateth to be reproved is in the way of sinners: but he that feareth the Lord will [‖]repent from his heart.

[c] Prov. 12. 1. & 15. 10.

[‖] Gr. *be converted.*

7 An eloquent man is known far and near; but a man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth.

8 [d]He that buildeth his house with other men's money is like one

[d] Jer. 22. 13.

and unobserved approach; the lion with his destructive teeth; and the two-edged sword with its incurable wounds.

too near.] Rather, **near.**

slaying.] Perhaps a somewhat too strong expression.

souls.] Here in the sense of the Heb. נֶפֶשׁ, and not in that which in English commonly attaches to the word. The Syr. text is corrupt.

3. **Every transgression** (is) *as a two-edged sword:* **for the wound thereof there is not healing.**

4. Second triplet. **Terrifying and violence**—the one perhaps referring to words, the other to deeds, or else: violence and outrage.

so the house of the proud *shall be made desolate.*] "The proud" are the Heb. גְּאִים, in the O. T. sense of "proud," which implies ungodliness. In fact, the clause is a reproduction of Prov. xv. 25, although the LXX. there renders בֵּית גְּאִים by *οἴκους ὑβριστῶν.*

5. **The** *prayer* **of the poor** (reacheth) **from the mouth** [viz. of the petitioner] **to his ears** [viz. those of the proud].] The A. V. and some interpreters refer the "his" to God, and would have us translate: "The prayer out of the mouth of a poor man reacheth to His ears," viz. those of God. But, first, "out of the mouth of the poor" would have been *ἐκ στόματος πτωχοῦ*; secondly, prayers that reach not "to" but "into" the ears of God are in the LXX. not rendered by *ἕως*, which cannot mean "to" in the sense of "into," but "up to," the *loci terminus ad quem.* The LXX. in such cases uses *εἰς*, as in LXX. Ps. xvii. 7, *εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ*, or else the writer would have chosen such an expression as in Ps. xxxiv. 15 (LXX. Ps. xxxiii. 16), with which his thought would have been strictly parallel. Lastly, the *αὐτοῦ*, "his," of *v.* 5 most naturally refers to "the proud" mentioned in *v.* 4. So also Grotius, Fritzsche, and Bretschneider. Accordingly the judgment spoken of in the second clause of *v.* 5 must be regarded as that of "the proud," *unto* but not *into* whose ears the prayer of the poor reacheth. The most curious attempt at interpretation is that of the Aethiop.: "When the poor man asketh, he gapes as far as his ears." [Here and in other references to the Aethiop.: Margoliouth.]

6. *He that hateth* **reproof** (is) **in the track** [in the wake] **of the sinner.**] Which perhaps is not the same as "he walketh in the way of the sinner" = in a sinful way, but rather that he walks in the footsteps, the track, which sinners who also refuse reproof have left.

reproof.] *ἐλεγμός*, "expostulation," "moral argument." The first clause of the verse evidently refers back to xix. 13–17, and the second clause to xix. 20.

but he that feareth the Lord will repent [turneth] **in heart.**] The same verb is frequently used in the N. T. to indicate conversion.

7. Third triplet. **Known from afar is he that is mighty in tongue, and** [not "but"] **his slips** [or "errors"] **will not escape the man of understanding.**] Generally, the "mighty in tongue" is supposed to mean an eloquent man who is known from afar,—as Fritzsche explains, easily. But *μακρόθεν* is not used in that sense, nor is it easy to perceive either the meaning of an eloquent man being known from afar or the fitness of introducing him in that connection. As the whole triplet is condemnatory in its character, we regard the expression "mighty in tongue" as used in an ironical or rather an evil sense, and as referring to "the tongue that speaketh great things," Ps. xii. 4. In fact, "the mighty in tongue" are the same as those in Ps. xii. 5, "who say, With our tongues we will prevail"—the *δυνατὸς ἐν γλώσσῃ* is the גִּבּוֹר בְּלָשׁוֹן מַגְבִּיר (this rather than the ל of Ps. xii. 5—see Delitzsch *ad loc.*), גִּבּוֹר being in the LXX. commonly rendered by *δυνατός.*

8. The last words in the second clause are

B. C. cir. 200.

that gathereth himself stones for the tomb of his burial.

[e] ch. 16. 6.

9 [e]The congregation of the wicked is like tow wrapped together: and the end of them is a flame of fire to destroy them.

10 The way of sinners is made plain with stones, but at the end thereof is the pit of hell.

[f] John 7. 17.

11 [f]He that keepeth the law of the Lord getteth the understanding thereof: and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom.

B. C. cir. 200.

[g] Prov. 1. 7.

[h] Eccles. 1. 18.

12 [g]He that is not [i]wise will not be taught: [h]but there is a wisdom which multiplieth bitterness.

[i] Or, *witty*.

[k] Or, *subtilty*.

13 The [k]knowledge of a wise man shall abound like a flood: and his counsel is like a pure fountain of life.

rendered in the A. V. according to Co., or rather 248, 106, which agree with the Syr. In this reading *εἰς χῶμα* is substituted for *εἰς χειμῶνα*, and the words *ταφῆς αὐτοῦ* ("of his burial") are added. But, according to the generally accepted reading, the second clause must be translated: **as one that gathereth his stones for** [unto] **winter**. To this it seems difficult, if not impossible, to attach any meaning. Fritzsche regards it as implying: like a fool that gathereth stones instead of wood for winter. The explanation is even more difficult than the illustration which it professes to explain. We would suggest that the Greek misread חֹרֶף, "winter," for חֹרֶב, "desolation," which was the word in the original. In that case the original would have been: "He that buildeth his house by goods [property] belonging to others is as he that gathereth his stones for desolation [for a ruin, for what is to be such]."

9. *The congregation of* **transgressors** (is as) *tow* **gathered** [heaped] *together*.] A word-play here between *συνηγμένον*, "gathered together," and *συναγωγή*, "the gathering," "congregation."

and **their end** *a flame of fire*.] The reference is probably to Is. i. 31. Omit the words "to destroy them."

10. Fourth triplet. *but*.] Rather, **and**.

hell.] Rather, **Hades**. The Syr. has: "The path of the wicked is a stumbling-block to him, because the end thereof is a deep ditch." Does the difference between the Greek "made plain with (by) stones" and the Syr. "stumbling-block" depend upon a different reading or misreading of the Hebrew—to which the Aethiop. seems to point by its rendering, "rough are the stones of the road of sinners"? Or did the Syr. alter what seemed a dangerous statement in the original?

11. Omit in first clause the words "of the Lord." Thus corrected, the A. V. expresses one mode of rendering or rather interpreting the first clause, in which case it would be parallel to St. John vii. 17. But, as Fritzsche rightly observes, the word *ἐνώπιον* could scarcely be used of "understanding" of the Law. The word does not occur in the LXX., and (besides this passage) is only used by Theodotion in the plural for תַּחְבֻּלוֹת, "the evil counsels" (of the wicked), Prov. xii. 5. We prefer therefore another rendering of the clause, which seems not only more easy, but entirely agrees with the Syr.: **He that keepeth** (נוֹצֵר) **the Law getteth the mastery** [rule] **over his inclination** [intent, mind, disposition, שַׁלִּיט בְּיִצְרוֹ, in the peculiar sense of יֵצֶר]. The next clause of the verse is so entirely Alexandrian that we prefer regarding the Syr. as representing the genuine Hebrew text. It reads: "and he that feareth the Lord shall not want anything," which is a reproduction of Ps. xxxiv. 9 (Heb. 10). In the Syriac Psalter this verse seems wanting, but the Syriac of Ecclus. xxi. 11 reproduces the wording of the Targum on Ps. xxxiv. 10.

12. *wise*.] Rather, **prudent**.

taught.] Here rather in the sense of moral teaching. The Alex. rightly inserts *δέ*, "but," at the beginning of the second clause. The Syr. wholly omits the verse; and if our conjecture be correct as to the Hellenistic alteration introduced in the Greek of *v.* 11 *b*, we can understand the motive for such a sentiment as *v.* 12, which seems an adaptation from xix. 22–25.

wisdom.] Rather, **prudence**; perhaps here in the sense of subtilty.

13. This verse begins another triplet—unless, indeed, we were to regard it as commencing with *v.* 14, the four lines of *v.* 15 being in that case two verses thrown together.

shall abound.] Rather, **will increase**, —swell, become more full.

counsel.] Probably, as generally in the LXX., עֵצָה (this rather than מַחֲשָׁבָה)—in the wider sense of "counsel" = resolve, purpose.

pure fountain of life.] Omit the word "pure." Generally the expression "fountain of life" is supposed to be = "living waters," מַיִם חַיִּים, but it rather corresponds to מְקוֹר חַיִּים in Prov. xiii. 14, xiv. 27, to both of which

B. C. cir. 200.

14 [i]The inner parts of a fool are like a broken vessel, and he will hold no knowledge as long as he liveth.

15 If a skilful man hear a wise word, he will commend it, and [k]add unto it: but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it, it displeaseth him, and he casteth it behind his back.

16 The talking of a fool is like a burden in the way: but grace shall be found in the lips of the wise.

17 They enquire at the mouth of the wise man in the congregation, and they shall ponder his words in their heart.

B. C. cir. 200.

18 As is a house that is destroyed, so is wisdom to a fool: and the knowledge of the unwise is as talk [l]without sense.

19 Doctrine unto fools is as fetters on the feet, and like manacles on the right hand.

20 [m]A fool lifteth up his voice

[i] ch. 33. 5.

[k] Prov. 9. 9.

[l] Or, *not to be enquired after.*

[m] ch. 19. 30.

this verse is strictly parallel, and where the LXX. translates πηγὴ ζωῆς. It is, indeed, not impossible that πηγὴ ζωῆς may represent the Heb. מְקוֹר כַּיִם חַיִּים, "fountain of living waters," not "fountain of life," since in one passage (Jer. xvii. 13) it is so rendered in the LXX.; but it is very improbable, considering that in three other passages כַּיִם חַיִּים is not so translated (Cant. iv. 15; Jer. ii. 13; Zech. xiv. 8).

14. Omit "as long as he liveth," which, however, is supported by 106, 248, Co., and is in the Syr.

he will hold no knowledge.] As a vessel that is broken cannot hold what is put into it, so are the inner parts of a fool as regards knowledge — ἔγκατα, קֶרֶב: so in the LXX. rendering of Ps. xlix. (LXX., l.) 12; Ps. cviii. (LXX., cix.) 18. It is not quite = לֵב (comp. Ps. xxxix. 4; lv. 5), but rather designates the seat of feeling and thinking. For "broken vessel" the Syr. has "broken cistern," which is both more apt and more biblical.

15. We suspect that in the original v. 15 *a, b* and *c, d* formed two verses (see above, vv. 12, 13).

a skilful man.] Rather, **a man of understanding** [knowledge], in the wider biblical sense, including, and in a sense identifying, moral and intellectual knowledge, ἐπιστήμων (in the N. T. only in St. Jas. iii. 13—which should be marked as farther shewing the correspondence between St. Jas. and Ecclus.); the Heb. נָבוֹן (so, with only one exception, in the LXX.), and generally combined with "wise."

but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it.] Rather, "**he that liveth in pleasure** [is given to pleasure] **heareth it, and it displeaseth him.**" Clauses *a* and *c*, *b* and *d* are strictly antithetic. Opposed to "a man of knowledge" is ὁ σπαταλῶν, "he that is given to pleasure." The word occurs again in 1 Tim. v. 6; St. Jas. v. 5, but it is not used in the LXX., where we have, however, the compound καταστπαταλάω in Prov. xxix. 21; Amos vi. 4. Whereas the man of understanding addeth to a wise word, the man who liveth for pleasure casteth it behind his back. For the latter expression, see 1 Kings xiv. 9; Ezek. xxiii. 35; Nehem. ix. 26.

16. This verse begins another triplet.

talking.] **Narrative** (talk, here perhaps: explanation).

in the way.] *I.e.*, while journeying—instead of lightening its difficulties and troubles, only increasing them.

grace.] Not in the commonly understood biblical sense, but in that of pleasantness; see the Syr., which also instead of "fool" has "the wicked," and "the pious" instead of "intelligent."

the wise.] Rather, **of him who is intelligent**—has understanding.

17. **The mouth of the prudent will be sought.**] Viz., his word or saying; comp. as to God Amos viii. 12. In the second clause we accept (as in the A. V.) the Alex. reading διανοηθήσονται instead of the Vat. διανοηθήσεται.

18. **As a house destroyed.**] Fritzsche explains: "as a house destroyed is not of any use, so is wisdom to a fool." The Syr. has: "as a prison." We believe that the Syr. read בַּיִת מְשֻׁכָּר (comp. Gen. xlii. 19) and the Greek בַּיִת מְשֻׁכָּד. More puzzling is the Syr. rendering in the second clause. Here the Greek has: **as words that will not bear enquiry** (A. V., "as talk without sense"); while the Syr. renders, "like coals of fire."

19. Another triplet. **Fetters on the feet** (so is) **instruction to those without understanding.**] Alike hindering and unpleasant, as preventing them from freely walking in their own ways.

on the right hand.] Which is mostly engaged in action.

20. *with.*] Rather, **in.**

B. C. cir. 200.

with laughter; but a wise man doth scarce smile a little.

21 Learning is unto a wise man as an ornament of gold, and like a bracelet upon his right arm.

22 A foolish man's foot is soon in his [neighbour's] house: but a man of experience is ashamed of him.

23 A fool will peep in at the door into the house: but he that is well nurtured will stand without.

24 It is the rudeness of a man to hearken at the door: but a wise man will be grieved with the disgrace.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 The lips of talkers will be telling such things as pertain not unto them: but the words of such as have understanding are weighed in the balance.

26 The heart of fools is in their mouth: but the mouth of the wise is in their heart.

a wise man.] Rather, **a prudent man.** Grotius quotes Seneca: "risus sit sine cachinno."

21. **Instruction is to a man of understanding.**] The verse is in antithesis to *v.* 19.

22. Another triplet. **The foot of a fool** (is) **quickly into a house.** We believe this to be the passage (hitherto not localised) which the Talmud has in view, when it quotes as from 'The Book of the Son of Sira': "Three I hate and four I do not love—a prince (leader) who goes about drinking-houses—some say, who is quarrelsome; some say, who is quick-tempered—a man who places his habitation in the high places of the city . . . [we omit the third], *and a man who enters the house of his neighbour suddenly*" (without knocking) (Nidd. 16 *b*; comp. Pes. 112 *a*).

but a man of experience **will feel shame before the face.**] So literally; and the question is whether we are to explain it as "the face of him," *i.e.* before him that is to be visited, or else as meaning "before the house." Fritzsche goes so far as to apply the expression πρόσωπον (face) to the inner walls of the antechamber, before which such a person is supposed to hesitate or feel reluctance (*hat Scheu*). The Syr. renders: "bends down the face." If we suppose the Greek text to be a correct rendering of the Hebrew, we should certainly explain it as meaning "the face of him" in the sense of being bashful when visiting a house. But may it not be that the Hebrew text was בּוֹשֵׁשׁ לְפָנָיו, "hesitates before it," which was misunderstood and mistranslated as above?

23. *A* **silly person . . . but a man who is instructed** [cultured, educated; the German *gebildet*].] While a silly person in his curiosity tries to get a peep of what is going on, a well-bred person purposely stands far away. The Syr. has a strange and certainly inapt rendering.

24. *It is* **want of breeding** [rudeness] **. . . but he who is sensible** [intelligent, prudent] **will be weighed down** [burdened] *with the* **dishonour.**] Viz., of doing such a mean thing.

25. Last stanza. The literal rendering of the Greek (both Vat. and Alex.) would be: "Lips of strangers will be burdened in these things." But as this yields not any intelligible meaning, we conclude that the text is corrupt rather than that the original had been mistranslated. For, although a man might mistranslate, there must at least be some meaning in his words. But apparently in the whole clause, χείλη ἀλλοτρίων ἐν τούτοις βαρυνθήσεται, only the first word (χείλη, lips) really forms part of the verse. Bretschneider suggests that the word ἀλλοτρίων, "of strangers," belongs to the first clause of *v.* 24, which should read "to hearken at the door of strangers," while similarly the ἐν τούτοις belongs to the second clause of *v.* 24, which should read, "is weighed down by the disgrace in these things." Lastly, the word βαρυνθήσεται, "will be weighed down," or "burdened," seems only a copyist's repetition from the previous verse. In the absence of any reliable text little can be learned from the Syr., "The mouth of the wicked talketh against his body;" *i.e.* his talk is really against himself, to his hurt and detriment. In these circumstances we seem restricted to the Complutensian reading, or rather that of 248, which is adopted in the A. V., "The lips of talkers will be telling such things as pertain not unto them" = as are not theirs, which concern them not and with which they have not anything to do. Fritzsche conjectures that the Hebrew read: "The lips of the proud [where he supposes זָרִים to have been misread זוֹרִים] are burdened with cursing" (בְּאָלָה, which he supposes to have been misread בְּאֵלֶּה). But, to waive other objections, this would not suit the context.

26. **In the mouth of fools is their heart,** *but the* **heart of the wise is their mouth.**] The Syr. is the same except that the preposition "in" is transferred from the first to the beginning of the second clause: "the

B. C. cir. 200.

27 When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul.

[m] ch. 28. 13. 28 [m]A whisperer defileth his own soul, and is hated wheresoever he dwelleth.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Of the slothful man,* 3 *and a foolish daughter.* 11 *Weep rather for fools, than for the dead.* 13 *Meddle not with them.* 16 *The wise man's heart will not shrink.* 20 *What will lose a friend.*

B. C. cir. 200.

A SLOTHFUL man is compared to a filthy stone, and every one will hiss him out to his disgrace.

mouth, but in the heart" The first part of the verse does not require any comment. "To wear one's heart on one's sleeve" indicates shallowness alike of feeling and of intellect. The second clause Fritzsche regards as meaning that the wise have first well pondered in their hearts what they utter with their mouths. But the antithesis seems to suggest more than this, viz. that the wise are reticent as to their deepest feelings: they do not parade them before all and every one—their heart is their mouth.

27. This verse is of the greatest interest, alike as regards the theology of the writer and indirectly the age of this book. When the writer speaks of cursing Satan as seducing a man unto sin, he refers to the person of the Devil. But the allusion implies not only belief in the personality of Satan on the part of the older Siracide, but that this belief was so general that the writer could put its expression into the mouth of the wicked. And not only so, but by the side of it we find also the rationalistic corrective that what men called Satan was really their own evil inclination. This certainly accords with an exceptional Rabbinic view, which identifies Satan with the *Yetser ha-Ra*, the evil inclination (Babh. Bathr. 16 *a*). But, as just hinted, this was not the common view, according to which Satan was also regarded as inciting man to sin (comp. the App. on Satanology in 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' vol. ii. p. 757). We have therefore here alike evidence of a general belief in Satan and its rationalistic modification. On the other hand, we also mark here a development (this rather than a progression) in the Old Testament standpoint on this subject. Its various stages in the later books of the Old Testament may be indicated in the following order:—Job i. 6–12, ii. 1–7; Zech. iii. 1, 2; and lastly, 1 Chron. xxi. 1, with which comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. With these passages should be compared, on the other hand, the curious (later) Rabbinic comments (see 'Miqr. Gedol.,' *ad loc.*). Considering the developed Angelology in the Book of Daniel, it seems strange that no reference should be made in it to Satan. Indeed, the apparent generality of the belief as implied in Ecclus. seems incompatible with this silence in Daniel, if the authorship of the latter were posterior to that of Ecclesiasticus. In the later Apocrypha (Bar., Tob.) Demonology appears in a very developed and Judaic form. To Wisd. ii. 24 we do not refer, on account of the late composition of that book. The Syr. paraphrase for "Satan," "him that has not sinned against him," is both interesting and curious. In our view it implies not another Hebrew text, but the avoidance of its meaning by a paraphrase.

28. *wheresoever he dwelleth.*] Rather, **in the neighbourhood**, *i.e.* among his neighbours. The Syr. has: "The soul of the wise is grieved (oppressed, in anguish) on account of the fool, because he knoweth not what he should say unto him."

CHAPTER XXII.

This chapter is better connected than that which preceded. The subject seems still a warning against folly, in its various manifestations, specially as regards speech. In that respect the aspiration of the last verse forms an appropriate general conclusion. The first five verses refer to certain aspects of folly of conduct, especially as regards the young. From this the transition is natural to instruction, especially of the young, which is hopeless in cases where there is a certain disposition (five verses, vv. 6–12, as vv. 9, 10 must be omitted). This leads to the admonition to avoid all intercourse with such persons (three verses, but one of them a triplet, in six lines: vv. 13–15). Next, the steadfast purpose of a wise man is contrasted with that of the fool (three verses: vv. 16–18). Lastly, the difference is described between the speech and action of the fool in regard to others, with its sad consequences (four verses, the last of them double: vv. 19–22), and the speech and action of the wise in regard to others, with its happy results (four verses, the first of them double: vv. 23–26). The chapter closes with an aspiration after higher direction in this matter.

1. *is compared.*] *I.e.* is like.

a filthy stone.] The *lapis latrinarum.*

will hiss him out to his disgrace.] Rather, **will hiss over his dishonour.** Generally the clause is supposed to refer to the filthy stone which is looked upon as disgusting. And so the Syr., "every one runs away from

B. C. cir. 200.

2 A slothful man is compared to the filth of a dunghill: every man that takes it up will shake his hand.

3 An evil nurtured son is the dishonour of his father that begat him: and a [foolish] daughter is born to his loss.

[a] Prov. 13. 22. ‖ Or, *shall be the heir of her husband.*

4 [a]A wise daughter ‖shall bring an inheritance to her husband: but she that liveth dishonestly is her father's heaviness.

5 She that is bold dishonoureth both her father and her husband, but they both shall despise her.

6 A tale out of season [is as] music in mourning: but stripes and correction of wisdom are never out of time.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 Whoso teacheth a fool is as one that glueth a potsherd together, and as he that waketh one from a sound sleep.

8 He that telleth a tale to a fool speaketh to one in a slumber: when he hath told his tale, he will say, What is the matter?

9 If children live honestly, and have ‖wherewithal, they shall cover the baseness of their parents.

‖ Or, *an art.*

10 But children, being haughty,

the smell of it." But it seems better to refer the clause to the idle man, over whom every one will hiss, יִשְׁרֹק עָלָיו, Job xxvii. 23, for which the Syr. may have read יִרְחַק, and then translated paraphrastically.

2. The *βόλβιτον κοπρίων*, "filth of a dunghill," is the LXX. rendering of גֶּלְלֵי צֵאָה in Ezek. iv. 12 (comp. Ewald, § 255 *b*, p. 639).

shake.] For the purpose of cleansing. The Syr. paraphrases, at the same time retaining the last words of the original: "will shake his hand." This is instructive.

3. (*There is*) **shame to a father in the begetting of a son undisciplined, but a daughter** [viz. of this kind; Syr. "a woman"] **is born to loss.**] There is progression here: an undisciplined son is a source of shame to his father, but an undisciplined daughter is a source of actual loss—of the one he may be ashamed, the other will cause him damage and hurt.

4. *A* **prudent** [sensible, mentally well conditioned] *daughter shall* **obtain** *her husband* (or are we to follow the Latin: *hæreditas viro suo*, and to suppose a misunderstanding on the part of the Greek translator?).] Bretschneider: "*ἄνδρα αὐτῆς*, maritum sibi destinatum"—and thereby she will bring honour to her father.

but **a daughter that bringeth disgrace is unto grief to him** [the grief of him] **that begat her.**] "That bringeth disgrace," in the Heb. no doubt מְבִישָׁה, but not in the sense of "disgraceful," as in Prov. xii. 4, but as in Prov. x. 5, xiv. 35, xvii. 2, in that of putting to shame. In these three passages מֵבִישׁ always stands antithetically to מַשְׂכִּיל, "prudent." Probably the same antithetic expressions may have been used in the Heb. of our verse, although the LXX. render מַשְׂכִּיל in Prov. x. 5, xiv. 35, by *νοήμων*. The Syr. wholly omits this verse.

5. **The bold** [viz. daughter] **disgraceth father and husband, and by both will she be despised.**] The term "bold" (*ἡ θρασεῖα*) is used in the sense of noisy self-assertion and impudence, as in Prov. ix. 13, which seems parallel, and where the LXX. render *γυνὴ ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα*—whatever meaning we may attach to the Hebrew phrase אֵשֶׁת כְּסִילוּת. The Syr. has "father and mother," instead of "father and husband."

6. **Unseasonable speech.**] Referring to instruction or admonition addressed to the young, but at that particular moment not in season: good in itself, but just then unsuitable. The second clause literally translated would be, "(but) stripes and **discipline at all times** (are) **of wisdom**," which is sometimes explained as meaning that the application of these at all times is the part of wisdom. But it is not easy to find this in the Greek text. The Syr. has: "is wisdom at all times." There can be little doubt that this represents the original Hebrew, בְּכָל־עֵת חָכְמָה, which the Greek mistranslated *ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ σοφίας*.

7. *Whoso.*] Rather, **he that.** Omit "and" in second clause.

sound sleep.] Rather, **deep sleep.** The point of comparison is the uselessness of the attempt in each case.

8. *He that* **narrateth . . . narrateth** *to one* **that is nodding** [slumbering], *and* **upon the completion** *he will say: What* **is it?**] The simile of *v.* 7 leads to that about slumber which is not inapt. The Syr. has in the first clause instead of our Greek: "like a man that eateth bread when he is not hungry."

9, 10. These verses must be omitted.

through disdain and want of nurture do stain the nobility of their kindred.

11 [b] Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light: and weep for the fool, for he wanteth understanding: make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest: but the life of the fool is worse than death.

12 [c] Seven days do men mourn for him that is dead; but for a fool and an ungodly man all the days of his life.

13 Talk not much with a fool, and go not to him that hath no understanding: [d] beware of him, lest thou have trouble, and thou shalt never be defiled ‖ with his fooleries: depart from him, and thou shalt find rest, and never be ‖ disquieted with madness.

14 What is heavier than lead? and what is the name thereof, but a fool?

15 [e] Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear, than a man without understanding.

16 As timber girt and bound together in a building cannot be loosed with shaking: so the heart that is stablished by advised counsel shall fear at no time.

B. C. cir. 200.

[b] ch. 38. 16.

[c] Gen. 50. 10.

[d] ch. 12. 12.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *when he shakes off his filth.*

‖ Or, *wearied.*

[e] Prov. 27. 3.

11. *Weep for the dead,* **for light has failed** [ceased, passed away] **. . . for understanding has failed . . .** *Weep* **softly** [Bissell] *for the dead, for he is at rest.*] The contrast is melancholy, as indicating absence of hope as regards an after-life. The Syr. modifies the last clause and adds: "for worse than death is an evil life."

12. *Seven days.*] The ordinary period of great mourning (Gen. l. 10; Judith xvi. 24). St. Augustine finds in the number seven for the period of mourning an allusion to the Sabbath of rest, indicative of this, that the dead were at sacred rest. The contrast is very forcible. While we mourn seven days for the pious who are at rest, the whole lifetime of the fool and the ungodly is a period of mourning.

13. Another stanza, in which progression from the former verses is clearly marked. Lit.: "With one void of intelligence do not multiply speech." The Syr. has "make not pleasant" for "multiply not." We are inclined to believe that the Heb. had אַל תְּשַׁבֵּר, and that the Greek took יְשַׁבֵּר in the sense of measuring — measuring words, — while the Syr. understood it in the more common use of the word. Or may there have been some confusion of the roots רבה and רצה? For the second clause the Syr. has: "and with a pig do not go in the way." Possibly the original had חֲזִיר, "a pig," and the Greek translator, regarding this as below the dignity of the argument, may have altered it in common Rabbinic manner of commentation, as follows: Read not חֲזִיר, a pig, but חָסֵר, wanting = חֲסַר־לֵב, wanting in understanding. The third clause seems to support the Greek rendering, but the fourth accords rather with the Syr. On the other hand, the simile of the pig is not only un-Jewish, but seems abruptly introduced. Clause *d* should be translated: **and thou shalt not be defiled by that which he throws out.** This, whether we understand it realistically, as of saliva or the like, or figuratively, seems a not inapt paraphrase of ἐν τῷ ἐντιναγμῷ αὐτοῦ.

The last two clauses of *v.* 13 read: **Turn away** *from him, and thou shalt find rest,* **and not be overwhelmed by his senselessness.** "Overwhelmed" with the additional idea of fainting or being weary in consequence, corresponding to the Hebrew עָטַף, for which it is used in LXX. Ps. lx. (Heb. lxi.) 2; ci. (Heb. cii.) 1; cxlii. (Heb. cxliii.) 4.

14. The Syr.: "for he is much heavier than lead;" the Greek and the Syr. rendering the מה differently.

15. Syr.: "than to dwell with a foolish man."

16. This verse begins a new stanza.

A tie-beam [comp. Hab. ii. 11: "cross-beam out of the wood"] **bound into** *a building* **will not be loosed in a storm.**] Lit. "commotion," like its Hebrew original סַעַר and סְעָרָה (or rather in that instance סַעֲרָה), for which it stands in LXX. Jer. xxiii. 19; 4 (2) Kings ii. 1. In one passage (LXX. 3 Kings xix. 11) it stands indeed for רַעַשׁ, "earthquake," but that word also bears the general meaning of "quaking." In any case, the rendering "storm-wind" suits the context far better than "earthquake."

so the heart stablished **on** *advised* [considered] **thought** [purpose] *shall* **not be afraid at the time.**] At the proper time — בָּעֵת, at the right time, that which is to be looked for — when thought must pass into action and dangers threaten around (as the hurricane that falls upon a house), he who is as here described shall not give way through fear nor even be perturbed.

B. C. cir. 200.

17 A heart settled upon a thought of understanding is as a fair plaistering ‖on the wall of a gallery.

‖ Or, *of a polished wall.*

18 Pales set on an high place will never stand against the wind: so a fearful heart in the imagination of a fool cannot stand against any fear.

19 He that pricketh the eye will make tears to fall: and he that pricketh the heart maketh it to shew her knowledge.

20 Whoso casteth a stone at the birds frayeth them away: and he that *f* upbraideth his friend breaketh friendship.

f ch. 41. 22.

21 Though thou drewest a sword at thy friend, yet despair not: for there may be a returning [to favour.]

22 If thou hast opened thy mouth against thy friend, fear not; for there may be a reconciliation: except for upbraiding, or pride, or *g* disclosing of secrets, or a treacherous wound: for for these things every friend will depart.

B. C. cir. 200.

g ch. 27. 17. & 41. 23.

23 Be faithful to thy neighbour in his poverty, that thou mayest rejoice in his prosperity: abide stedfast unto him in the time of his trouble, that thou mayest be heir with him in his heritage: for a mean estate is not always to be contemned: nor the rich that is foolish to be had in admiration.

24 As the vapour and smoke of a furnace goeth before the fire; so reviling before blood.

advised **thought.**] Considered purpose, *διανόημα βουλῆς*: the former word corresponds to מַחֲשָׁבָה, the latter to עֵצָה.

17. *A heart settled upon a* **prudent** [an intelligent] **purpose is like the plastered adornment of a smoothed wall.**] As we understand it, the reference is to a wall built of rough stones, but which becomes smooth and polished by being plastered—having the "plastered adornment." According to Grotius, Fritzsche, and others, the point of comparison lies in this, that the plaster does not fall off, but remains firm even in earthquake, storm, and rain. But such would certainly not be the case in an earthquake, while storm and rain could scarcely in any case affect the inside of a house. In our view the comparison lies in this: that as in a house of strong stones the "plastered adornment" gives firmness, beauty, and completion to what is now a polished wall, so the prudent purpose of a wise heart.

18. *Pales set on a high place* [rather, according to the Alex. reading: **small stones laid on a high place**] . . . *so a fearful heart* **upon** [*i.e.* caused by, the outcome of] **the purpose of** *a fool* **shall** *not stand against any* **alarm.**] For *χάρακες*, "pales" (palisades?), the Alex. reads *χάλικες*, "little stones," possibly in the sense of a heap of loose little stones. This reading is confirmed by the Syr., which has: "a pebble upon the top of a lofty stone."

19. Another stanza. *He that* **presseth** [hurteth] *the eye* [lit. pricketh, in the general sense of touching to hurt] . . . *and he that* **hurteth** *the heart* [the same verb as before] **causeth feeling** (viz. of pain?) **to appear** [brings it to light].] The point of the comparison lies in the making visible, bringing out the inward sensation or feeling. When you rub the eye, the visible effect is tears; if you similarly hurt the heart of another, the pain which you give will make itself outwardly apparent. This is further developed and illustrated in *v.* 20, where the "upbraiding" in clause *b* (*ὀνειδίζειν*) is, as it were, morally casting stones at a friend.

21. Omit "to favour."

22. *If.*] Rather, **though.** All direct and open attacks, whether by word or deed, are not necessarily offences which make a breach hopeless—there may be "return" or "reconciliation"—but the mean conduct mentioned in *v.* 22 *c* will for ever alienate a friend. Omit the word "for" in the last clause.

23. Last stanza. **Win trust with the** [thy] *neighbour in* (his) *poverty.*] Gain his confidence by the way in which thou actest towards him while he is poor. The Syr. paraphrases, although in the spirit of the sentence: "support thy companion in his poverty."

that thou mayest be heir with him in his heritage.] Probably rather, **that thou mayest have part with him in his possession,** *i.e.* when he attains to it. The rest of the verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

24. **Before a fire smoke of the furnace and vapour . . .** *so reviling before blood.*] Rather, "before **bloodshed**"—*αἵματα* bearing the same meaning as the Heb. דָּמִים. Bretschneider would place *v.* 24

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25 I will not be ashamed to defend a friend; neither will I hide myself from him.

26 And if any evil happen unto me by him, every one that heareth it will beware of him.

[h] Ps. 141. 3.

27 [h]Who shall set a watch before my mouth, and a seal of wisdom upon my lips, that I fall not suddenly by them, and that my tongue destroy me not?

CHAPTER XXIII.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *A prayer for grace to flee sin.* 9 *We may not use swearing:* 14 *but remember our parents.* 16 *Of three sorts of sin.* 34 *The adulterous wife sinneth many ways.*

O LORD, Father and Governor of all my whole life, leave me not to their counsels, and let me not fall by them.

2 Who will set scourges over my thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom

before *v.* 23. But *v.* 24 aptly precedes *v.* 25, if its meaning be: If bloodshed come, I will not be ashamed nor hesitate to protect a friend.

25. The Syr. paraphrases: "If thy friend become impoverished, put him not to shame."

26. The Syr. has instead of this: "If thy companion reveal to thee a secret, disclose it not, lest every one that heareth it beware of thee, and regard thee as an evil-doer." The Greek text expresses a sentiment by no means elevated, and which considerably detracts from the moral value of *v.* 25. The meaning seems to be: If harm comes, the blame will be imputed to the other who allows his friend to suffer for his sake; and thus he, not I, shall suffer in public esteem. Probably, however, the Syr. expresses what was the sentiment of the original.

27. Bretschneider and Fritzsche would connect this verse with the following chapter. But we have repeatedly observed that the close of one chapter prepares for the subject of the following, and in fact forms the connecting link with it.

Who shall set.] Rather, **Oh that one would set**, the Greek being only a literal rendering of a common Hebrew idiom (Ewald, § 329*c*). As the verse is evidently formed upon Ps. cxli. 3, we may conjecture the Hebrew to have been מִי יִתֵּן or מִי יָשִׂית לְפִי שְׁמִירָה (or point שָׁמְרָה).

a seal of wisdom.] Rather, **of prudence**—this for the elegant Hebrew in the corresponding clause of the Psalm.

that I fall not suddenly by them.] Rather, **that I fall not from it**, viz. the watch or guard upon his mouth: for that purpose he asks for the additional security of a seal on his lips. Generally it is translated "that I fall not by it" (ἵνα μὴ πέσω ἀπ' αὐτῆς), and the reference is supposed to be to the γλῶσσα, "tongue," in the last clause. But it is difficult to understand how the ἀπ' αὐτῆς can refer not to what precedes, but to what follows in the next clause.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The chapter opens (see xxii. 27) with a prayer against sins of the tongue, of the eyes, and of the flesh (*vv.* 1–6; *v.* 5 in the A. V. must be omitted). Then follows what is appropriately entitled in the LXX. text as "Discipline of the mouth" (*vv.* 7–15). Here, after a general introduction (*vv.* 7, 8), we have a warning against profane language (*vv.* 9–11), against loose language (*vv.* 12, 13), and against disrespectful language (*vv.* 14, 15). What may be called Part II. consists of two stanzas, each of six verses (*vv.* 16–21; *vv.* 22–27), respectively directed against male and female offenders against purity.

1. *O Lord, Father and* **Ruler of my life,** *leave me not to their* **counsel** [to what they suggest], **suffer me not,** *&c.* (Bissell).] The reference must be to "the lips" in ch. xxii. 27, since the "their" and "they" can scarcely be referred to the "adversaries" of *v.* 3.

2. **Oh that one would put rods** [chastisements] *upon my* **thinking** [purposing, διανόημα, מְזִמָּה; in the singular only used in Eccles., not in the LXX. nor in the N. T.] *and the discipline of wisdom* **upon** *my heart* [either wise discipline or that which leadeth to wisdom: probably the former]; **in order that they** [viz. the stripes] **may not spare my mistakes** ["spare" in the sense of "be indulgent to," "not punish;" "mistakes," מְשִׁגֶּה, both in the Heb. and in the LXX. only used in Gen. xliii. 12, but in our verse used in the plural], *and* **that it** [viz. the discipline of wisdom] **may not** *pass by* **their transgressions**]—viz. when the "mistake" or מִשְׁגֶּה leads on to actual transgression. Or else, if we follow the Latin and derive παρῇ not from παρίημι (I pass by) but from πάρειμι (I am present, I arrive), we shall have to translate: "and that their transgressions (those which are the outcome of our mistakes) may not appear," or "come out." The ultimate meaning is nearly the same in both cases. The text is so complicated that it gave rise to early attempts at

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over mine heart? that they spare me not for mine ignorances, and it pass not by my sins:

3 Lest mine ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction, and I fall before mine adversaries, and mine enemy rejoice over me, whose hope is far from thy mercy.

4 O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from thy servants always

Or, *a giant-like.* ‖ a haughty mind.

5 Turn away from me vain hopes and concupiscence, and thou shalt hold him up that is desirous always to serve thee.

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6 Let not the greediness of the belly nor lust of the flesh take hold of me; and give not over me thy servant into an impudent mind.

7 Hear, O ye children, the discipline of the mouth: he that keepeth it shall never be taken in his lips.

8 The sinner shall be left in his foolishness: both the evil speaker and the proud shall fall thereby.

9 [a] Accustom not thy mouth to swearing; neither use thyself to the naming of the Holy One.

[a] Exod. 20. 7. ch. 27. 14. Matt. 5. 33, 34.

emendation. The most noteworthy of these is the omission of the μή, "not," from clause *c*, and the change of the verb from the plural to the singular. Thus the clause would read: "that he (viz. the Lord) would spare my errors"—the Syr.: "that the Lord would spare (not punish) my guilt." But the Syr. adds so much in the sequel that we must put it aside as a wide and not very apt paraphrase. Fritzsche not only corrects the number in clause *c* ("that he may not spare my follies"), but alters in clause *d* "their" into "my" ("that he may not let pass—*durchliesse!*—my sins"). This certainly is to cut the knot.

3. Omit from A. V. "to my destruction;" also the last clause, "whose hope," &c.

4. Sins and mistakes, the outcome of the heart, naturally lead to thoughts of the class mentioned in vv. 4–6.

a proud look.] Rather, **lascivious** (or lustful) **eyes**; comp. xxvi. 9: literally, "lifting up of eyes." This would correspond to the Hebrew usage of נְשֹׂא עֵינַיִם, as in Gen. xxxix. 7. But in the LXX. the latter passage is rendered, ἐπέβαλεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς. Moreover the word used in our verse for "uplifting of eyes" (μετεωρισμὸς ὀφθαλμῶν) occurs either as a substantive or a verb, or in some derivative form, not less than twenty times in the LXX., but always in the sense of "high," or when connected with "eyes" for "proud;" so in LXX. Ps. cxxx. (cxxxi.) 1 and in Is. v. 15. Can there have been some misunderstanding, such as that עֵינֵי כִזָּבוֹת, "eyes of deceit," was misread עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת, "proud eyes,"—there being in the MS. neither vowel-points nor final letters, nor yet the separation of words? In that case a similar misreading would also have to be assumed in xxvi. 9. In the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira' we read: "Woe to him who walketh after his eyes, and he knoweth that they are children of whoredom, and he has nothing from them,"—in the sense of not gaining anything by them (comp. in Jer. Ber. 3 *c* and in several Midrashim: "The heart and the eyes are the intermediaries of sin"). [On the figurative expression "whoredom of the face" for a bold and shameless look, comp. Hos. ii. 4 in the A. V. and R. V. ii. 2. Comp. also Prov. vii. 13; Jer. iii. 3.]

but turn away, &c.] Instead of this clause in the A. V. (which follows 248, Co.) read: **and turn away lust from me.** There is not, as some have supposed, anything in this prayer inconsistent with the fullest recognition of personal self-determination.

5. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

6. The somewhat realistic rendering of the A. V. had best be left. Omit from the A. V. "thy servant," and render: "and give **me** not over to a **shameless** mind."

7. This verse begins a new stanza. In the text of the LXX. we have here the inscription: "Discipline of the mouth"—originally, probably, a marginal note. In the second clause translate: "shall never be **caught.**" For "caught" the Syr. has "exposed to infamy." The words following, "in his lips," or rather **through his lips,** must be joined to v. 8 *a*. So in the Alex. and in the Syr.

8. **Through his lips shall** *the sinner be* **taken** [we would read καταληφθήσεται, supported by 157]: *both the* **railer** *and the proud shall* **be made to stumble by them.**

9. St. James v. 12 seems different in spirit from this warning, which is rather against the habit of lightly swearing, as leading to profanity and profanation. "The naming of the Holy One" may refer to the invocation

B. C. cir. 200.

10 For as a servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark: so he that sweareth and nameth God continually shall not be faultless.

11 A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with iniquity, and the plague shall never depart from his house: if he shall offend, his sin shall be upon him: and if he acknowledge not his sin, he maketh a double offence: and if he swear in vain, he shall not be ‖innocent, but his house shall be full of calamities. B. C. cir. 200. ‖ Gr. *justified.*

12 [b] There is a word that is clothed about with death: God grant that it be not found in the heritage of Jacob; for all such things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in their sins. [b] Lev. 24. 15, 16.

of the name *Jahveh* in an oath. The uttering of that name was not prohibited at that time. "The Holy One:" a common mode of expression for God—the formula in later Hebrew being הקב"ה (הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא): "The Holy One, blessed be He." The Syr. seems to have thought such a light use of the Holy Name impossible, and hence applies the passage to judicial investigations. It renders the second clause: "and be not sitting among judges" [or may the words have here slipped in from *v.* 14*b*?]. The Syr. accordingly continues in *v.* 10: "For every son of man who swears much (often) will not be free from stripes [shall not be without incurring, or deserving, the punishment of scourging]: similarly he who lyingly swears shall not be free from guilt." In this latter distinction the Syr. had perhaps in view the Rabbinic idea of the punishment "by the hand of God," or by "cutting off."

10. This verse seems rather to confirm the impression given by the Syr. (see above), that in the original the reference was to forensic swearing, and in that case the Syr. helps us to understand the otherwise difficult comparison in the Greek text.

For as a **domestic slave** *that is continually* **being examined** *shall not* **be lacking in weals** [he will bear the bodily marks of such investigation, which was by scourging], *so he that sweareth and taketh* **the Name** (viz. of God) **at all times shall not be clean from sin.**] Here in the sense of being free from guilt. As he lightly or lyingly resorts constantly to swearing, the invisible Hand lays on him the spiritual scourge, the weals and bruises of which are the defilement of sin, the guilt which he contracts.

11. The figure is continued and developed.

iniquity.] Rather, **unrighteousness.**

the plague.] Perhaps better, **stroke**, referring to the stroke of God. In the LXX. it is used for נֶגַע in LXX. Ps. xxxviii. (xxxix.) 11; lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 33; xc. (xci.) 10; and repeatedly in the N. T. in the general sense of a Divine stroke.

if he shall offend, &c.] Rather, "if **he offend** [transgress], his sin (is) upon him." The first two clauses having laid down the general principle, its application is shewn in three possible cases. The first is that of swearing and not doing: this involves sin. The second is: and if he neglect, overlook—this meaning being established by the use of the word in Ecclus. (ii. 10; xxxv. 17 [in the Greek MSS. except in 248, ch. xxxii. 14]; and especially in xxxviii. 16)—that is, if he simply treat his oath as nothing, then "**he sinned twofold**"—once by breaking his oath, the other time by treating an oath as if it were nothing. The third case contemplated is not that of an oath which is broken, nor of an oath which is treated as if it were nothing, but of one which is needlessly taken: "and if he swear in vain" (without cause, חִנָּם, for which it stands four times in the LXX.: once for לָרִיק, Lev. xxvi. 16; once for רֵיקָם, Ps. xxiv. (Heb. xxv.) 3; and only once, in Ps. xxx. (Heb. xxxi.) 7, for יָשָׁוְא)—in such a case "he shall not be **absolved**," not be pronounced innocent, without guilt, not be so treated—lit. he shall not be justified. The expression in that sense is common in Hebrew. The Syr. paraphrases and alters, as it seems to us, purposely.

12. From swearing the writer passes to lewd speaking. Generally the verse is regarded as referring to blasphemy, but this does not accord with the third and especially not with the fourth clause. On the other hand, the reference to lewd speaking is borne out by *v.* 13. Such speech was only too common among the surrounding heathen nations, but happily not "in the heritage of Jacob."

There is a **way of speaking** [a speech] *which* **over against it is surrounded by** *death.*] The consequence of which is death on every side, ἀντιπεριβεβλημένη. The reading ἀντιπαραβεβλημένη, "the counterpart of which is death," is very attractive, but not necessary, and would only suit the context if the reference were to blasphemy.

God grant that.] Rather, **may it not** be

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13 Use not thy mouth to intemperate swearing, for therein is the word of sin.

14 Remember thy father and thy mother, when thou sittest among great men. Be not forgetful before them, and so thou by thy custom become a fool, and wish that thou hadst not been born, and [c] curse the day of thy nativity.

Job 3. [c] &c.

15 [d] The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words will never be reformed all the days of his life.

[d] 2 Sam. 6. 7.

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16 Two sorts of men multiply sin, and the third will bring wrath: a hot mind is as a burning fire, it will never be quenched till it be consumed: a fornicator in the body of his flesh will never cease till he hath kindled a fire.

17 [e] All bread is sweet to a whoremonger, he will not leave off till he die.

[e] Prov. 9. 17.

found. For "shall" in the next two clauses, rather "will." Omit "their" before "sins."

13. To filthy [lewd] **coarseness accustom not thy mouth.**] Indulge not in that species of coarseness which consists in filthy talk. The last clause literally rendered would be: "for therein is word of sin," or perhaps "speech of sin." But this seems so inapt that we suppose the Hebrew דָּבָר, literally "a word," to have been here as frequently used in the sense of "matter of," as in עֲוֹנוֹת דָּבָר, or דָּבָר רָע (which, however, rather means something noxious) or דָּבָר רַע, or as the Rabbis have it: דָּבָר שֶׁל קְלוֹן. Accordingly, we would translate: "**for therein is matter of sin.**" [It has been suggested that the λόγος ἁμαρτίας here may throw light on the difficult expression *ratio peccati* ("the nature of sin") in Article ix.: "Of original or birth-sin."] The Syr. once more gives something different—as we believe, of purpose.

14. The admonition in regard to the tongue is now applied in a different direction. Fritzsche supposes the writer to be still referring to the same subject as in *v.* 13. He proposes to alter the "for (γάρ) thou sittest" into "when thou sittest" (as in the A. V.), and explains: Let consideration for thy parents, as those who have educated thee, act as a deterrent against coarse speech, lest thou bring them to shame. But irrespective of the arbitrariness involved in this explanation, it is difficult to see how indulgence in coarse speech could lead a person to wish he had not been born (clause 5). Lastly, *v.* 15 forbids any reference of *v.* 14 to lewd speech. Bretschneider cuts the knot by regarding *v.* 14 as spurious, while Grotius proposes a number of alterations too arbitrary for serious consideration. In our view the author here refers to another class of sins of the tongue—those in breach of the fifth commandment. It is the latter which he has in view. "Remember thy father and thy mother, for thou sittest **in the midst of great ones, that thou be not** forgetful before them (see Winer, § 56, 2), **and by thy custom** [viz. with them, thy habituation, here = familiarity] **thou behave foolishly**"—when the consequences mentioned in the last two clauses would ensue, as threatened on breach of the fifth commandment. For ἐθισμός, "custom," see LXX. Gen. xxxi. 35 (תֶּרֶךְ) and 3 Kings xviii. 28 (מִשְׁפָּט).

15. A man *who is accustomed* [who accustoms himself] *to* **words of reproach** [viz. towards his parents, or else words of shame, viz. in regard to them—either גְּדוּפִים, as in LXX. Is. xliii. 28, or חֶרְפָּה] **will not become instructed** [in the high moral sense—trained, educated—and in this, its true meaning, *gebildet*] **in all his days.**] The Syr. paraphrases—again intentionally—*vv.* 14, 15 (the former rather according to our interpretation of it), and adds a clause at the end of *v.* 15 which raises the suspicion of a desire to obscure what was the real subject referred to in the original.

16. From words the author turns to deeds. The meaning is sufficiently brought out in the A. V. "Two sorts"—"of men" is understood, not expressed in the text. The two sorts of men referred to are: **A soul, hot as** burning fire (so better than in the A. V.); and, secondly, the man guilty of the sin "in the body of his flesh," of whom it is said: **he will never cease till he have kindled fire** (so, more correctly). Fritzsche understands the ἐν σώματι σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ just referred to of the שְׁאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ of Lev. xviii. 6; xxv. 49: but this is quite differently rendered in the LXX., nor could such a sin have been ranked as less than the third class, described in *v.* 18, which is characterised as bringing down wrath (*v.* 16 *b*). The Syr. omits the first of the triad.

17. This verse is a parenthetic sentence referring to and explaining *v.* 16, and also preparing for the enormity of *v.* 18.

All bread.] Every kind of bread; "bread," a euphemism, for which the parallel in Prov. ix. 17 is doubtful (Prov. xx. 17 does

B. C. cir. 200.

18 A man that breaketh wedlock, saying thus in his heart, [f] Who seeth me? I am compassed about with darkness, the walls cover me, and no body seeth me; what need I to fear? the most High will not remember my sins:

[f] Job 24. 15. Ps. 10. 11. Isai. 29. 15.

19 Such a man only feareth the eyes of men, and knoweth not that the eyes of the Lord are ten thousand times brighter than the sun, [g] beholding all the ways of men, and considering the most secret parts.

[g] ch. 15. 19.

20 He knew all things ere ever they were created; [h] so also after they were perfected he looked upon them all.

[h] Gen. 1. 31.

21 [i] This man shall be punished in the streets of the city, and where he suspecteth not he shall be taken.

[i] Lev. 20. 10. Deut. 22. 22.

22 Thus shall it go also with the wife that leaveth her husband, and bringeth in an heir by ‖ another.

‖ Or, *a stranger.*

23 For first, she hath disobeyed the [k] law of the most High: and secondly, she hath trespassed against her own husband; and thirdly, she hath played the whore in adultery, and brought children by another man.

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[k] Exod. 20. 14.

24 She shall be brought out into the congregation, and ‖ inquisition shall be made of her children.

‖ Or, *visitation.*

25 Her [l] children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit.

[l] Wisd. 4. 3.

26 She shall leave her memory to be cursed, and her reproach shall not be blotted out.

27 And they that remain shall know that there is nothing better than the fear of the Lord, and that there is nothing sweeter than to take heed unto the commandments of the Lord.

28 It is great glory to follow the

not refer to this). Prov. xxx. 20 is more parallel, and Ecclus. xxiii. 18 seems to have this verse in view. But the euphemism was adopted in later Hebrew parlance (as פַּת, "bread"), and is very coarsely carried into detail in Shabb. 62 *b*, last line.

19. The language is abrupt, but all the more striking.

And the eyes of men are his fear.] *I.e.* the object of his fear. It is difficult to reproduce the last clause. Perhaps this gives it most nearly: **and fully looking into** [perceiving] **the secret places** (lit., "parts"). This verse and that which follows are a very apt digression, which enhances the force of the admonition implied in the previous verses.

20. **Before all things were** [the All was] **created they were known to Him, and so also after they were completed.**] This is a bold Alexandrianism, for which the Syr. has what we believe correctly represents the original: "For before things are they are open before Him, nay and after the consummation of the world He judgeth it."

21. The writer returns to the subject in hand, and shews that although the adulterer may imagine that he can withdraw himself from the sight of God, yet He will bring his sin to light and punish it publicly by the hand of man.

22. From the male sinner the writer turns to the adulteress: **Similarly also the wife.** On the form παριστῶσα, see Winer, p. 72.

23. Instead of "her own husband," the Syr. has "the husband of her virginity." It has also only one verb, instead of the Greek: "she hath disobeyed . . . she hath trespassed." Probably the original had only the expressive בְּגֵרָה, which would equally apply to her sin before God and towards man.

24. In the first clause the Syr. has: "she shall be driven from the congregation." The Greek seems to contemplate the public inquisition into her crime, which appears more likely to be correct than the excommunication indicated by the Syr., or the Syr. may have had Deut. xxii. 21 in view. In the second clause it is added that the consequences of her sin shall be felt by her children, **and upon her children shall be visitation,** —probably יִפָּקֵד עֲוֹנָהּ. Syr.: "and upon her children shall her sins be remembered."

27. The Syr.: "and all the inhabitants of the earth shall know, and all that are left in the world shall understand." It seems scarcely likely that these two clauses were in the original. Was the first clause original, and was the second taken from a comparison with the Greek translation? [See the General Introduction, § VIII.] Or are we to regard it as a Christian addition or rather amplification?

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B. C. cir. 200. Lord, and to be received of him is long life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Wisdom doth praise herself, shew her beginning,* 4 *her dwelling,* 13 *her glory,* 17 *her fruit,* 26 *her increase and perfection.*

B. C. cir. 200. The praise of Wisdom.

WISDOM shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people.

2 In the congregation of the most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before his power.

28. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Once more the closing lines of the preceding chapter form a transition to this, which is aptly headed in the LXX., "Praise of Wisdom." The beauty of this chapter has been generally acknowledged. Accordingly it has not only been separately translated into German (see the literature in Fritzsche, p. 124), but also repeatedly into Hebrew. Here we have to mention first the Hebrew translation by Lowth (in 'De sacra poesi Hebr. prælectiones,' ed. Oxon), reprinted by Fritzsche in his 'Comment. on Ecclus.' ('Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. ü. d. Apokr.,' v., pp. 134–136), and furnished by him with Notes marking the alterations made by him in his own independent translation. While fully recognising the merits of this version, it must be admitted that it leaves not a little to be desired. Next, although not in the order of time, we have the version of Isaac Seckel Fränkel in his Hebrew translation of the Apocrypha (Leipzig, 1830). This elegant rendering is not open to some of the objections which have been made to that of Lowth. But it is far inferior in beauty of classical Hebrew to that of Ben Seebh (see General Introd.). The latter, however, follows to a great extent the Syriac, and often deviates from the Greek text. Passing from this to the subject-matter of the chapter, its general arrangement seems as follows. After an introduction in two verses, in which Wisdom places herself, as it were, in the midst of Israel, follow three stanzas in praise of Wisdom, each consisting of five verses. Stanza I. (vv. 3–7) presents Wisdom before Israel's history commenced; Stanza II. describes Wisdom as having taken root in the midst of Israel (vv. 8–12); Stanza III. sets forth the glory and beauty of the tree thus planted (vv. 13–17; v. 18 must be omitted). These three stanzas are followed, in a fourth stanza (of four verses, 19–22), by an admonition to accept that Wisdom. This stanza seems to form a transition to what we regard as the underlying thought in the rest of the chapter (two stanzas: 6 + 5 verses). Their purport may, for want of better terms, be described as prophetic and missionary—not in any controversial sense, nor even as directly referring or addressing itself to the heathen world, but as embodying the thought and hope that the river of Wisdom, swelling in the fulness of its waters, shall yet become a sea; that her morning light shall spread to the utmost bounds of earth, and that her teaching as prophecy shall sound in the ears of all and to all generations (vv. 30–34). The Syriac translation leaves no doubt that the chapter formed part of the original work of Sirach. Thus viewed, the chapter is of the greatest importance, as illustrating not only the religious views of the writer but, by implication, also the date of the composition of his book and the religious history of that period. For we mark a decided advance upon Prov. viii. That chapter itself is characteristic of the *Chokhmah*-literature of Israel, but of its biblical period, although of a late stage in it. But Ecclus. xxiv. goes much beyond it in the direction of admitting the influence of Grecian thought, and indicating a benignant attitude towards the world outside the bounds of Israel. The former appears even from the manner in which Wisdom is described; the latter, from the thoughts and hopes expressed of the ultimate universal prevalence and acceptance of Israel's Divine Wisdom in the happy future in prospect. Eichhorn regards this chapter as beginning the Second Part of Ecclesiasticus (to xlii. 14); Fritzsche, as opening Section III.

1. The meaning would probably be more accurately thus represented: "Let Wisdom praise herself, and in the midst of her people let her glory." The writer, as it were, calls upon Wisdom to open her mouth and to set forth her excellency before the whole people. The future tense is to be understood in this jussive sense. From v. 3 onwards Wisdom is introduced as responding to this call.

her people.] The Syr. has "the people of God." This, no doubt correctly. It also has "she will be honoured" instead of "let her glory."

2. *In the congregation of the Most High* [probably בְּעֲדַת אֵל, as in the Syr.] **let her** *open her mouth, and* **let her glory** [*i.e.* set forth her glory] *before His* **Might** [*i.e.* before God].] The most divergent opinions prevail as to the meaning of the expression "before His Might" (ἔναντι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ). Lowth renders לִפְנֵי חֵילוֹ, "before His host," pre-

B. C. cir. 200.

3 I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a [1] cloud.

4 [a] I dwelt in high places, and [b] my throne is in a cloudy pillar.

5 I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep.

6 In the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation, I got a possession.

7 With all these I sought rest:

B. C. cir. 200.

[1] Or, *a mist.*

[a] Job 22. 14.

[b] Ps. 104. 3.

sumably Israel; Fritzsche, לִפְנֵי עֻזּוֹ, "before His Might"; Fränkel, עֻזּוֹ. We believe that the original was לִפְנֵי הַגְּבוּרָה; literally, "before the Might," but a very common mode of expression in later Hebrew for "before God." Perhaps, however, the Hebrew may have been לפני גבורתו.

3. Wisdom responds to the appeal: "I came **forth from** the mouth of the Most High." This is the earliest identification of Wisdom with the λόγος, but as yet only as God manifesting, not as having manifested, Himself: hence not yet "the Word."

cloud.] The dark and misty cloud. The λόγος as the creative (or rather the formative) agency is brooding over the face of the dark chaotic deep. What in Gen. i. 2 is said of "the Spirit of God" is here attributed to Wisdom, with this additional difference, that this emanation of Wisdom from God as He is manifesting Himself is represented as immediately preceding that orderly arrangement of the world in which Wisdom is the agent. The older Church writers regarded this personification of Wisdom as the Christ. But the vital difference of thought in Ecclus. is apparent from the following verses (see especially v. 9). We find here, not the beginnings of Christianity, but of Alexandrianism; and the personification (?) or rather distinction of Wisdom as God manifesting Himself points forward to Philo, not to the Gospels.

4. *I dwelt in* **the heights**, *and my throne* (is, was?) **on the pillar of cloud.**] We cannot see in this any reference to the cloudy pillar in the wilderness. It is true that Philo ('Quis rer. Div. her.' § 42) regards the cloud which separated Israel and the Egyptians (Ex. xiv. 19) as an emblem of Wisdom, but the whole context forbids us to identify this allegorical combination with the passage before us (see Dähne, 'Jüd. Alex. Relig. Phil.' ii. pp. 134, 135). The figure of Wisdom as enthroned on a pillar of cloud is sublime.

5. The figure is further developed. Amidst the solemn silence and solitude prevailing Wisdom fills all and pervades all.

I compassed.] In the sense of "I circled," or of "I went round about," סַבּוֹתִי.

alone.] The Syr. has: "together with Him." The difference is great, and of serious importance if the inference which it suggests be well grounded. We can scarcely account for it merely by a different reading of the same or similar Hebrew letters. For the Syr. at least suggests the word עִמּוֹ. And, irrespective of this, the rendering of the Greek evidently suits the context, which the Syriac does not. It would therefore seem that the Syr. expression "together with Him" represents an intentional alteration on the part of the translator? If so, remembering that the ancient Christian writers identified "Wisdom" in Ecclus. with Christ, it suggests a Christian hand, either in the translation or the redaction of the text. Without claiming certainty for our inference, the alteration in this verse forms an important element in determining the question of the Christian authorship of the Syr. Version. In any case the expression "together with Him" goes much beyond the language of Prov. viii. 30, in which Wisdom presents herself as "an artificer by His side" (אָצְלוֹ—certainly not = "together with Him"). When the Siracide speaks of the all-pervading presence of Wisdom, he refers presumably to her formative agency in regard to our present world.

in the bottom of the deep.] Lit. **in the depth of the abysses.** The expression is interesting.

6. We advance another step. The rule of Wisdom is to be traced, not only in nature, but also among men.

I got a possession.] Fritzsche supposes the Greek to have misunderstood קָנִיתִי in the original; that the word here meant "I created" (as in Prov. viii. 22 and other places); and that it should have been translated by ἔκτισα. But this seems impossible. The underlying idea would not be Hebraic—in fact, it would be inconsistent with Prov. viii. 22. Nor yet would it be Alexandrian, as even the Greek translation of the verse shews. Still less would it belong to that intermediate period to which we ascribe the work of the Siracide. Lastly, what would be the meaning of a creative agency of Wisdom "in the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation"? Our difficulty is rather increased than diminished by the Syr., which renders: "I was given rule [or control] over

B. C. cir. 200.

and in whose inheritance shall I abide?

8 So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and he that made me caused my tabernacle to rest, and said, Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.

9 He [c] created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail.

10 In the [d] holy tabernacle I served before him; and so was I established in Sion.

11 [e] Likewise in the ‖ beloved city

B. C. cir. 200.

[c] Prov. 8. 22.

[d] Exod. 31. 3.

[e] Ps. 132. 8, 13, 14.

‖ Or, *holy.*

the waves of the sea," &c. Did the Syr. purposely choose an expression that might mean one thing or another, or must we regard this as an emendation similar to that in *v.* 5?

7. *With all these.*] Viz. every people and nation. We can scarcely doubt that the question here propounded by Wisdom (although not necessarily addressed to God, as Fritzsche supposes) expresses what was afterwards formulated by the Rabbis in the legend that the Law had been offered to, and refused by, every nation before it was accepted by Israel at Mount Sinai ('Abh. Z.' 2 *b*, towards the end). The legend in the Talmud was supported by an appeal to Deut. xxxiii. 2 and Hab. iii. 2. Possibly the legend represents a survival of the fundamental thought of Alexandrianism, or rather of that more free thinking which in Palestine itself formed the root and source of what afterwards was developed in Jewish Hellenism as the idea of an original share of all mankind in that highest Wisdom which found its full expression in the Law. Long after such views had passed away in Palestine, and indeed evoked the bitter antagonism of the Rabbis, its leading idea may, all unconsciously to themselves, have survived in this legend. From its theological aspect that question ultimately resolves itself into the great problem which must engage every thoughtful student of Revelation: that of the universal Fatherhood of God. How differently it was solved in the Gospel and in Apostolic preaching, need not here be explained.

8. *So.*] Rather, **then**. The reference here is to the Revelation of God in Israel, and more particularly to the Law, wherein Wisdom, which is the emanation of God, restfully tabernacled upon earth.

and thine inheritance in Israel.] Lit. "and let thine inheritance be given thee in Israel."

9. *from the beginning.*] Fritzsche (objecting with reason to the מראשית of Lightfoot) suggests מִקֶּדֶם as the original Hebrew, but incorrectly, and his appeal to Mic. v. 1 only goes against him. We believe the Hebrew words were מֵעוֹלָם and מֵרֹאשׁ, as in Prov. viii. 23, which, indeed, the LXX. renders by the same words as in our passage (*πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος . . . ἐν ἀρχῇ*—in our passage *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*). The verse reads as follows: **Before the Aeon** [*i.e.* before time began], **from the beginning, He created me** (the two terms are evidently not identical, as Fritzsche supposes); **and to the Aeon** [i.e. the end of time] **I shall not ever fail.** The Syr. has: "Before the world I was created, and to the Aeon of Aeons [eternity] my remembrance shall not fail." Here also we should perhaps note as significant the alteration "to the Aeon of Aeons" in the Syr. for the Greek "to the Aeon." The expression "Aeon of Aeons," or, more frequently, "the Aeons of Aeons," is frequent in the N. Test. It does not occur in the Gospels, where *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* is peculiar to St. Matthew (there five times, once in Heb. ix. 26), but in the Pauline Epistles (Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 18), in Heb. (i. 8; xiii. 21), in 1 Pet. (iv. 11), and especially in the Book of Revelation (there fourteen times). In the Old Testament it is only found in Dan. vii. 18 (there also in the LXX.). Besides this, it occurs in the LXX. (with the exception of 1 Esdr. iv. 38) exclusively, although frequently, in the version of the Psalms (there not less than twenty-eight times), and in Tob. vi. 18. Does this indicate that the LXX. version of the Psalms was made after Daniel, in which the expression was apparently introduced—but soon after it, as the frequency of its occurrence seems to suggest? It also occurs in the Targum Onkelos, and later on in that on the Psalms, which cannot date earlier than the second half of the 7th century. We regard it as characteristic of the anti-Hellenistic tendency of the Syr. that, while making the last clause of *v.* 8 a separate verse (*v.* 9), it adds to *v.* 9 (which in the Syr. is *v.* 10) the first clause of our Greek *v.* 10. For thereby what in the Greek exhibits Wisdom in a wider and universal aspect (*v.* 9) becomes strictly Judaic (comp. the note on *v.* 34). If the emendations, therefore, are Christian, they must be Judæo-Christian. To complete its re-arrangement of the verses, the Syr. adds the Greek *v.* 10 *b* to *v.* 11, which thus becomes a verse of three lines.

10. *and so.*] The Syr. has "and again." Had the original וְגַם, or did the Syr. wish to convey something special?

was I established.] In all probability the

B. C. cir. 200. he gave me rest, and in Jerusalem was my power.

12 And I took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance.

13 I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon.

14 I was exalted like a palm tree in En-gaddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho, as a fair olive tree in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane tree by the water.

Or, *Cades.*

Or, *in the water.*

15 I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus, and I yielded a pleasant odour like the best myrrh, as galbanum, and onyx, and sweet storax, and as the fume of frankincense in the tabernacle.

B. C. cir. 200.

f Exod. 30. 34, 36

16 As the turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honour and grace.

17 *g* As the vine brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches.

g John 15. 1.

18 I am the mother of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope: I therefore, being eternal, am given to all my children which are named of him.

Or, *chosen.*

19 *h* Come unto me, all ye that be

h Isai. 55. 1.

Hebrew had, as the Syr., קִנָּמִי, which bears the Greek rendering. The verse points to the presence of God and the Divinely instituted worship in the Tabernacle, which became permanent in the Temple. In the Tabernacle Wisdom became, as it were, the ministrant, and in this her office she was established in Zion. At the same time, this verse, when viewed in connexion with *v.* 9, is not by any means Judaic in the special sense of the term. For Wisdom, which in *v.* 9 was spoken of in relation to the world generally, is in *v.* 10 only presented as concentrating her agency: she has her ministration in the Levitical worship, and her Metropolis, so to speak, is in Zion. And this mode of viewing Wisdom is, as we have seen, characteristic of the theological standpoint of the older Siracide.

11. *my power.*] Rather, **my authority**, "rule," as in the Syr.

12. *And I took root in an* **honoured** *people* [one that attained honour, became distinguished through this very thing] *in the portion of the* **Lord**, (the portion) **of His** *inheritance.* (Comp. Deut. xxxii. 9, where the LXX. has the same two words.)

13. This verse begins a new stanza. *I was exalted.*] Rather, **I grew lofty.** Wisdom having thus taken root, her glory is next set forth under some figures.

14. *I was exalted.*] Rather, **I grew lofty.**

in En-gaddi.] The Vat. text has ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς, "by the sea-shores," but the reading of the A. V., found in one or another form in several MSS., must be preferred, as being confirmed by the Syr. and also generally more suitable, since palms are not supposed to attain any special height by the sea-shore, while Engedi was celebrated for its palms, as even its other name, *Chatsatson Tamar*, indicates. Omit "pleasant" before "field;" omit also "by the water." The Syr., however, has the words, "a rose plant," — no doubt in Heb., as in the Syr., וְרֶד, or else וְרֻדָּא. The word occurs in the Mishnah.

15. But there is not only glory: beauty also and sweetness, as well as rich fruit.

like cinnamon and **aromatic aspalathos.**] The latter is described by Pliny as of the height of a small tree, with flower of rose. Its root was used for making a precious ointment.

I yielded.] Rather, **I spread, I diffused.** The words "in the tabernacle" are omitted in the Syr. The omission further indicates the Christian authorship of this version.

16. Rather, **and my branches** (were) **branches of glory** *and grace* — "grace" here in the sense of beauty. For "terebinth" the Syr. has "rhododaphne," the rose-laurel, probably either a species of oleander or a rhododendron.

17. **I, like a vine, budded forth beauty** [adopting the Alex. reading, ἐβλάστησα], *and my flowers* (ripen into) *fruit of* **glory** *and riches.*] We are here reminded of St. John xv. 1.

18. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted. It is probably of Christian authorship. It is not found in the Syr., which in general arranges the previous verses somewhat differently.

19. This verse begins another stanza (see the introductory remarks to the chapter). On the ground of the previous description, Wisdom now makes her appeal to all men.

B. C. cir. 200.

desirous of me, and fill yourselves with my fruits.

Ps. 19. 10, 11.

20 For my memorial is *i* sweeter than honey, and mine inheritance than the honeycomb.

21 They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.

22 He that obeyeth me shall never be confounded, and they that work by me shall not do amiss.

B. C. cir. 200.

23 All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, *even* the *k* law which Moses commanded for an heritage unto the congregations of Jacob.

k Exod. 20. 1. & 24. 3. Deut. 4. 1. & 29. 1. & 33. 4.

24 Faint not to be strong in the Lord; that he may confirm you, cleave unto him: *l* for the Lord Almighty is God alone, and beside him there is no other Saviour.

l Isai. 45. 21.

25 He filleth all things with his

fruits.] Lit., **products.** The Syr. is somewhat paraphrastic.

20. *For my* **remembrance** [the memory, thought of me] *is* **more sweet** *than honey, and mine inheritance* [this suits the context better than "portion"] **above** *the honeycomb.*] We read with some MSS. and many authorities, *κηρίον* (Alex., 248, and cognate MSS. *κηρίου*); the Vulg. (which has *Spiritus meus* for "my remembrance") renders: *super mel et favum;* the Syr. has simply *favus.* More probably the Hebrew had צוּף־דְּבַשׁ, as in Prov. xvi. 24; and the word occurs again in נֹפֶת צוּפִים, "the forthpouring of the honey cells," Ps. xix. 11 (see Delitzsch, *ad loc.*). This verse and the following have this additional interest that they show the well-known hymn attributed (rightly, in its genuine parts) to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, to have been based on Ecclus. xxiv. [The hymn in Daniel, 'Thes. Hymnol.' i. p. 222; Mone, 'Hymni Lat.' i. p. 329; and again in Daniel, *u. s.* iv. p. 215. It is in parts translated in the well-known hymn, "Jesu, the very thought of Thee," 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' 178; the first stanza more closely in Hymn 177. In its entirety it has been translated by the present writer: 'The Jubilee Rhythm of St. Bernard and other Hymns,' London, 1867.] The opening stanza of the hymn is an adaptation of Ecclus. xxiv. 20: *Jesu dulcis memoria—dans vera cordis gaudia—sed super mel et omnia—dulcis ejus praesentia.* Again Ecclus. xxiv. 21 reappears in lines 45, 46 (*apud* Mone; 77, 78, *apud* Daniel): *qui te gustant, esuriunt—qui bibunt, adhuc sitiunt.* And this settles a curious literary question. Mone gives the hymn from the oldest MS. (dating from the 14th cent.: see *u. s.* p. 330), in which it bears the title: *Cursus de aeterna sapientia,* and alike he and Daniel (*u. s.* t. iv.) are uncertain as to the origin of the superscription *de aeterna sapientia,* which so widely differs from those in other MSS. But in view of the connexion between this hymn and Ecclus. xxiv. its ancient title seems accounted for. The expression *cursus* is either = *officium horarum,* or else = the *δρόμος τῆς πίστεως*—in this instance more likely the latter, although the hymn is arranged for "the hours."

22. *be confounded.*] Rather, **be ashamed.**

not do amiss.] Rather, **not sin.** Syr.: "shall never fall, and all his works shall not be corrupted"—they shall be incorruptible, either in the sense of their being permanent in value and goodness, or in that of not becoming gradually perverted. The Syr. version gives, in our view, a better meaning than the Greek. In the original the first clause was probably, as in the Syr., שֹׁמֵעַ לִי לֹא יֵבוֹשׁ. Fritzsche explains: "he shall not be put to shame," viz. as regards his hope of happiness, by obedience to the Divine commandments. But the second clause is against this interpretation.

23. The Greek is here peculiarly interesting. Literally it reads: "**All these** [with reference to all that was previously said of Wisdom] **the book** of the covenant of the most high God." The sentence requires some verb. The Syr. has: "all these (things) are written in the book of the covenant of the Lord." We believe that the Hebrew had כָּל אֵלֶּה בְּסֵפֶר בְּרִית יְיָ, "all these things are in the book of the covenant of Jehovah," and that the Greek, by way of giving a Hellenistic turn to the statement, left out the בְּ, so as simply to identify Wisdom with the Law. We suspect a somewhat similar tendency in the next clause: "the law which Moses **commanded, an** [the?] inheritance to the congregations of Jacob" (we punctuate as Tischendorf and as in the Alex.). The plural "congregations" must refer to the Diaspora, and would scarcely have been in the original. The Syr. has: "the law which Moses commanded, it is an inheritance to the congregation of Jacob." The expression מַקְהֲלוֹת, Ps. xxvi. 12, and מִקְהָלוֹת, Ps. lxviii. 27—both rendered by the LXX. *ἐν ἐκκλησίαις*—certainly do not here afford a parallel so as to explain the plural. The accus. *νόμον,* by virtue of attraction (see Winer, *u. s.* § 66, 5, p. 552).

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wisdom, as [m] Phison and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits.

26 He maketh the understanding to abound like Euphrates, and as [n] Jordan in the time of the harvest.

27 He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage.

28 The first man knew her not perfectly: no more shall the last find her out.

29 For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep.

30 I also came out as a ‖brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden.

31 I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.

[m] Gen. 2. 11.

[n] Josh. 3. 15.

‖ Or, *drain*, or, *ditch*.

24. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

25. **Which** [viz. the Law] **maketh wisdom full** *as Phison, and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits.*] The Greek seems to convey the meaning that the Law gives the fulness of wisdom, which is again a Hellenistic turn for the Syr.: "which is full, as Phison, with wisdom." And this, as we suppose, the original had. The point of comparison is: when these rivers are most full of water.

in the time of the new fruits.] יְמֵי הַבִּכּוּרִים, Numb. xxviii. 26. The allusion here is not to Pentecost (as seems implied in *v.* 26 *b*), since the rivers would then not be in flood. St. Jerome (on Hagg. ii.) rightly describes Nisan (*Abhibh*)—March or April—as "the month of the new fruits" (*mensis novorum*). Very significantly the streams selected are those of Paradise: Pishon, Gen. ii. 11, and Hiddeqel (Tigris), Gen. ii. 14. The figure is continued in *v.* 26. The Syr. must have confused the lines. It has: "as Tigris in the days of field-products [harvest] . . . and as Jordan in the days of Nisan."

27. **It** [the Law] *maketh* **instruction** [viz. of the moral kind, παιδεία] **to** *appear* [brings it forth], *like the* **Nile.**] The Greek has "as the light," but this evidently from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew בָּאוֹר, which, as in Amos viii. 8, stands for בְּיָאוֹר, comp. Amos ix. 5 (see Hitzig-Steiner, 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.' *ad loc.*; and Gutmann, 'd. Apokr.' p. 83, note). The Syr. renders the word correctly.

Geon.] Gen. ii. 13: afterwards regarded as the Nile (comp. LXX. Jer. ii. 18).

28. *The first* [viz. man, not, as Fritzsche supposes, the first searcher] *knew her* [viz., here again, Wisdom] *not perfectly* [did not complete to know her, did not finish knowledge of Wisdom]; **and likewise** *the last* (man) *shall* **not search** *her out.*] She is beyond the complete ken of man.

29. *For her* **thought** [thinking?] **is full** *more than the sea, and her* **counsel more** *than the great deep.*] So abundant that it cannot be all taken in (*v.* 28 *a*); so deep that it cannot be quite searched out (*v.* 28 *b*). Ἀπό—a well-known Hebraism (comp. Vorstius, 'de hebr. N. T.,' p. 352).

30. A new stanza. Wisdom being thus beyond the compass of unaided man, she made for herself a channel in Revelation, and specifically in the Law, by which to carry her fertilising waters in the first place to her "garden," viz. Israel. But this river is yet to become a sea: the blessings first communicated to Israel are to be shared by all mankind and to all ages, and so shall the final aim of Wisdom be realised and her true character appear.

And I *came out as a* **channel** *from a river, and as a conduit into* **an orchard** [garden, park, παράδεισος].] Mark that this channel and conduit issued from the paradisiac streams previously referred to. The underlying idea seems to be that these rivers had compassed all Paradise—that originally all mankind were intended to have share in that Divine Wisdom, but that in the course of time (comp. *vv.* 7–9) her waters passed through the channel of the Law into Israel, which thus became "a well-watered garden," Is. lviii. 11, κῆπος μεθύων—the two words actually occur in *v.* 31. It is therefore the Law which, as Wisdom residing in the midst of Israel, is once more the speaker.

31. Omit from the A. V. "best" before "garden."

my brook, &c.] Rather, **the channel became to me a river.** The last line is specially interesting: "and my river became a sea." For this the Syr. has: "and the river went down to the sea." It is scarcely possible to account for this difference either by a misreading or a mistranslation of the original. Nor can we suppose that the Syr. made an alteration of the original: first, because the thought which it expresses is much more Hebraic than the Greek version (we suppose both the Heb. and the Syr. to have referred to the Diaspora); secondly, because we cannot perceive any object for such an alteration

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32 I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning, and will send forth her light afar off.

33 I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever.

[a] ch. 33. 17.

34 [a]Behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom.

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *What things are beautiful, and what hateful.* 6 *What is the crown of age.* 7 *What things make men happy.* 13 *Nothing worse than a wicked woman.*

‖ Or, *gloried.*

IN three things I ‖was beautified, and stood up beautiful both before God and men: the [a]unity of brethren,

[a] Gen. 13. 8. Ps. 133. 1. Rom. 12. 10.

in the Syriac. For we cannot regard it as an allusion to the communication of Israel's Wisdom to the Gentiles by the Gospel (see next verse). On the other hand, if the alteration be on the part of the Greek translator, its object and meaning are obvious. The narrow channel of the Law becomes the wide river of prophetic declaration, of true Wisdom-lore, perhaps swelled by Grecian tributaries; and this again merges into the boundless sea, when Wisdom shall be no longer Hebraic nor yet Grecian, but universal, watering every shore. That such was the meaning of the Greek translator seems confirmed by the verses which follow.

32. *I will yet* **light up instuction** [in the moral and religious sense] *as the* **dawn** [ὄρθρος = שַׁחַר, Joel ii. 2 — כְּשַׁחַר פָּרֻשׂ עַל־הָהָרִים, possibly the figure may have been in the mind of the writer, although with very different application], *and I will* **cause it** [instruction] **to shine forth** [shew it] **unto** *afar off.*] Αὐτά: see Winer, *u. s.* § 22, 3, p. 128, for the combination of these pronouns in the plural with a noun in the sing. Fritzsche suggests that ῥήματα παιδείας was in the mind of the translator. The Syr. has: "Yet again shall I declare [tell] my doctrine in the morning and shall leave it to many ages." The latter clause appears in the Greek as *v.* 33 *b*. As regards the first clause, the בְּ—*as* the dawn or morning—has been evidently misread בָּ. Irrespective of this alteration, it must be left undetermined whether the Greek or the Syr. correctly represents the Hebrew original. Our view is in favour of the Syr.

33. *I will yet pour* **forth teaching** [instruction] *as prophecy.*] Possibly a Hellenistic adaptation of Joel ii. 28 may have been intended by the Greek translator. The Syr. has: "Yet again shall I declare [tell] my doctrine in prophecy" (once more—possibly though not probably—a confusion of בָּ and בְּ).

and leave it **unto generations of Aeons** = all generations, the εἰς marking the time, not the persons. For this clause the Syr. has: "and the end will be unto afar off." Possibly the original may have had (as in Talmudic usage) such a word as אוּרְיְתָא, "doctrines," "teaching," and the Syr. may have misread it אַחֲרִיתָהּ.

34. The final exclamation of the Jewish Law, thoroughly Hellenistic in spirit: "Behold that I **laboured not** for myself only, but for all them that seek **her**," viz. Wisdom: the Law laboured not only for the Jews, but for all who sought Wisdom. The Syr. omits this verse, nor do we believe that it was in the original Hebrew. We may perhaps suggest that the younger Siracide introduced it in this place from xxxiii. 17 (in the A. V.; xxx. 26 in the Greek MSS.), where the wording is similar, although not the connexion.

CHAPTER XXV.

From the height attained in ch. xxiv. the writer again descends to the general level of this book. In the chapter before us various proverbial sayings, the outcome of a not very elevated Oriental experience of life, are grouped under the headings of things desirable and undesirable. The first two verses are general. They are followed by a statement of what is desirable and honourable in old age, and specially in the eldership (four verses: vv. 3–6), and of what is generally desirable in life (five verses: vv. 7–11). Then follows what is undesirable in life (three verses: vv. 13–15; v. 12 in A. V. must be omitted); lastly, what is undesirable in that which forms the largest factor in life, the family and the relation between the sexes (eleven verses: vv. 16–26).

1. Interpreters have regarded the text as in a state of confusion, nor indeed is it easy to determine who is introduced as speaking in v. 1. The Syr. has: "Three things my soul desired, and they are beautiful before God and man." As regards the Greek text we are inclined to believe that the writer intended here to introduce universal Wisdom as speaking in her character of discipline or "instruction" (xxiv. 32, 33). In any case it seems difficult, without altering the whole text, to give it the meaning of the Syr., which the Vct. Lat. follows. Translate: **concord among** brethren (viz. of the same

B. C. cir. 200. the love of neighbours, a man and a wife that agree together.

2 Three sorts of men my soul hateth, and I am greatly offended at their life: a poor man that is proud, a rich man that is a liar, and an old adulterer that doateth.

3 If thou hast gathered nothing in thy youth, how canst thou find any thing in thine age?

4 O how comely a thing is judgment for gray hairs, and for ancient men to know counsel!

5 O how comely is the wisdom of old men, and understanding and counsel to men of honour! B. C. cir. 200.

6 Much experience is the crown of old men, and the fear of God is their glory.

7 There be nine things which I have judged in mine heart to be happy, and the tenth I will utter with my tongue: A man that hath joy of his children; and he that liveth to see the fall of his enemy:

8 Well is him that dwelleth with

nation, Israel), **affection among kindred**, &c. We have thus an ascending climax of relationship.

2. **But** *three sorts* (of men) *my soul hateth, and I greatly* **abhor** [abominate, am vexed at?] *their* **manner of life** [*ζωή*—so probably, although possibly their life = the fact of their existence; the latter would be better Greek]: *a poor man* **who is arrogant** [*ὑπερήφανος*, not merely "proud," but arrogantly and insolently so], *a rich man* **who is lying** [as it were: a beggar who is a braggart, and a rich man who makes promises and breaks them. The bearing or conduct of these two "sorts" is utterly incongruous, absolutely inexcusable, nay unaccountable; it is of a character to evoke abhorrence, or else to make one wish such persons out of existence], *and an* **aged** *adulterer* [an adulterous old man] **who is wanting in understanding.**] The last clause must be regarded not as an apposition, but, as frequently in Hebrew, as generally applying to and describing the conduct of such an one. Like that of the other two, his conduct is utterly incongruous, inexcusable, nay unaccountable and abominable. For what we have rendered "arrogant," *ὑπερήφανος*, the Hebrew had no doubt נְאָה, as (four if not five times) in the LXX.; for "who is lying" it would have כֹּזֵב; כּוֹב with לְ meaning "to lie to a person," "to deceive him,"—more particularly "to break one's plighted word" (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 36). The Syr. does not specify the sin in the third clause, but has: "and an old man who is foolish and wanting in knowledge." Similarly the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. Hex. The Talmud mentions these three things as what "the mind cannot bear," adding as a fourth: a *Parnas*—official, administrator in the congregation—who exalts himself over the congregation: either in the sense of vanity or else of neglecting their wants (Pes. 113 *b*).

3. *If thou hast* **not gathered in youth.**] The Syr. adds "wisdom." Similar sentiments are expressed in Talmudic writings, the most closely resembling that of the Son of Sirach being the following quoted as a proverb: "If in thy youth thou hast not desired them (the words of the Law), how shalt thou attain them in thine old age?" (Ab. d. R. Nath. xxiv. about the middle).—The sentence is intended to prepare for the praise in the next verses of a wise old age, for which it is necessary to gather the stores in youth.

4. *judgment.*] מִשְׁפָּט, in the sense of "right, justice."

ancient men.] Rather, **aged men.**

to know counsel.] The Syr., "understanding." Only such old age as here described is desirable.

5. *how comely is the wisdom of* **elders,** *and understanding and counsel to* **those placed in** *honour.*] We believe the reference here to be to the official elders, the *γέροντες*, זְקֵנִים, the members of the *γερουσία*. This view is confirmed by the next verse; and in that case *v.* 6 also gains additional meaning. Similarly the Syr. has "dignitaries."

6. **The crown of elders** [again in the official sense] **is much experience, and their glory** (boast) **fear the Lord.**] See previous verse. This adorns and dignifies them in truth.

7. A new stanza: what is desirable in life: Lit. **Nine suppositions** [= cases supposed] **I in heart** [*i.e.* in my own unspoken thinking and wishing] **deem happy**—while as to the tenth he has no hesitation in uttering and declaring it. The Syr. has: "Nine (things) which have not entered into my heart I have praised, and ten which I have not uttered." This must depend on a misreading. We would suggest that the original had תִּשַּׁע עָלוּ אֶל־לִבִּי, and that the Syr., dropping out the second ע, read: תִּשַּׁע לוֹא

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a wife of understanding, and that hath not [b]slipped with his tongue, and that hath not served a man more unworthy than himself:

[b] ch. 14. 1. & 19. 16. James 3. 2.

9 Well is him that hath found [‖]prudence, and he that speaketh in the ear of them that will hear:

‖ Or, *a friend.*

10 [c]O how great is he that findeth wisdom! yet is there none above him that feareth the Lord.

[c] Prov. 3. 13.

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11 But the love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination: he that holdeth it, [‖]whereto shall he be likened?

‖ Or, *to whom.*

12 The fear of the Lord is the beginning of his love: and faith is the beginning of cleaving unto him.

13 [Give me] any plague, but the plague of the heart: [d]and any wick-

[d] ver. 19.

לְלִבִּי, or even לוֹא אֶל־לִבִּי. The sentiment of the last clause is certainly not of an elevated character. For the remaining part of the verse the Syr. has: "the man who rejoiceth in his end" (presumably, who looks forward trustfully and joyously to the final Divine vindication and retribution, whether in this life or the next) "while he yet liveth shall see the fall of his enemies." We may feel certain that this was not in the original. It is another question whether the alteration was intentional or not. We believe the former, and that the Syr. sought, by a perhaps slight change in the Hebrew text, to convert what was an objectionable into a pious sentiment.

8. Three further "beatitudes" follow (the third, fourth, and fifth): "Well is him"—rather, **happy he**—"that hath not slipped;" rather, **that slippeth not.** Last clause: "and that **serveth not one unworthy of him**"—a person whose character or folly renders it derogatory, or a trial, to have to do his bidding or to be his subordinate. To the first clause of the verse there are many parallels in Rabbinic writings. But the Syr. addition to this clause is, so far as we remember, the only source of what is an undoubtedly Jewish simile for an ill-assorted marriage. The verse in the Syr. version reads: "Well to the husband of a good wife, who draws not the plough with an ox and an ass together." May the apostolic injunction (2 Cor. vi. 14), "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers"—which seems, in the first place, to refer to religiously unequal marriages—have been derived from a Jewish proverb, preserved in this Syr. rendering, rather than from Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 10? Or is the opposite the case, and did the Syr. derive its simile from 2 Cor. vi. 14? Instead of "that slippeth not with his tongue," the Syr. has, "whose tongue does not overthrow [destroy] him."

9. Beatitudes 6 and 7. **Happy he who findeth** [=attaineth] **prudence**—*φρόνησις*, in the sense of knowledge of what should be done. "And he that speaketh," viz. it,—that is, in the prudent direction to duty. The A. V., although not literal, gives the meaning accurately. The Syr. has "mercy" instead of "prudence." Probably the original had דֵּעָה, "knowledge," "prudence," as in אִישׁ דַּעַת (Prov. xxiv. 5), which the LXX. renders: *ἀνὴρ φρόνησιν ἔχων*; and the Syr. read, instead of דֵּעָה, the word רעה—which means "a friend," or else by a different punctuation of the Syr. may mean "mercy." In point of fact, the Vet. Lat. has here "a true friend."

10. Beatitudes 8 and 9. "Yet is there none;" rather, **yet is he not.** The Syr. omits this verse, but curiously interposes the following: "well to the man whom poverty has not broken, nor yet want hath broken"—possibly to make up the number of the beatitudes. "Wisdom" in its theoretical aspect is here distinguished from practical Wisdom, or the fear of the Lord.

11. The writer now sets forth that "tenth" thing he had in *v.* 7 declared it his purpose to "utter" with his tongue; that is, to make matter of special and explicit praise without fear of contradiction.

The **fear** *of the Lord* **surpasseth above every thing.**] Thus, and not as in the A. V.: the *ὑπέρ* in the verb, in addition to that preposition, represents the Hebrew עַל עָלָה. The second clause of the verse is omitted in the Syr.

holdeth.] Rather, **holdeth fast.**

whereto.] Perhaps, rather, **to whom?** To this question no answer is returned, perhaps to indicate that comparison is here not possible, since the condition of such a person surpasseth all else.

12. This verse deserves special attention. It does not occur either in the Vat. or in the Sinait. Cod. but in H., 248, Co. We can scarcely doubt that it is a spurious addition, and due to a Christian hand. That we find it in the Syr., and in the Vet. Lat. and the Arab., does not surprise us, and confirms our impression of the Christian origin of the Syr. Version, and of the dependence upon it of the Vet. Lat.

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edness, but the wickedness of a woman:

14 And any affliction, but the affliction from them that hate me: and any revenge, but the revenge of enemies.

15 There is no head above the head of a serpent; and there is no wrath above the wrath of an enemy.

[e] Prov. 21. 19. & 25. 24.

16 [e]I had rather dwell with a lion and a dragon, than to keep house with a wicked woman.

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17 The wickedness of a woman changeth her face, and darkeneth her countenance ‖ like sackcloth.

‖ Or, *like a bear.*

18 Her husband shall sit among his neighbours; and when he heareth it shall sigh bitterly.

19 [f]All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman: let the portion of a sinner fall upon her.

[f] ver. 13.

13. A new stanza. After the *res expetendæ* come the *res fugiendæ*.

Any **wound but not a wound** *of the heart, and any wickedness* **but not** *the wickedness of a woman.*] The Syr. has in both clauses, "but not as;" the Vet. Lat. either misunderstood or alters the wording. In the Talmud we have this (we italicise the parallel words): "Any disease but not disease of the bowels; *any wound but not a wound of the heart;* any ache but not ache of the head; *any wickedness but not a wicked woman*" (Shabb. 11 *a*). This is interesting, as shewing that many of these sayings of the Siracide must have been proverbial among the Jews.

14. *Any affliction* **but not** *the affliction* **of** *them* [= from them].

15. This verse is one of the most curious and interesting from the exegetical point of view. Since the time of Bretschneider, it has been generally held that what the Greek rendered "head" and "head of a serpent" (κεφαλή) was a mistranslation of ראשׁ, "poison," as in Deut. xxxii. 33. And the evidence of what in itself seems probable lies in this, that the word θυμός, which occurs in the second clause of our verse in Ecclus., is the word by which the LXX. render ראשׁ in Deut. xxxii. 33. The correct rendering of the *Hebrew* text of Ecclus. xxv. 15 would therefore be: **There is not a poison above** [more virulent than] **the poison of a serpent, nor rage** [vehemence of passion] **above the rage of an enemy.** But this is not all. Not only has the Syr. also mistranslated ראשׁ by "head"—unless the word means in Syr. also "poison"—but it has: "There is not a head [poison?] more bitter than the head [poison?] of a serpent, and there is not an enmity of more bitterness than that of woman." The Vet. Lat. has: *et non est ira super iram mulieris:* thus giving another evidence of its dependence upon the Syriac. As regards the clause itself, we have little doubt that the Syr. here purposely altered the original Hebrew, which was correctly given by the Greek, and the alteration is the more cunning that it fits so well into the context of the following verses. But what was the purpose of the alteration? We cannot help suspecting that it was intended to allude to the doctrine of the fall of man.

16. A new stanza. *I* **would** *rather* [I should prefer to] *dwell* **together with** *a lion and a dragon than* **dwell in the** *house with a wicked woman.*

17. *her face.*] Rather, **her appearance.** The meaning of the second clause seems to be that it makes her face, or herself, sinister instead of being bright as the day. The Syr. has: "makes pale the face of her husband, and makes it dark, &c." It is not easy to account here for the change of person in the verse, although the Syr. seems more natural than the Greek. The Alex. has, instead of "like sackcloth," "like a bear"—possibly some misreading. Curiously the Vet. Lat. has *both* the Vat. and the Alex. reading: *tamquam ursus, et quasi saccum ostendit.* We conjecture that a later hand had altered the original translation and put, either in the text or margin, both the Alex. and the Vat. readings —markedly, the Alex. first—and that then an attempt had been made to make sense out of the two: *nequitia . . . obcæcat vultum suum tamquam ursus* (in the nomin.), &c.

18. **In the midst of his neighbours** [possibly in the sense of relatives] **her husband resteth;** *and* **as he heareth** [viz. either what is said of her, or else the praise of good women], **he sigheth** *bitterly.*] Instead of ἀκούσας, "and as he heareth," other texts have ἀκουσίως, "involuntarily." As the Syr. has the same, we imagine that this must be the correct reading. The Syr.: "In the midst of his companions sitteth the husband of the foolish woman, and involuntarily he sigheth." The Vet. Lat. seems once more to combine the two different readings, slightly altering them.

19. *All.*] Better, **any.** The Syr. modifies: "Manifold is wickedness, but it is not like the smallest wickedness of a wicked woman." It seems needless to quote Rabbinic

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20 As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife ‖full of words to a quiet man.

‖ Or, *scolding.*

21 [g]Stumble not at the beauty of a woman, and desire her not for pleasure.

[g] 2 Sam. 11. 2. ch. 42. 12.

22 A woman, if she maintain her husband, is full of anger, impudence, and much reproach.

B. C. cir. 200.

23 A wicked woman abateth the courage, maketh an heavy countenance and a wounded heart: a woman that will not comfort her husband in distress maketh weak hands and feeble knees.

24 Of [h]the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die.

[h] Gen. 3. 6. 1 Tim. 2. 14.

parallels, but we may mention that which, on the basis of Eccles. vii. 26, prays for deliverance from that which is worse than death —a wicked woman (Yebam. 63 *a*).

20. **A sandy** (place of) **ascent,** &c.] Equally trying to a quiet man is a woman who always puts in her words. The Syr. has, "of a long tongue."

21. These things being so, a general warning follows. "Stumble not," &c.—let not the beauty of a woman cause thee to stumble while pursuing thy way—**and bear not desire after a woman.** The Alex. supplements after "woman" ἐν κάλλει, and Fritzsche adopts this; but the addition seems to us disturbing. The Syr. has: "be not allured by the beauty of a wicked woman; and even if she have wealth, do not desire after her." This seems rather an alteration than a different reading of the text. The Vet. Lat. repeats the tautology of the Alex. reading.

22. **Anger, impudence, and great shame, when a woman supplies** [viz. his livelihood—but the word is difficult] **to her husband.**] Such are the consequences when a husband depends upon his wife for his living. The Syr. has: "for hard servitude and evil shame (is) a woman who doeth harm to and lords over her husband, and with whom the heart is also covered [who dissembleth]." The last clause is an addition—unless it be a strange mistranslation of the opening Greek words of the next verse (καρδία ταπεινή). Putting aside this clause, we suppose that the original had עֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה, "cruel wrath," —a similar expression in Gen. xlix. 7—in which the Greek misunderstood קָשָׁה for "impudent," as in Ezek. ii. 4, קְשֵׁי פָנִים, and then resolved the substant. and adject. into two substantives, while the Syr. misread the substantive and misrendered the adjective as if it had been עֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה, "hard service" (taking קשה in the primary meaning of the word). In that case the original would have meant "cruel anger" (viz. on the part of the wife), "and great shame" (viz. on the part of the husband). But how are we to account for the difference between the "sustaining" of the Greek, and the "doing harm and lording" in the Syriac. Can it be that there was here a confusion between some form of סער (in the Greek) and סער (in the Syr.)?

23. *A wicked woman* [here follow the results]: **a heart depressed, a countenance sullen, and a heart stricken** [lit., stroke of heart]; **hands relaxed** [weak, that hang down], **and knees palsied: such an one as makes not happy her husband** [causes not his happiness.] Two kinds of wives are here distinguished: the wicked woman and, in the second part of the verse, one who does not actually secure the happiness of her husband. The influence of such a wife on his life is paralysing. It deserves notice that the quotation from Is. xxxv. 3, "relaxed hands and palsied knees," is not literally taken from the LXX. The passage is again quoted in Heb. xii. 12—and there the same difference from the LXX. obtains, while the words are adduced precisely as in Ecclus.

24. The verse is remarkable, as ascribing to Eve not only the introduction of death, but also the commencement, although not the introduction, of sin. The first of these two propositions is not inconsistent with Ecclus. xiv. 17 (mark there the word διαθήκη, and the pointed reference to LXX. Gen. ii. 17). But we must be careful not to identify the statement that "*of woman* [came, or was] *the beginning of sin*" with the N. T. doctrine of original sin. The Hebrew had probably ראשית, and the Syr. here reproduces it: "from woman began sins." We surmise that in 1 Tim. ii., culminating in *vv.* 14, 15, the Apostle had this verse in Ecclus. in view, although his reference was no doubt also to Gen. iii. 17. [We might almost conjecture that one of the objects in 1 Tim. ii. 14, 15 was to prevent any false inference as to the undesirableness of the married estate on the part of Christian women.] Apart from this, it is noteworthy that the Apostle emphasises the introduction of sin through woman. In Galilee it was the custom for the women to go before the bier, so as to mark that death came through woman (Ber. R. 17).

B. C. cir. 200.

25 Give the water no passage; neither a wicked woman liberty to gad abroad.

26 If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh, [f] and give her a bill of divorce, and let her go.

[f] Deut. 24. 1. Mark 10. 4.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *A good wife,* 4 *and a good conscience, do glad men.* 6 *A wicked wife is a fearful thing.* 13 *Of good and bad wives.* 28 *Of three things that are grievous.* 29 *Merchants and hucksters are not without sin.*

B. C. cir. 200.

BLESSED is the man that hath [a] a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double. [a] Prov. 31. 10, &c.

2 A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and he shall fulfil the years of his life in peace.

3 [b] A good wife is a good portion, which shall be given in the portion of them that fear the Lord. [b] Prov. 18. 22.

25. *neither to a wicked woman* **rule** (perhaps better: *authority* or *power*).] Omit "to gad abroad," which is added in 248, Co. For ἐξουσίαν, "rule," Fritzsche would read with the Sin., Alex., 248, and six other MSS. παῤῥησίαν, "liberty," or rather "confidence." But this not only gives the impression of a later emendation, but is forbidden by the Syr., which has "rule" or "power," and therefore establishes the Vat. text. The A. V. follows 248, Co. Very curiously the Syr. has: "nor to a woman face and rule." Did the Syr. make some confusion with such an expression as וְאַף in the original, or may the latter have had נְשִׂיאוּת פָּנִים, "lifting up of the face," in the sense of special honour, distinction, which the Syr. misunderstood? The Syr. also adds: "for as the issue of waters as it proceeds becomes larger, so a wicked woman proceeds and sinneth." The Vet. Lat. is apparently emendated, but generally accords with 248, Co., which (as already indicated) have for ἐξουσίαν, παῤῥησίαν ἐξώδου. It renders: *non des aquæ tuæ exitum, nec modicum; nec mulieri nequam veniam prodeundi* (the latter also in A. V.).

26. *If she go not* **according to thy hand**]—that is, either "according to thy manner," כְּיָדֵךְ, or more probably עַלְיָדֵיךְ, "under thy leadership." The words "and give her"—viz. a bill of divorce—"and send her away" (more freely rendered in the A. V.) must be omitted. They are neither in the Vat., the Alex., nor the Sin. (which latter has in the first clause, instead of χεῖρά σου, χείρας σου). But the clause occurs in 248, Co., and also in the Syr. The wording of the latter (*carnem tuam reseca*) might lead us to suspect some indelicacy in the original which the Greek has modified (but see the note on xxvi. 1). The Vet. Lat. is paraphrastic or explanatory in the second clause.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The arrangement of this chapter presents special difficulties from the state of the text, since *vv.* 19–27, although found in 248, Co., and in the Syr., are not in either the Vat. or the Alex., while *vv.* 28, 29 evidently belong to ch. xxvii. (see the notes). The chapter as thus curtailed treats of the favourite subject of the Son of Sirach: woman. Four verses in praise of a good woman are followed by eight verses (*vv.* 5–12) which describe the ills entailed by evil women. Lastly, we have six verses in praise of a fair woman (*vv.* 13–18).

1. **Happy the husband of a good wife, and.**] This verse and *v.* 3 are quoted in the Talmud in two passages (Yebam. 63 *b*; Sanh. 100 *b*) as from Ben Sira. In Sanh. 100 *b* they are introduced as useful for preaching purposes. But although the two verses are quoted precisely alike in both Talmudic passages, and are the same as in the Greek version, their order is inverted, *v.* 3 (of the Greek text) preceding *v.* 1. Moreover, between these two sayings another is inserted, which represents the closing verse of the previous chapter; being, however, neither exactly like the Greek nor the Syriac version, but almost a compromise between the two. We can scarcely agree with Fritzsche that the second clause of our verse is explanatory of the first. The doubling of the number of days seems a continuation, rather than an explanation, of the first clause.

2. **a brave** [worthy] **wife.**] γυνὴ ἀνδρεία, by which the LXX. render the אֵשֶׁת חַיִל of Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 10 (LXX. xxix. 28), while the same Hebrew expression in Ruth iii. 11 is rendered by γυνὴ δυνάμεως—another evidence that the translation of Prov. and that of Ruth were made by different hands and presumably at different periods.

his years.] Not "the years of his life," as in the A. V. after 248, Co. The Syr. interchanges *vv.* 2 and 3, and it has "in joy" instead of "in peace." Such a woman will be a defence from evil and strife.

3. As regards the second part of the verse, the repetition of the word "portion" shews that there must have been some misapprehen-

B. C. cir. 200.

4 Whether a man be rich or poor, if he have a good heart toward the Lord, he shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance.

5 There be three things that mine heart feareth; and for the fourth I was sore afraid: ‖ the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation: all these are worse than death.

‖ Gr. *an evil report.*

6 But a grief of heart and sorrow is a woman that is jealous over another woman, and a scourge of the tongue which communicateth with all.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 An evil wife is ‖ a yoke shaken to and fro: he that hath hold of her is as though he held a scorpion.

‖ Or, *a yoke of oxen.*

8 A drunken woman and a gadder abroad causeth great anger, and she will not cover her own shame.

9 The whoredom of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids.

10 [c] If thy daughter be shameless, keep her in straitly, lest she abuse herself through overmuch liberty.

[c] ch. 42. 11.

sion on the part of the translator. The mistake is rectified by the quotation in the Talmud, which has in the second clause בְּחֵיק, "in the bosom," misread by the Greek בְּחֵלֶק, "in the portion." Thus the original Heb. text would have been: **she shall be given** [or it shall be given, viz. the gift: כִּיתָּנָה, as in the Talmud] **in the bosom of them that fear the Lord.** The Syr. puts it thus: "a good wife shall be given to the man who feareth the Lord in return for good works" —a somewhat bold emendation, probably in order to avoid the appearance of fatalism. The Vet. Lat. here once more shews alike its dependence on the Syr. as well as on the Greek by combining the Syr. and the Greek, as follows: *in parte* (this from the Greek) *timentium Deum debitur viro* (this from the Syr.) *pro factis bonis* (this again from the Syr.).

4. **The heart of the rich and also of the poor** (is) **happy, at all times** [here = under any circumstances] **the countenance cheerful.**] Viz. if he have such a wife. The A. V. follows 248, Co.

5. There is some difficulty about the second clause. The text of the A. V. is here also that of the Alex. and S^2. But this reading seems almost impossible (see Fritzsche). On the other hand, the Vatic. has: "with the face I have prayed," which is no doubt the better text, but gives no meaning, since "to pray with the face" can scarcely be regarded as = "to pray humbly," *i.e.* with down-turned face. We imagine that the confusion originally arose from the expression פֶּן, "lest" (of course our present final letters were not in use), which the Greek translator misread פָּנַי, or even פָּנִים, "face," and thus bunglingly turned into προσῶπῳ, "with the face." But as the reading "with the face I have prayed" gave no meaning, it was next emended into "I have feared." The original had probably neither one nor the other, but something that would give this meaning: **"Of three things my heart is afraid, and over the fourth, lest** (פֶּן) **it befall me"**—or something of that kind.

the gathering together of **the multitude** [presumably, mob-rule and mob-law] . . . *all these are* **more wretched** *than death.*] The Syr. combines into one sentence the first two causes of fear in a manner similar to what we have noted in xxv. 7 (see the note).

6. This verse states that fourth object which inspired him with such dread. Omit "but." The last clause we propose rendering: **and a scourge of tongue which (equally) gives a share to all**—is equally administered to all: the sense being that one of the (three) things connected with a jealous woman is that her evil speaking—the scourge of her tongue—equally falls upon all, however unreasonable and uncalled-for the promptings of her jealousy may be. The Syr. omits this verse.

7. *a yoke shaken to and fro.*] Rather, "an **ox-yoke moved** to and fro," *i.e.* unsteady in its movement, one of the animals pulling in the other direction. The Syr. renders it by "a hard yoke," perhaps reading מוֹטָה, while the Greek derived the word from the verb מוּט.

he that **layeth** *hold of her is as* **one that seizes** *a scorpion.*] Which turns round to inflict a poisonous bite.

8. *A* **woman drunken** [*and roaming about*, which the A. V. falsely softens].] The italicised words within brackets, which are not in the Vat. nor Alex. but in 248, Co., are also represented in the Syr. The idea suggested is sufficiently plain.

9. *in* **the upliftings of the eyes and in her** *eyelids.*

10. Three warnings follow.

shameless.] ἀδιάτρεπτος; lit. "over a

B. C. cir. 200.

11 Watch over an impudent eye: and marvel not if she trespass against thee.

12 She will open her mouth, as a thirsty traveller when he hath found a fountain, and drink of every water near her: by every ‖ hedge will she sit down, and open her quiver against every arrow.

‖ Or, *stake.*

13 The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fatten his bones.

14 A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord; and there is nothing so much worth as a mind well instructed. B. C. cir. 200.

15 A shamefaced and faithful woman is a double grace, and her continent mind cannot be valued.

16 As the sun when it ariseth ‖ in the high heaven; so is the beauty of a good wife in the ‖ ordering of her house.

‖ Gr. *in the highest places of the Lord.*

‖ Or, *ornament.*

17 As the clear light is upon the holy candlestick; so is the beauty of the face ‖ in ripe age.

‖ Or, *in constant age.*

18 As the golden pillars are upon the sockets of silver; so are the ‖ fair feet with a constant ‖ heart.

‖ Or, *comely.*

‖ Or, *breast.*

daughter that cannot be turned aside —here from lust (this, rather than "headstrong," see Fritzsche) — **keep a strait watch."**

through overmuch liberty.] Rather, "**lest finding relaxation,**" *i.e.* of the watchfulness advised. Fritzsche tries to explain the sin referred to in a better sense than that implied in the A. V.; but in our opinion with little success.

11. (To go) **After an impudent eye, be on thy guard** (beware, have a care).] It is scarcely worth discussing the meaning to be attached to these words, nor whether the reference is to a daughter, as in *v.* 10, or to another woman — probably the latter. If the warning of the first clause be neglected, marvel not if she leads thee into sin.

12. **As a thirsty traveller will open his mouth and drink of every water that is near, so will she sit down before every peg,** &c.

13. A new stanza, in praise of woman. The antithesis to the previous verses which described the bad woman is not difficult to trace. The expression "make fat the bones," as in Prov. xv. 30.

14. Omit from the A. V. the words "and a loving" — evidently a later emendatory addition.

and there is nothing so much worth.] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα, **there is not an exchange**—here, best: **equivalent in value.** Instead of "as a mind well instructed" of the more polite Greek, the Syr. has "as continence [exiguity, parsimony] of throat."

15. Omit from the A. V. the words "and faithful" (see *v.* 14). Lit., **is grace upon grace** = utmost grace.

cannot be valued.] A good paraphrase of οὐκ ἔστι σταθμὸς πᾶς ἄξιος. Instead of "a continent mind" the Syr. has "continence [exiguity, *n. s.*] of the mouth;" but the allusion of the Greek is to something different, and marks a progression on the first clause of the verse.

16. *in the high heaven.*] Rather, **in the heights** (the highest places, ἐν ὑψίστοις) **of the Lord.**

in the ordering of her house.] More correctly, according to the Vat., "the ordering of **his** house," viz. that of her lord. The comparison is between the sun in the heights, or high places, of his lord, and woman in the house of her lord: both have a lord, and both are beautiful in the effectual discharge of the functions assigned to them. What the sun is in the house above, woman is in that upon earth. The Syr. has: "so is the beauty of a good woman when she abideth in her house." This probably represents the original more accurately.

17. *As the* **lamp that shineth forth** *upon the holy candlestick, so is beauty* **of face upon a steadfast** *age* [life].] The word ἡλικία is always used in that sense in the Apocr., and the meaning would be: so is matronly beauty after a constant, steadfast life.

18. Another figure, no doubt also derived from the furniture of the Temple, and equally designed to exhibit the combination of beauty with goodness.

As golden pillars upon a silver base, so fair feet with [lit., upon] **the heart** [lit., breasts] **of one who is stable** [quiet].] Or, adopting the reading εὐσταθέσι, "with a stable [quiet?] heart." The antithesis to *vv.* 8–12, as well as the parallelism with the previous verse, are clearly marked. At the same time it should be mentioned that commentators following the lead of S^1, the Vet. Lat., and the Syr. propose to alter στέρνοις into πτέρναις, and to translate "so are fair feet upon firm soles." But this not only destroys the parallelism, but does not yield any good, scarcely an intelligible, meaning.

B. C. cir. 200.

19 My son, keep the flower of thine age sound; and give not thy strength to strangers.

20 When thou hast gotten a fruitful possession through all the field, sow it with thine own seed, trusting in the goodness of thy stock.

21 So thy race which thou leavest shall be magnified, having the confidence of their good descent.

22 An harlot shall be accounted as ‖spittle; but a married woman is a tower against death to her husband.

‖ Or, *a swine.*

23 A wicked woman is given as a portion to a wicked man: but a godly woman is given to him that feareth the Lord.

24 A dishonest woman contemneth shame: but an honest woman will reverence her husband.

25 A shameless woman shall be counted as a dog; but she that is shamefaced will fear the Lord.

B. C. cir. 200.

26 A woman that honoureth her husband shall be judged wise of all; but she that dishonoureth him in her pride shall be counted ungodly of all.

27 A loud crying woman and a scold shall be sought out to drive away the enemies.

28 There be two things that grieve my heart; and the third maketh me angry: a man of war that suffereth poverty; and [d] men of understanding that are not set by; and [e] one that returneth from righteousness to sin; the Lord prepareth such an one for the sword.

[d] Eccles. 9. 15.
[e] Ezek. 18. 24.

29 [f] A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be freed from sin.

[f] ch. 27. 2.

19–27. These verses, which are not found either in the Vat. or in the Alex., are an interpolation, although probably an old one. They occur in H., 248, and Co. They are also found in the Syr. (though not in the Vet. Lat.), but with expressions so strange and divergent from the Greek as to raise the suspicion of a later addition. We entertain the less doubt as to the spuriousness of these verses, since they often contain repetitions of what had been previously said.

28. This verse evidently begins a subject totally different from that hitherto discussed. We can scarcely doubt that this and the following verse form part of ch. xxvii. The new subject is introduced in a manner similar to Ecclus. xxvi. 5. The object of the writer in thus introducing a new theme seems to be, by first stating three things on which all are agreed, to prepare for, and to conciliate, the favourable consideration of his readers in regard to the new subject which he is about to bring before them.

Over two things has my heart been grieved, and over [for] **the third strong feeling cometh upon me . . .** *and men of understanding* **if they** *are not set by.*] As the fifth line is not introduced in any of the Greek texts by *καί*, we propose beginning with it a new sentence, and combining it with the last line: **He that returneth from righteousness to sin, the Lord prepareth him** [such an one] **for the sword.** [So also Bissell, although not as to punctuation.] The Syr. has "and." In this it is followed by the Vet. Lat., although not in the somewhat peculiar rendering of the three cases instanced: "a free man" for "a man of war;" "men of celebrated fame who fall from their glory," and "over him who turneth from adherence to God [apostatises from the true religion]."

29. The sentence is in strict accordance with Rabbinic sentiment. The *ἔμπορος* is here the תַּגָּר (as in the Syr.) of the Targumim and Talmud, the larger, resident, or else the importing merchant (even the dealer *en gros*), while the *κάπηλος* is either the travelling hawker, the סַחְרָן of the Talmud, or more probably the חֲנָוָנִי, "huckster" or "shopman." But in the LXX. the *ἔμπορος* is alike the סֹחֵר, although even so a travelling merchant, and the רֹכֵל of biblical Hebrew—resident merchants being apparently unknown. The word *κάπηλος* occurs only in the LXX. modification of the last clause of Is. i. 22 ("thy hawkers mix the wine with water"—the introduction of the term seeming to imply different authorship and perhaps laterdate than other parts of the LXX. The LXX. in Ezek. has only *ἔμπορος*). The Talmud ranks the חֲנָוָנִי, "huckster" or "shopkeeper" (by which the Syr. renders the *κάπηλος* of our text among those whose occupation involves robbing (Qidd. 82 *a*, *b*—altogether a curious passage). In Ab. ii. 5 we are told that he who trafficks much (multiplieth merchandising, סְחוֹרָה) cannot become a sage, while in Erubh. 55 *b* Deut. xxx. 13 is thus explained: "Thou shalt not find it [the Law] either with hawkers or

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *Of sins in selling and buying.* 7 *Our speech will tell what is in us.* 16 *A friend is lost by discovering his secrets.* 25 *He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it.*

[a] Prov. 28. 21.
Or, *a thing indifferent.*
[b] Prov. 23. 4.
1 Tim. 6. 9.

MANY [a]have sinned for [‖]a small matter; and he that [b]seeketh for abundance will turn his eyes away.

2 As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling.

B. C. cir. 200.

3 Unless a man hold himself diligently in the fear of the Lord, his house shall soon be overthrown.

4 As when one sifteth with a sieve, the refuse remaineth; so the filth of man in his [‖]talk.

‖ Or, *thought.*

5 [c]The furnace proveth the potter's vessels; so the trial of man is in his reasoning.

[c] Prov. 27. 21.

with merchants" (לֹא בַסֹּחֲרִים וְלֹא בְּתַגָּרִים). The Syr. curiously adds explanatively: "for if he stumbles not in this, he stumbles in that." But "the shopkeeper" or "hawker" is absolutely given up—he "**is not free** from sin."

CHAPTER XXVII.

The subject begun in the two closing verses of ch. xxvi. is continued in the three opening verses of ch. xxvii. From "commerce" the writer proceeds to that other "commerce," the intercourse of daily life. This forms the general subject of the chapter. First, the source of conversation is traced to the condition of mind and heart (stanza 2, four verses: 4–7). This gives rise to a parenthetic stanza of three verses on righteousness and truth (vv. 8–10). Then follows an antithetic stanza about the discourse of the wise and that of the fool (stanza 4 of five verses: 11–15). Next we have a stanza (the fifth) on unwarrantable and dangerous speech (six verses: 16–21); and then a sixth stanza of three verses on deceitful speech and action (vv. 22–24). The last stanza (six verses: 25–30) —on malice and anger—follows up that which had preceded, and intimates the righteous retribution of God on conduct such as that referred to. This stanza also serves as a transition from ch. xxvii. to xxviii.

1. *a small matter.*] Rather, **a thing indifferent**, which has no real value and for which he perhaps little cares. Comp. Note on vii. 18.

seeketh for abundance.] To increase = to accumulate wealth.

will turn **away the eye.**] Viz., either from that which is right, or else in the sense of an obliquity of vision. The Syr. curiously has: "he that seeketh to multiply sins turneth away his eyes."

2. *As a* **peg is driven in** [made fast] *between the joinings* **of stones,** *so* **is sin crushed in** *between buying and selling.*] There is some difficulty about the meaning of συντριβήσεται ("crushed in"). It is simply arbitrary on the part of Fritzsche to change the word into συνθλιβήσεται—by way of following (?) the Vet. Lat., *angustiabitur*. The Syr. renders: "is made strong." This, as has been suggested, would represent תֶּחֱזַק, or it might be תֶּחָזִיק, which the Greek, however, read תֶּחֱזַק, "layeth hold of." And although συντριβήσεται properly means "is crushed," yet the figure in the first clause about the peg driven in might naturally suggest this free, but substantially correct, rendering of the Greek for the Hebrew: "layeth hold of."

3. The previous verse is followed by a general warning, which in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. is cast in the form of a personal address. The meaning is: Such being the temptations of daily life, take care lest instead of building your house by your gains you destroy it in consequence of your sin. The Syr. rendering of the second clause is both inapt and unaccountable.

4. A new stanza. *talk.*] Rather, **thinking.** As in the LXX. generally, we must regard λογισμός, as = כִּיהַשְׂבָּה. The object of the writer is to shew that the real character of a man will ultimately appear in his discourse. The lighter substances may be shaken out of a sieve, but the heavier remain. So it is with a man. The vile remains in his thinking and purposing, and it will manifest itself. This is the real test of what a man is and of what he will do or say.

5. *in his reasoning.*] Rather, **in his consideration**—in his balancing of what course to take, and in his consequent choice. This meaning seems to suit the whole context and also best to fit in with vv. 8–10. The expression δοκιμάζει κάμινος, "the furnace proveth," reminds us of LXX. Prov. xvii. 3 (δοκιμάζεται ἐν καμίνῳ) rather than of LXX. Prov. xxvii. 21. Nevertheless, we suspect that the gloss (perhaps originally marginal) found in LXX. Prov. xxvii. 21 may be based on Ecclus. xxvii. 5, 6, rather than on LXX. Prov. xvii. 3 or on xii. 8.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [d] The fruit declareth if the tree have been dressed; so is the utterance of a conceit in the heart of man.

[d] Matt. 7. 17.

7 Praise no man before thou hearest him speak; for this is the trial of men.

8 If thou followest righteousness, thou shalt obtain her, and put her on, as a glorious long robe.

9 The birds will resort unto their like; so will truth return unto them that practise in her.

10 As the lion lieth in wait for the prey; so sin for them that work iniquity.

11 The discourse of a godly man is always with wisdom; but a fool changeth as the moon.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 If thou be among the indiscreet, observe the time; but be continually among men of understanding.

13 The discourse of fools is irksome, and their sport is the wantonness of sin.

14 [e] The talk of him that sweareth much maketh the hair stand upright; and their brawls make one stop his ears.

[e] ch. 23. 9.

15 The strife of the proud is bloodshedding, and their revilings are grievous to the ear.

16 Whoso discovereth secrets los-

6. **The cultivation of a tree its fruit sheweth forth** [mark the similarity with, and yet difference from St. Matt. vii. 16, 20, and comp. especially St. Jas. iii. 12, 17], **so the matter** [λόγος = דבר, in the sense of "object"] **of desire** [or of cogitation] **the hearts of men** (taking καρδίας as the accus. plur., not the gen. sing.).] It would be extremely difficult, and perhaps scarcely worth the labour of the attempt, to explain the divergences in the Syr.

7. This verse, which forms the conclusion of this part, is omitted in the Syr. Translate: Praise **not a man irrespective of** (his) **thinking**,—viz. before thou knowest what that is—"for this is the trial [the test] of men."

8. This stanza follows naturally upon what had preceded. "If thou followest **the right**, thou shalt obtain [attain] and put **it** on," &c. The "long robe," ποδήρης, as in Rev. i. 13, especially the robe of the High Priest (Ecclus. xlv. 8), and also in the LXX. O. T. (where its use in Ezek. ix. 2, 3 for בַּדִּים deserves notice). Here it indicates holy beauty and glory as of the raiments of the High Priest.

9. **Birds** *will resort* [turn in to lodge with] *unto their like.*] Comp. our note on xiii. 16; "similarly truth will return," &c.: will ultimately appear on the side of the righteous and vindicate them, however they may have suffered or been misrepresented. On the other hand, sure destruction will ultimately overtake those who do the wrong (*v.* 10). Omit "as" in the A. V.

11. The Syr. here interposes what in the Greek is *v.* 12. A new stanza.

always with wisdom.] According to the better reading, **always wisdom.** The constancy of his wisdom, as the outcome of piety within, is contrasted with the phases of a fool, changing like those of the moon. The Vet. Lat. has this peculiar rendering: *homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol*, which gives a better antithesis than either the Greek or the Syr. text. This may have suggested the alteration—perhaps with some (Christian?) reference to Ps. lxxii. 17. It has indeed been argued that the Vet. Lat. has here preserved the correct Hebrew text, כַּחַמָּה תָמִיד, "as the sun perpetual," which the Greek misread: חָכְמָה תָמִיד, "wisdom perpetual = is always." But it is difficult to understand either the supposed sentiment or that it should be so expressed (comp. Ps. lxxii. 17); still more whence the Greek could have derived the word διήγησις, the genuineness of which is attested by its occurrence in the antithetic *v.* 13. Lastly, the Syr. has the verse as in the Greek.

12. **Into the midst of** [among] **those of no understanding: have heed to** *the time*—choose the proper season, the proper moment for going among them; **into the midst of those of understanding: be continuous.**

13. *The discourse of fools is* **an offence,** *and their* **laughter in** *the wantonness of sin* —in wanton sin.

14. The profanities and blasphemies in their brawls are such that one stops his ears.

15. *The strife of the* **audacious** [insolent, proud, ὑπερηφάνων] *is* **shedding of blood** —leads to it—**and their angry railing a** *grievous* **sound.**] This and the two preceding verses evidently constitute a climax. The Syr. text is here confused, and seems corrupt.

B. C. cir. 200.

eth his credit; and shall never find friend to his mind.

17 Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him: but *f* if thou bewrayest his secrets, follow no more after him.

f ch. 22. 22.

18 For as a man hath destroyed his enemy; so hast thou lost the love of thy neighbour.

19 As one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so hast thou let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again.

20 Follow after him no more, for he is too far off; he is as a roe escaped out of the snare.

21 As for a wound, it may be bound up; and after reviling there may be reconcilement: but he that bewrayeth secrets is without hope.

B. C. cir. 200.

22 He *g* that winketh with the eyes worketh evil: and he that knoweth him will depart from him.

g Prov. 10. 10.

23 When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy words: but at the last he will ‖ writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings.

‖ Or, *alter his speech.*

24 I have hated many things, but nothing like him; for the Lord will hate him.

16. Another stanza, and another instance of "discourse" which betrayeth an unworthy soul.

discovereth.] Rather, **revealeth.**

17. *bewrayest.*] Rather, **revealest.**

follow no more after him.] It will be useless trouble, for he will not be reconciled. The Syr. deserves special notice: "Try thy friend, and then trust him [this probably correctly according to the Hebrew, although perhaps interpolated from vi. 7]; but if he reveal the secret of the faith, go no more after him." The subtle alteration in the second clause betrays the Christian emendator. He must have been later than the Arabic translator, who made his version from the Syr., and yet does not reproduce this alteration. Similarly, the addition is not found in the Vet. Lat.

18. *lost.*] Rather, **destroyed.** The meaning of the Greek would be: thou hast completely destroyed all friendship as one completely destroyeth an enemy. But the Syr. has, for "his enemy," "has lost his portion;" the Vet. Lat., "loseth his friend." Bretschneider conjectures that the original had צֵידוֹ, "his prey" (in hunting), for which the Greek read צָרְרוֹ, "his enemy." But although this would accord with the following verses, it does not explain the Syr. nor yet the Latin rendering. Horowitz (in Frankel's 'Monatsschrift,' xiv. p. 197) adopts the Syr. reading, and supposes that the original had חֶבְלוֹ, "his portion," which the Greek misread חֹבְלוֹ, "him that hurts or ill-treats him." In that case it might be further conjectured that the Vet. Lat., if it had the Hebrew before it (which is certainly not impossible), read חֶבְרוֹ, "his friend." But the whole combination is very doubtful.

19. *As one that letteth.*] Rather, **and as thou lettest.**

get him again.] *θηρεύσεις*—a hunting term, "catch him in the hunt."

20. *he is too far off.*] Better, **he has withdrawn himself** far off.

as a roe.] Rather, "as a **gazelle**," or antelope, known for its fleetness. The Syr. has here the addition: "and as a bird out of the snare," evidently taken from Prov. vi. 5.

21. Omit "as" in the A. V.

wound.] For the Vat. *θραῦμα*, "breaking," which may represent the Hebrew שֶׁבֶר, we adopt the Alex. reading *τραῦμα*. There are hurts which can be healed, but not that here supposed.

22. A new stanza, describing another manifestation of the same sin. The A. V. here follows the reading of H., 248, Co. (which is also adopted by the Armen.), *καὶ ὁ εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἀποστήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. This is certainly preferable to the Vat., *καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀποστήσει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* = and no one will be able to get rid of him. A., C., and eight MSS. have *αὐτὰ ἀποστήσει*—referring to the "evil" in the first clause.

winketh with the eye.] Indicating malicious plotting; comp. Prov. vi. 13, x. 10.

23. The writer proceeds to give a description of such a person. Lit., **before thine eyes he will make his mouth sweet**, &c.; adopting the reading *στόμα αὐτοῦ* with A., C., 55, 106, 157, 248, 307, Co., Vet. Lat. (the Syr. here is throughout corrupt). This evidently suits the context better than the Vat., which has *στόμα σου*, "thy mouth."

but **afterwards he will turn about his speech.**] The last clause, literally rendered, reads: "and **will put in thy words an offence;**" that is, he will pur-

B. C. cir. 200.

25 Whoso casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds.

[h] Ps. 7. 15. Prov. 26. 27. Eccles. 10. 8.

26 [h]Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and [i]he that setteth a trap shall be taken therein.

[i] Ps. 9. 15. & 35. 8.

27 He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh.

28 Mockery and reproach are from the proud; but [k]vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them.

[k] Deut. 32. 35. Rom. 12. 19.

29 They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare; and anguish shall consume them before they die.

B. C. cir. 200.

30 Malice and wrath, even these are abominations; and the sinful man shall have them both.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *Against revenge,* 8 *quarrelling,* 10 *anger,* 15 *and backbiting.*

HE [a]that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins [in remembrance.]

[a] Deut. 32. 35. Rom. 12. 19.

posely attach to them a meaning which will cause offence.

24. *I* **hate** *many things, but nothing like him.*] Literally, but **I do not make them equal to him**, &c., *i.e.* I do not put other things hateful to me on the same level with this.

for.] Rather, **also**, the Heb. גַּם. The Syr. adds: "and will curse him." The Arab. omits this, which proves that it is a later emendation of the Syr. Version, which the Arab. throughout follows.

25. A new stanza, describing the righteous retribution on such a course.

shall make wounds.] Rather, **shall distribute wounds**; an obscure phrase, which from the context we suppose to mean that the consequence of a deceitful stroke will be to wound him that deals it, as well as him to whom it is dealt.

26. The Syr. is different, and the Vet. Lat. has an explanatory addition.

27. We are once more carried back to Prov. vi.: see above, *v.* 13. The expression *ὁ ποιῶν πονηρά*, "he that worketh **evil**," is preserved in the Syr. in its Hebrew form, as in Prov. vi. 14. There the person described in Ecclus. xxvii. 23 as "turning about his speech" is characterised by הַהֹפְכוֹת בְּלִבּוֹ, "turnings about in his heart" (comp. Prov. viii. 13, x. 32, תַּהְפֻּכוֹת פִּי; Prov. x. 31, תַּהְפֻּכוֹת לָשׁוֹן). Again (as in the Syr.) the *ποιῶν πονηρά* is = חֹרֵשׁ רָע, "he that forgeth evil" (comp. xiv. 22, iii. 29), or in Prov. vi. 18, לֵב חֹרֵשׁ מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָוֶן.

whence it cometh.] Add: **upon him.**

28. This verse is not found in the Syr. (although in the Vet. Lat.), and reads like an interpolation.

29. The Syr. here has a different and certainly erroneous rendering, probably due to a misreading of the Hebrew, which it is scarcely worth the labour to trace in detail, although in part it is evident.

30. *even these.*] Rather, **these also.** Omit from the A. V. the final word "both."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

This chapter stands in close internal connexion with the preceding. It deals with that to which the sins previously referred to give rise, and finally returns to these sins themselves. The special topics of the chapter may be grouped as follows: *Revenge* (stanza 1, of seven verses); *strife* (second stanza, of five verses: *vv.* 8–12); *calumny* (third stanza, of four verses: *vv.* 13–16); *its baneful effects* (fourth stanza, of five verses: *vv.* 17–21—although this and the previous stanza may possibly be combined into one). Lastly, we have a stanza which on the one hand promises to the righteous safety from the consequences of backbiting, and on the other admonishes to watchfulness (five verses: *v.* 22 to the end).

1. The words italicised, "keep his sins *in remembrance*," are inadequate. The verb is used here as in Ps. cxxx. 3: "if Jehovah keep sin;" that is, not only remember, but reserve it for punishment (comp. the figure in Job xiv. 17), only that here it must have been יִשְׁכֹּר יִשְׁכּוֹר, which the Greek preserves, as well as the Vet. Lat. (*servans servabit*). We need scarcely here remind ourselves of Rom. xii. 19. But the whole sentiment seems so unlike the spirit of the book, and so Christian in its conception, that we suspect an interpolation. The Syr. is quite different, and perhaps preserves the Hebrew original. It begins the verse with what seems a modification of the second clause of the last verse in the previous chapter: "And the deceitful man destroyeth his way" (perhaps the

B. C. cir. 200.

2 [b] Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest.

3 [c] One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord?

4 He sheweth no mercy to a man, which is like himself: and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?

5 If he that is but flesh nourish hatred, who will intreat for pardon of his sins?

B. C. cir. 200.

6 Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; [remember] corruption and death, and abide in the commandments.

7 Remember the commandments, and bear no malice to thy neighbour: [remember] the covenant of the Highest, and wink at ignorance.

[b] Matt. 6. 14. Mark 11. 25. Luke 6. 37.
[c] See Matt. 18. 23, &c.

original had something like Ps. i. 6: וְדֶרֶךְ רְשָׁעִים תֹּאבֵד, "and will receive retribution [vengeance] from God, because all his sins shall be carefully preserved to him."

2. *Forgive* **the unrighteousness** [the wrong, injury] **of thy neighbour, and then when thou prayest thy sins shall be loosed** [λυθήσονται; comp. St. Matt. xviii. 18].] The latter expression, but chiefly the addition "when thou prayest"—which makes the verse parallel with St. Mark xi. 25—indicates Christian alteration. In Talmudic writings we find indeed such statements as "To whom is sin pardoned? To him who forgiveth injury" (Rosh Hash. 17*a*, and in other places); and again: "every time that thou art merciful, God will be merciful to thee; and if thou art not merciful, God will not shew mercy to thee" (Jer. Babha Q. viii. 10, and other places). Other similar passages might be quoted, to which St. Jas. ii. 13 forms the N. T. parallel. But so far as we know there is not any ancient Jewish saying strictly parallel to this verse in Ecclus. We therefore regard it as a later Christian alteration. The Syr. Christian emendation goes even further. It has: "Remit what is in thy heart and afterwards pray, and all thy sins shall be remitted thee." The Vet. Lat. follows the Greek.

3. (One) *Man* **keepeth anger** *against* (another) *man, and doth he seek* **healing** *from the Lord?*] "Healing," like רָפָא, or rather here מִירְפֵּא, in the sense of forgiveness. We are here again on strictly Jewish ground. The N. T. also offers well-known parallels. Fritzsche quotes from the Pastor of Hermas, B. iii., *Similit.* ix. 23. But that passage rather recalls St. Jas. iv. 12. A better parallel would have been *u. s.*, B. ii., Comm. ix.: "For He is not like men who remember evils done against them; but He Himself remembers not evils, and has compassion on His own creatures." This seems based on the following from Yoma, 86*b*: "Come and see that the measure [manner of dealing] of the Holy One, blessed be He, is not like that of flesh and blood. A man makes his neighbour angry [offends him] by words, there is a doubt whether or not he will be assuaged by him; and if thou sayest, he will be assuaged by him, there is doubt whether or not he will be assuaged by words, but the Holy One, blessed be His Name: a man committeth a sin in secret—He [God] is assuaged of him by words (see Hos. xiv. 2)."

4. Rather, **he hath not mercy.**

doth he ask forgiveness.] Rather, "**does he entreat** (viz. mercy) **on account of his sins?**" The Syr. omits the verse.

5. He that is flesh keepeth resentment [μῆνιν], *who will* **atone for** [expiate] *his sins?*] (Bissell.) The Syr. has: "he who is a son of man is not willing to remit, and who shall remit his sins?" These verses are intended to mark the incongruity of his position. But *v.* 5 seems also to indicate that works of mercy were regarded as a kind of atonement.

6. The writer now proceeds to positive admonition.

thy end.] Rather, **the end.** For "abide in the commandments," the Syr. has "abstain from sinning"—probably correctly representing the original, since the first clause of the next verse is as in the Greek. Verses 6 and 7 mark a progression, which the Greek probably wished to make more emphatic by this "abide in the commandments," to be immediately followed by "remember the commandments," &c.

7. *bear no malice to.*] Rather, **be not angry against.**

wink at.] Rather, **overlook.**

ignorance.] ἄγνοια, as in the LXX., always in the sense of guilt or sin of weakness, שְׁגָגָה, or else אָשֵׁם and אַשְׁמָה. The Syr. has: "Remember the commandment and hate not thy neighbour before God, and give him what lacketh to him." It has been ingeniously suggested that the Syr. for "before" (ܩܕܡ) is corrupt, and that we should read (ܩܝܡ) "covenant"—"the covenant of God"—while

B. C. cir. 200.

8 [d] Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins: for a furious man will kindle strife.

[d] ch. 8. 1.

9 A sinful man disquieteth friends, and maketh debate among them that be at peace.

10 [e] As the matter of the fire is, so it burneth: and as a man's strength is, so is his wrath; and according to his riches his anger riseth; and the stronger they are which contend, the more they will be inflamed.

[e] Prov. 26. 21.

11 An hasty contention kindleth a fire: and an hasty fighting sheddeth blood.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 If thou blow the spark, it shall burn: if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched: and both these come out of thy mouth.

13 [f] Curse the whisperer and doubletongued: for such have destroyed many that were at peace.

[f] ch. 21. 28.

14 A backbiting tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from

the other differences between the Greek text might be explained by supposing that the Greek read נָשָׂא לוֹ עֲוֹנוֹ, while the Syr. read עָנְיוֹ.

8. A new stanza: *strife.*] Omit from the A. V. "thy" before "sins." If we abstain from strife, there will be fewer sins on our part; but this will not be the case if a man is wrathful. The Syr. omits the last part of the verse.

9. Rather, **And** a sinful man — the expression being general, to indicate that other sins besides fury may lead to strife.

disquieteth.] ταράξει, **perturbs, stirs up.** The manner of it is immediately explained: **and casteth in calumny** [possibly, ill-feeling—so the Syr. and Vet. Lat.] **among them that are** at peace. Instead of "disquieteth friends," the Syr. has, what seems more apt: "loveth litigation." If we suppose that the original had אֹהֵב מְרִיבָה, "loveth strife," we might conjecture that the Greek read אֹהֵב מְרִיב, which he interpreted as above.

10. The clauses of this verse are evidently misplaced in the Vat. The Sin., Alex., and many other Codd. make the fourth clause the second; and as this is also the order in the Syr.—as well as the natural order—we conclude that such was the arrangement in the original. The Vet. Lat. omits the second clause. Possibly, it was only inserted in the Vat. (and there in the wrong place) by a later corrector. Correcting the order of the clauses (as above), the first two would read as follows: **According to the fuel of a fire** so it burneth [the Syr.: "whatever thou castest into the fire will burn"], **and according to the firmness** [strength?] **of a strife will it burn up.** The Syr.: "the more thou increasest litigation, the larger will it grow." The original may have been כְּעֻצְמוֹת רִיב, which the Greek understood as = according to the strength, the Syriac as = according to the amount; (clause *c*) "**according to a man's strength is his wrath;**" the Syr., "as is the glory of a man's hands, so is his wrath;" in the Hebrew original perhaps כְּכֹחַ יָדָיו (in the LXX. ἰσχὺς is mostly the translation of כֹּחַ)—"and according to his **wealth** his anger riseth."

11. The Syr. evidently read the original differently: "Pitch and naphtha kindle fire, and frequent quarrels spill blood." This seems more apt than the Greek text.

fighting.] Rather, **strife.**

12. All depends on the disposition of men. What in the one case issues in fire, in the other is quenched: it is the individual not the thing which causeth the mischief. The twofold simile of fire and water in connexion with disputes (the latter simile brought out more fully in the Syr. than in the Greek) recalls St. Jas. iii. 6 and 10, 11. The Syr. is interesting as shewing that, even where it and the Greek are evidently renderings of the same Hebrew words, there may be slight differences between them, because each translator would deem himself at liberty to translate freely. The following is quoted in Vayyk. R. 33 (beginning) as from Ben Sira: "Is there a coal before thee—blow upon it, and it will kindle up; spit upon it, and it will be extinguished."

13. A new stanza (see introductory remarks). The Syr. renders: "also 'the third tongue,' let it be cursed, for it has laid low many corpses." The expression "third tongue" is of post-biblical Jewish usage. It means the calumnious, babbling tongue, and its designation "third tongue" is explained by this, that it kills three: the person who speaks the calumny, the person who listens to it, and the person concerning whom it is spoken (Ar. 16 *b*; Jer. Peah, 16 *a*; Vayyk. R. 26 an instance of this is given; in Jer. Peah it is added that in the time of Saul it killed four). The Syr. translator seems to have had this in mind in his paraphrastic rendering of the verse.

B. C. cir. 200.

nation to nation: strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men.

15 ‖ A backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women, and deprived them of their labours.

‖ Or, *third.*

16 Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly.

17 The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh: but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.

18 Many have fallen by the edge of the sword: but not so many as have fallen by the tongue.

19 Well is he that is defended from it, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands.

B. C. cir. 200.

20 For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass.

21 The death thereof is an evil death, the grave were better than it.

22 It shall not have rule over them that fear God, neither shall they be burned with the flame thereof.

23 Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard.

14. *A* **third** [a calumnious] *tongue hath* **tossed many to and fro.**] Before "strong cities" insert "**and.**" The last clause gains in emphasis by restoring its order as in the Greek: **and houses of great men** (*μεγιστάνων*) **hath it overthrown.** It is very interesting to find that not only the later Syriac but the Greek translator knew the Jewish expression "third tongue," explained in the previous note, and therefore in all probability the popular interpretation recorded in the Talmud. Indeed, the reference to the influence of a calumnious tongue in regard to other lands (clause *b*) recalls the Talmudic legend (told immediately after the explanation of the term "third tongue"), in which, in reply to a question of R. Samuel b. Nachman, the serpent explains that if its poisonous bite in one member extends to all the members, a calumnious tongue speaks in one place and its killing stroke falls in Rome, or else it speaks in Rome and its stroke falls in Syria. The Syr. translates somewhat differently, but is probably only a free version.

15. *virtuous women.*] Better, perhaps, **brave women,** *γυναῖκας ἀνδρείας*: comp. xxvi. 2.

deprived them of their labours.] *I.e.* of the fruit of them.

16. **He who giveth heed to** *it shall never* **find rest, nor yet shall he dwell tranquilly.**] The Syr. omits this verse.

17. *marks in the flesh.*] Better, **weals.**

19. *Well.*] Rather, **happy.**

and hath not passed through the venom thereof.] Rather, **who has not entered into the passionate fury** thereof; "who hath not drawn the yoke thereof" (Deut. xxi. 3, מֹשְׁכָה בָּעֹל; in the LXX. *εἵλκυσε ζυγόν*), —a Hebraism, meaning, who does not experience it.

21. *The death thereof.*] *I.e.* the death which it—viz. the calumnious tongue—worketh is evil, being a moral death (comp. Juvenal, viii. 192, and the note of Mayor).

and *the grave.*] Rather, **and Hades is profitable rather than it,** viz. Hades is more profitable, serves a better purpose, were rather to be chosen than such a tongue.

22. Possibly a new stanza: of promise and admonition. "It"—viz. such a tongue, not Hades—"shall not have rule." The use of the genit. here (*κρατήσῃ εὐσεβῶν*) shews that it refers to a continuous hold (see Winer, *l. l.* p. 182). The Syr. renders our verse, "burn not:" in the optative form, "mayest thou not burn upon the righteous," &c.

23. *burn in them* = among them.

devour them as a leopard.] Rather, **mutilate them as a leopard** (or panther). For "it shall be sent upon them as a lion," the Syr. has "it shall rule over them;" evidently reading (as has been suggested) תִּישְׁלַט, while the Greek read תִּשְׁלַח. If even in the Greek the wording of the first two lines (referring to the flame—although, from the context, that kindled by the tongue) raises the suspicion of a Christian modification, so that the words about the flame that would burn without quenching might be understood of Hades; this suspicion is increased by the Syriac, which seems to go much further in the same direction. It has: "All that forsake the fear of God shall fall into it [the flame]; upon them shall the fire kindle and not be extinguished, it shall rule over them as a lion, and as a panther tear them in pieces."

24, 25. The four lines of which these two

B. C. cir. 200.

24 Look that thou hedge thy possession about with thorns, and bind up thy silver and gold,

25 And weigh thy words in a balance, and make a door and bar for thy mouth.

26 Beware thou slide not by it, lest thou fall before him that lieth in wait.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *We must shew mercy and lend:* 4 *but the borrower must not defraud the lender.* 9 *Give alms.* 14 *A good man will not undo his surety.* 18 *To be surety and undertake for others is dangerous.* 22 *It is better to live at home than to sojourn.*

B. C. cir. 200.

[a] HE that is merciful will lend unto his neighbour; and he that strengtheneth his hand keepeth the commandments. [a] Ps. 37. 26.

2 [b] Lend to thy neighbour in time of his need, and pay thou thy neighbour again in due season. [b] Deut. 15. 8. Matt. 5. 42. Luke 6. 35.

3 Keep thy word, and deal faithfully with him, and thou shalt always find the thing that is necessary for thee.

4 Many, when a thing was lent

verses consist are misplaced in the Vat. (although Origen—Hom. i. in Ps. xxxviii. and Hom. Cant. vii. 8—favours the Vat. arrangement). The natural, and no doubt correct, succession of the lines is preserved in H., 248, Co., as well as in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. It is as follows:—

v. 24 **Lo, surround thy** possession [referring to land] with thorns [a hedge]
(25 *b*) And make a door and bar for thy mouth;
v. 25 (24 *b*) Bind up thy silver and thy gold,
(25 *a*) **And make for thy words a beam and weight** [an accurate balance].

The latter illustration is the more forcible because silver and gold, so tied up, were *weighed* —money going by weight. The two verses express the same thought—only the one in a negative, the other in a positive form. The hedge round the field, and the door and bar to the mouth, are to keep out evil; the balance is to weigh out the precious metals. Instead of "thy possession" in 24 *a* the Syr. has "thy vineyard," and the Vet. Lat. *aures tuas* (thine ears), adding the explanative clause: "linguam nequam noli audire." The *aures* of the Lat. instead of the "possession" of the Greek is strange. The Syr. rendering, "vineyard." has its parallel in the LXX., where כרם is repeatedly translated by *κτῆμα*.

26. Beware lest by any means thou slip by it, &c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

This chapter is only loosely connected with that which preceded. Generally we might say that we have in these chapters a succession of prudential counsels, conceived in a quasi-religious spirit, grouped under different headings, and bearing on different aspects of daily life. Possibly there may be some connexion between what was said at the close of the previous chapter about the binding up of silver and gold, and the admonition to mercy in this chapter; and again between the previous admonition to have a care over our words and the present warning against suretiship for another. The topics of the present chapter are: (1) an admonition to *mercy in lending*, one stanza of six verses, *v.* 7 forming the transition to the next stanza, which (2) presents another phase of *Mercy:* that which is not discouraged by misuse, but bestoweth freely (*vv.* 8–13). (3) The next stanza presents yet another aspect of *Mercy: Suretiship* (*vv.* 14–19—six verses). Lastly (4), the opposite point of view is taken, and we are shewn how desirable it is not to seek nor to accept *Mercy* (*vv.* 21–28).

1. *He that is merciful.*] Lit. **he that doeth mercy,** עֹשֶׂה חֶסֶד, or גֹּמֵל חסד.

he that strengtheneth his hand [similarly the Vet. Lat.: *prævalet manu*].] Rather, "**and** he that **maketh strong with** [by] his hand;" that is, supporteth another by helping him. The Hebrew would be: מְחַזֵּק בְּיָדוֹ, or מַחֲזִיק, or חֹזֵק, the construction as in Ezr. i. 6. As for "the commandments" thus "kept," see Lev. xxv. 35 (וְהֶחֱזַקְתָּ בּוֹ); Deut. xv. 7, 8; comp. Ps. xxxvii. 26 (there חוֹנֵן וּמַלְוֶה, and in the next verse עֲשֵׂה־טוֹב). Comp. St. Matt. v. 42.

2. The duty of lending in such a spirit has for its correlative the obligation of punctual repayment. The Syr. is explanative rather than literal.

3. A further admonition to him who has contracted the obligation.

Keep thy word.] Lit. **make strong,** confirm it—a Hebraism.

always.] Lit., **at every season,** בְּכָל־עֵת, viz. whenever thou shalt need it. Observance of duty will in that case bring its own reward.

B. C. cir. 200.

them, reckoned it to be found, and put them to trouble that helped them.

5 Till he hath received, he will kiss a man's hand; and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly: but when he should repay, he will prolong the time, and return words of grief, and complain of the time.

‖ Or, *If he be able.*

6 ‖ If he prevail, he shall hardly receive the half, and he will count as if he had found it: if not, he hath deprived him of his money, and he hath gotten him an enemy without cause: he payeth him with cursings and railings; and for honour he will pay him disgrace.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 Many therefore have refused to lend for other men's ill dealing, fearing to be defrauded.

8 Yet have thou patience with a man in poor estate, and delay not to shew him mercy.

9 Help the poor for [c] the commandment's sake, and turn him not away because of his poverty.

[c] Deut. 15. 11.

4. Lit. **Many consider a loan as a find**—they treat a loan as if they had found something on the road, which they may appropriate and think no farther of him who lost it. In the second clause the simile is continued: the lender is represented as having the labour and trouble of searching after what he had lost. It has been ingeniously suggested that in the first clause the original may have had a word-play between שְׁאֵלָה, "a thing asked," and שָׁלָל, "a spoil" or "gain."

5. The description of the dishonourable borrower is true to the life—only it applies also to those of a like character who ask and obtain any favour.

Till he hath received.] Rather, **until he obtain.**

kiss a man's hand.] Lit. "kiss **his hand.**"

and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly.] Rather, "**about** his neighbour's property he will speak **humbly**" (lit. humble the voice). The meaning seems to be: he will refer in very humble language to the wealth of another—how easily he could help him, perhaps what liberal use he was wont to make of it. The Syr. gives the same impression. But afterwards matters are quite changed. "When he should repay," lit. **at the time of giving back** (ἀποδόσεως), then there is postponement: **he will protract the time**, the payment is delayed for the future, while what he does "give back" (ἀποδώσει) are "**words of sorrow** (regret):" he is very sorry—but the times are so bad.

6. *If he prevail* [that is, if the creditor succeed in getting back any money from the debtor] *he shall hardly* **recover** *the half, and he will* **regard it** [esteem it] **as a find** [something that he had considered absolutely lost]. **But** *if not* [that is, if the creditor does not get back anything at all, then] *he* [the debtor] *hath deprived him* [the creditor] *of his* **property**, *and* [viz. at the same time] *he* [the creditor] *hath gotten him* [the debtor] *an enemy without cause* [δωρεάν, חִנָּם—for nothing].

> "Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
> For loan oft loses both itself and friend."
> *Hamlet*, Act i., Sc. 3.

The writer then looks back upon *v.* 5 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and marks the contrast. This is the repayment made: **Cursings and revilings will he "give back" to him** (ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ—comp. *v.* 5 *d*)—such is the coin in which he pays him back—**and instead of glory** [as when he kissed his hand and spoke so humbly about the other's property] **he will "give back" to him** (ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ) **dishonour.**

7. Lit. *Many* **turned away** [viz. from lending—this, rather than they who came to borrow] **on account of wickedness** [viz. such as that above described]: **they feared to be deprived** [viz. of their property] **for nothing.** The Syr. has: "Many have refused to lend, not from [without its being from] wickedness, but because they were afraid of a useless quarrel." There can be little doubt that the Greek and not the Syr. translator here rightly understood the Hebrew original. It is therefore all the more deserving our attention that the Vet. Lat. follows the interpretation of the Syr. It has: *multi non causâ nequitiae non foenerati sunt.*

8. This verse begins the admonition not to be discouraged in well-doing, to which *v.* 7 formed the transition from the previous stanza. The first clause of the verse refers to a case in which the delay—blamed in *vv.* 5, 6—may not be culpable, and the creditor should be patient and forbearing: **and in regard to charity** [in the sense of bestowing alms or benefits, ἐπ' ἐλεημοσύνῃ; the Alex. and others read: ἐπ' ἐλεημοσύνῃ, "in charity"] **do not defer** [delay] **him**—put him not off to another time; let him not wait.

9. **For the commandment's sake**

B. C. cir. 200.

10 Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and [d]let it not rust under a stone to be lost.

11 [e]Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the most High, and [f]it shall bring thee more profit than gold.

12 [g]Shut up alms in thy storehouses: and it shall deliver thee from all affliction.

13 It shall fight for thee against thine enemies better than a mighty shield and strong spear. B. C. cir. 200.

14 An honest man is surety for his neighbour: but he that is impudent will ‖forsake him. ‖ Or, *fail.*

15 Forget not the friendship of thy surety, for he hath given his life for thee.

16 A sinner will overthrow the good estate of his surety:

17 And he that is of an unthank-

[d] ch. 20. 30.
[e] Dan. 4. 27. Matt. 6. 20. Luke 11. 41. & 12. 33. Acts 10. 4. 1 Tim. 6. 18, 19.
[f] Matt. 19. 21.
[g] Tobit 4. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. ch. 17. 22.

assist [Syr.: "relieve"] **a poor man, and according to his lack** [need, want] **turn him not away empty.**] As we understand the second clause, it may probably point in the direction of the Rabbinic rule that the poor should be assisted in a manner conformable to their former condition—according to their lack (Kethub. 67 *b*). The Syr. rendering depends either upon a misreading or is a mistranslation.

10. *Lose* **money through a** *brother and* [or] **a** *friend, and let it not rust under* **the** *stone* **unto loss.**] "The stone:" the definite stone that marks the place where the money is buried. The meaning is: better to lose money through a friend than by letting it rust. It is a secondary point that such an expression as loss by rust is scarcely applicable to silver. For there might be loss in such manner, or at any rate considerable deterioration. On the other hand, the figure of rust as affecting metals might be transferred from one metal to another (see the same about rust as affecting the gold of the idols: Ep. of Jer. *vv.* 12, 24). It is of much greater importance and interest to notice that this verse affords fresh evidence of the use which St. James made of Ecclus. For the figure in St. Jas. v. 3 of the rust as affecting the unused gold and silver is not found in any other part of Scripture, and seems derived from our passage. Moreover, of the two expressions for "rusted" and "rust" in St. Jas. v. 3, the one (*ἰός*, "rust") which in this signification occurs only in that place in the N. T. is used in our passage in Ecclus. (*ἰωσθήτω*), while the other word in St. Jas. v. 3 (*κατίωται*—"your gold and your silver *are rusted*") does not occur in any other place in the N. T. nor yet in the LXX., but only in Ecclus. xii. 11. This also indirectly shews in what general use our book must have been among the Jews—a fact confirmed, as we have seen, by the numerous Talmudic quotations from Ecclus. The Syr. has, instead of "let it not rust under a stone unto loss," this: "rather than thou hide it under the stone or wall." The difference in the two versions, "wall" (in the Syr.) and "loss" (in the Greek), we would account for by the latter reading שֵׁחַת, while the Syr. read שְׁרוֹת (Jer. v. 10), "walls." For the divergence—the Greek reading "rust," the Syr. "hide"—it is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. Possibly the Greek translation was not intended to be literal.

11. *than gold.*] Rather, "than **the** gold." We remember here the better and far higher direction in St. Matt. vi. 19, 20. The Rabbis speak of certain things of which a man enjoys the fruit or interest in this world, while the capital itself remaineth for the next (Peah i. 1, and in other places). Among them—although the study of the Law is said to outweigh all the others—the bestowal of mercy is mentioned (גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים—in Shabb. 127 *a* this is applied to hospitality and visiting of the sick). The Syr. paraphrases this verse.

12, 13. What a man is to lay up in his storehouses is not grain, nor fruits, nor any other source of wealth—but alms. This will prove a preventive against or else a deliverance from the ill that would otherwise befall him. The simile is farther developed in *v.* 13. When the Vet. Lat. thus paraphrases *v.* 12: *conclude eleemosynam in corde pauperis, et haec pro te exorabit ab omni malo* —it may have had St. Luke xvi. 9 in view.

14. A new stanza: *Suretiship.* Translate: "**A good man will be** surety . . . but he **who has lost shame** will **leave** him," in the sense of deserting him: such an one will leave the person who has become surety for him to bear the consequences of his rash kindness.

15. *the friendship.*] Rather, **the favours** —the kindness.

he hath given his life.] Lit., **his soul**, in the sense of "himself." The Syr. omits the verse.

16. *the good estate.*] Rather, **the possessions.** The Syr. omits this verse, and paraphrases *v.* 17 in a manner which raises suspicion of a later revision.

B. C. cir. 200.

ful mind will leave him [in danger] that delivered him.

18 Suretiship hath undone many of good estate, and shaken them as a wave of the sea: mighty men hath it driven from their houses, so that they wandered among strange nations.

19 A wicked man transgressing the commandments of the Lord shall fall into suretiship: and he that undertaketh and followeth other men's business for gain shall fall into suits.

20 Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and beware that thou thyself fall not into the same. B. C. cir. 200.

21 The [h] chief thing for life is water, and bread, and clothing, and an house to cover shame. [h] ch. 39. 26.

22 Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than delicate fare in another man's house.

23 Be it little or much, [i] hold thee contented, that thou hear not the reproach of thy house. [i] 1 Tim. 6, 8.

24 For it is a miserable life to

18. *of good estate.*] Rather, **that were in a prosperous condition.**

shaken them.] Rather, **tossed them.**

driven from their houses.] Rather, **made to emigrate** [to remove].

strange nations.] Rather, **foreign** nations.

19. This verse is found in its simplest and, no doubt, original form in the Vat. Cod. It reads: **The sinner** [the addition in the A. V., "transgressing," &c. occurs in H., 248, Co., Syr., Vet. Lat., and is no doubt a later gloss] **who falleth into suretiship** [perhaps in the sense of purposely incurring it, throwing himself into it—or else even in the sense of "rashly" doing so] **and who pursueth after improper gains shall be thrown into judgments** [law-sentences]. There is probably not a more difficult expression in Ecclus. than διώκων ἐργολαβείας, which we have rendered: "who pursueth improper gains"—although with great doubt. For, assuredly, it does not suit the context, whether of the previous clause or of the preceding verses, which throughout refers to suretiship. If therefore we have not the courage to give up the usual meaning of either διώκων or ἐργολαβείας, the latter must at least be taken *sensu malo* (which it sometimes bears), so as in some way to fit into the context. But we would venture to suggest that διώκων might here be taken as a law-term—"a prosecutor"—and ἐργολαβείας as in the genitive. In that case the words might be rendered: **and who prosecutes** [another] **for a contract**—referring to a man who first wrongfully or foolishly became surety, and then by a law-process tried to get rid of his engagement. This, if admissible, would suit the context well. The Syr. seems from its paraphrastic language to have had difficulty about this verse, and it inserts between the two clauses what reads like a later interpretation. The Arab. omits it.

20. On the preceding verse this follows as a general conclusion and summary: "**Assist** thy neighbour according to thy power, and (but) **take heed to thyself that thou fall not.**" The Syr. has instead of the words in the second clause: "and deliver thyself from double." The "take heed to thyself" (Greek) and "deliver thyself" (Syr.) may well represent the same Hebrew word—probably (as in the Syr.) the word פַּצֵּה, perhaps with the addition of another verb as in Ps. cxliv. 7, פְּצֵנִי וְהַצִּילֵנִי; perhaps it read פְּצֵה וְהַצֵּל נַפְשֶׁךָ. As to the Syr. rendering "double" for the Greek "that thou fall not," the former may be a paraphrastic reference to the punishment into which such an one might fall, or (as has been suggested) it may depend on a confusion between מִנְּפֹל (the Greek) and מִכֶּפֶל (the Syr.).

21. A new stanza. Utmost moderation is recommended, so as to be independent of others.

to cover shame.] Rather, "**which covereth** shame,"—conceals what decency forbids to be in public.

22. *Better is the* **state of** *life.*] Or, **the mode of living,** *βίος.*

in a mean cottage.] Rather, **under a roof of beams,** the opposite of a "ceiled house."

in another man's house.] Rather, "**among strangers.**"

23. The second clause, "that thou hear not," &c. (or rather, **and thou shalt not hear,** &c.), does not occur in the Vat., the Sin., nor the Alex., but is found in 248, Co. The Syr. has: "Whether he (live on) much or little, no one knoweth: and what he doeth within his house man does not see it." The Vet. Lat. has a confused paraphrase.

24. Lit., **A wretched life: from house to house—and where one so-**

B. C. cir. 200.

go from house to house: for where thou art a stranger, thou darest not open thy mouth.

25 Thou shalt entertain, and feast, and have no thanks: moreover thou shalt hear bitter words:

26 Come, thou stranger, and furnish a table, and feed me of that thou hast ready.

27 Give place, thou stranger, to an honourable man; my brother cometh to be lodged, and I have need of mine house.

28 These things are grievous to a man of understanding; the upbraiding of houseroom, and reproaching of the lender.

CHAPTER XXX.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *It is good to correct our children, 7 and not to cocker them. 14 Health is better than wealth. 22 Health and life are shortened by grief.*

Of children.

HE [a] that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod, that he may have joy of him in the end.

[a] Prov. 13. 24. & 23. 13.

2 He that chastiseth his son shall ‖ have joy in him, and shall rejoice of him among his ‖ acquaintance.

‖ Or, *good by him.*

‖ Or, *kinsfolk.*

3 He that [b] teacheth his son grieveth the enemy: and before his friends he shall rejoice of him.

[b] Deut. 6. 7.

4 Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead: for he

journeth [as one not forming part of the household but admitted to it: *παροικήσει*] **he cannot open the mouth.**

25. Although all the Codd. have, as in the A. V., *ξενιεῖς καὶ ποτιεῖς*, "thou shalt entertain and feast," it seems absolutely necessary to adopt the emendation of Bretschneider: *ξενισθεὶς καὶ ποτισθεὶς*: **Thou shalt be entertained as a guest, and be given to drink unto ungraciousness** = with ungraciousness, or else, till at last it is made ungracious — "and **besides** [afterwards?] thou shalt hear bitter **things about them**," viz. about thy entertainment and drink. The Syr.: "thou art a sojourner (= *ξενιεῖς*?), and thou shalt drink contumely."

26. The verse expresses what is virtually said to such an one: "**Go bye** (along), **sojourner, prepare** a table, **and if there is anything in thy hand** (if thou hast anything) **give me to eat**" (entertain me). It is thy turn now,—"give and take," as men say.

27. Lit.: **Go out, sojourner, from the face** [or presence] **of glory**; probably in the sense of the A. V. Fritzsche explains: "Go away from this glory, which is not meant for thee [this seems strained]—my brother has been received as a guest. (I have) need of the house."

28. Lit.: **upbraiding of a house**—that is, as Fritzsche explains, connected with one's being in a house—"**and reproach** [or disgrace] **of a creditor.**" These are the two things which a man of sensibility feels grievous: the one inside the house, when things are cast up to him and he has intimation to leave; the other outside the house, when he is harassed and importuned and put to shame by a creditor. The reference, it need scarcely be said, is to a poor man—but one of intelligence and education.

CHAPTER XXX.

This chapter, which in its present position in the Vat. and other Codd. is misplaced (see the remarks in the sequel), naturally arranges itself under the two headings: "About Children" (*vv.* 1–13) and "About Health" (*vv.* 14–20). Each of these sections begins with the heading just mentioned. But there is a third stanza added (*vv.* 21–25) on joy of the heart, which belongs to the second section, and is connected with *v.* 16 *b*.

1. Lit., "**will continue to him strokes.**"

in the end.] Rather, "**at last.**" Comp. Prov. xiii. 24, xxiii. 13, xxix. 15.

2. *He that chastiseth.*] Perhaps better, **correcteth**, or **disciplineth.**

shall have joy [or advantage]; *and shall rejoice of him.*] Better, **and shall glory in him.** For the construction comp. LXX. Ps. xlviii. (xlix.) 6; Prov. xxv. 14; Rom. v. 2.

3. *grieveth.*] Rather, "**maketh jealous.**" The second clause differs only slightly from *v.* 2 *b*.

4. Lit., "**his father died, and as if he had not died,**" &c. The Syr. has: "and he is companion (associate, fellow = חָבֵר; the expression is = the Heb. אָח לְ, which the Targum renders: חברא לְ) to him that is not dead." The Syr. seems to represent the Hebrew more faithfully than does the Greek. The meaning is: the father is

B. C. cir. 200.

hath left one behind him that is like himself.

[c] Ps. 128. 3, 6.

5 While he lived, he [c]saw and rejoiced in him: and when he died, he was not sorrowful.

6 He left behind him an avenger against his enemies, and one that shall requite kindness to his friends.

7 He that maketh too much of his son shall bind up his wounds; and his bowels will be troubled at every cry.

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8 An horse not broken becometh headstrong: and a child left to himself will be wilful.

9 Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee ‖afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heaviness.

‖ Or, *astonished.*

10 Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end.

[d] ch. 7. 23.

11 [d]Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies.

12 Bow down his neck while he is

not really dead, for he continues in his son. This and the following verse cast light on one of the great consolations and hopes which the writer entertained in regard to death: continuance in one's children.

5. The words "in him," omitted in the Vat., are found in 248, Co. The Syr. has: "saw him and rejoiced." The Vet. Lat. has: *vidit, et laetatus est in illo.* We may therefore conclude that the pronoun was in the original, although probably in the same order as in the Syr. The omission in the Vat. may have been due to a wish to give the statement a more general form.

6. Compare here the previous remarks in the note on *v.* 4. The Syr. — probably rightly—inverts the clauses.

7. *He that maketh too much of.*] Better, **he that treateth him indulgently** (*molliter et leniter*): περιψύχων—which the Vet. Lat. curiously resolves into two words, *pro animabus* (filii). The Syr. rightly reproduces what probably was in the original: מְפַנֵּק, as in Prov. xxix. 21 (a verse which is differently understood in the LXX.). In Ber. R. 22 (on Gen. iv. 6) we read that he who in his youth indulgently treats (indulgeth) his (evil) inclination (שמפנק את יצרו בנעוריותו), his end (will be) that it will rule over him in his old age; referring to Prov. xxix. 21.

From this it would appear that when the LXX. translated Prov. xxix. 21 by ὃς καταστραταλᾷ ἐκ παιδός, "he that liveth wantonly from a child," they only followed an ancient Jewish tradition in their identification of עַבְדּוֹ, "his servant," with יִצְרוֹ, "his inclination," since the same explanation as in Ber. R. 22 also occurs in Sukk. 52 *b*. The other mistranslation in the LXX.: "and in the end shall grieve over himself," for the Hebrew יִהְיֶה מָנוֹן (erroneously rendered both in the A. V. and the R. V., following Jewish commentators: "shall have him become a son") is the same as in the Syr. (which agrees with the LXX. in the whole clause). The Targum has: "he that indulges [his inclination?] from his youth shall become a servant [to it?]." But in later Hebrew the word מנן was understood as meaning: "to lift oneself up," "to be lord or master." The interest of the subject will excuse this digression.

shall bind up his wounds.] *I.e.* he shall have such wounds to bind up. Hence the Syr. paraphrastically: "his wounds shall increase." The subject is the indulging father (so also in the Syr.) and not the indulged son.

and his bowels.] The Syr. rightly explains, "the heart."

is troubled *at every cry.*] Whether of his son, or more probably, that caused by him. The Syr. has: "shall empty out." Perhaps the Hebrew had נִבְקָה רוּחַ בְּקִרְבּוֹ, as in Is. xix. 3, where the LXX. renders ταραχθήσεται (as in our verse) τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτοῖς.

9. *Cocker thy child.*] Rather, **tend as a nurse** *thy child.* The Syr. has "instruct." Possibly the Hebrew word was אמן, which the LXX. renders by our Greek word in Lament. iv. 5 (comp. Heb. Numb. xi. 12), and which means "to tend," "to bear" (as a child is borne; comp. Is. lx. 4), and also "to train," "educate," "guide" (so repeatedly in the O. T.). The second part of clause 1 the Syr. translates: "lest thou be put to shame," —possibly a paraphrastic rendering dependent upon the translation of the first word. The Greek means that by such dealing on the part of a father the son will come to bring terror and shame upon him. Fritzsche quotes from Solon: *liberis ne arrideas, ut in posterum non fleas.*

11 *b* and 12 *a* are placed in the Vat. after *v.* 13, probably by mistake of a transcriber. They are omitted in the Alex., C., and other Codd. They must be restored from H., 248, Co. They are also in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. Verse 12 *d* is wholly omitted and restored from H., 106, 248, Co., Vet. Lat.

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young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart.

13 Chastise thy son, and hold him to labour, lest his lewd behaviour be an offence unto thee.

Of health.

14 Better is the poor, being sound and strong of constitution, than a rich man that is afflicted in his body.

15 Health and good estate of body are above all gold, and a strong body above infinite wealth.

16 There is no riches above a sound body, and no joy above the joy of the heart.

17 Death is better than a bitter life or continual sickness.

B. C. cir. 200.

18 Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave.

19 [e]What good doeth the offering unto an idol? for neither can it eat nor smell: so is he that is [‖]persecuted of the Lord.

[e] Bel and Dragon 7.

[‖] Or, *afflicted.*

20 He seeth with his eyes and groaneth, [f]as an eunuch that embraceth a virgin and sigheth.

[f] ch. 20. 4.

21 [g]Give not over thy mind to heaviness, and afflict not thyself in thine own counsel.

[g] Prov. 12. 25. & 15. 13. & 17. 22.

22 The gladness of the heart is the life of man, and the [‖]joyfulness of a man prolongeth his days.

[‖] Or, *exultation.*

23 Love thine own soul, and comfort thy heart, remove sorrow far from thee: [h]for sorrow hath

[h] 2 Cor. 7. 10.

13. *Chastise.*] Better, "**discipline** *thy son;*" "hold him to labour." Gaab and De Wette: "labour with him," "take pains with him;" see xiii. 4.

lewd behaviour.] Rather, **shameful behaviour**: "be an offence to thee," Vat. προσκόψῃ; A., C., and other Codd., προσκόψῃς. The alterations in the Syr. seem of little importance.

14. This verse begins the second stanza, "concerning health." The first clause lit.: "**better one poor, sound and strong of constitution.**"

15. *and good estate of body.*] Rather, a **good constitution.** The Syr. differs slightly—perhaps correctly, perhaps explanatively. In the second clause it has: "and a good spirit above pearls" (viz. "I have loved" —this in the first clause).—The sentiment expressed in this verse is farther developed in 16 *b*, where the Syr., however, has: "a good heart."

17. After "a bitter life," H., the Syr., and Vet. Lat. insert: "and eternal rest then." This was undoubtedly in the original. Possibly the words were omitted for dogmatic reasons. The construction κρείσσων ὑπέρ, which in Ecclus. occurs only in this passage, is found in the LXX., in 3 Kings xix. 4, and in Ps. xxxvi. 16, lxii. 4, lxxxiii. 10. These are the only passages in the Psalms in which the word occurs. In the other twenty-eight passages in the LXX. the construction with κρείσσων is different, as also in the other three passages in Ecclus. in which it occurs = טוֹב מִן. In the N. T. this construction does not occur.

18. For "poured" (better, "**poured out**") the Syr.—which the Vet. Lat. follows —reads "covered." May there have been a confusion between כסה and נסך? At the same time 248 (which Co. follows) has also κεκλεισμένα.

19. That the second clause of *v.* 18 refers to heathen practices, appears from *v.* 19 *a*, *b*. In clause *c* the marginal rendering, "afflicted" (viz. by sickness), gives the right meaning. The Syr. paraphrases it: "so is he who has wealth and [but] does not use it."

20. At the close of the verse the Syr. adds: "But the Lord shall avenge it with His hand,"—perhaps a marginal gloss. But H., 23, 55, 68, 106, 253, 254 have (perhaps after the Syr.?): οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ κρίματα, interpolated, not unnaturally, from xx. 3.

21. This verse begins the third stanza, which connects itself with *v.* 16 *b* (if not, according to the Syr., with 15 *b*). From what directly affects the body the writer passes to what influences it through the mind. It is probably to this verse that the Talmud refers when it quotes as from Ben Sira (what we also find—although there probably from Prov. xxvii. 1—in St. Matt. vi. 34): "Sorrow not the sorrow of the morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth; perhaps to-morrow he is no more, and so he shall be found sorrowing over a world which is no longer his" (Sanh. 100 *b*; Yebam. 63 *b*). Similarly we read (Ber. 9 *b*), "Suffice sorrow in its hour" (*i.e.* when it comes); and (Jer. Abh. *Z.* 39 *b*), "The sorrow of the hour (immediate sorrow) is sorrow."

23. *thine own soul* = thyself. The Talmud quotes here as from Ben Sira: "Let not care

killed many, and there is no profit therein.

24 Envy and wrath shorten the life, and carefulness bringeth age before the time.

25 ‖A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet.

‖ Or, *A noble.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *Of the desire of riches.* 12 *Of moderation and excess in eating, or drinking wine.*

[anxiety, sorrow] come into thy heart, for care [anxiety, sorrow] hath killed strong men" (in another place, "hath killed many"). (Sanh. 100 *b*.)

24. From sorrow the writer passes to other noxious affections of the mind.

25. The chapter closes with what in all the Greek MSS., except 248, which has it in its right place, stands as xxxiii. 13. In the Syr., which is followed by the Vet. Lat., it is in its right place. Translate: "**A heart noble** [liberal?—probably in contrast to *v.* 24] **and good** [cheerful?] **at** [over: see Winer, pp. 349–351] **meat** [meats] **will give heed to** [attend to—have a care of] **the food.**" As we understand it, a man free from envy and anger and cheerful at table will enjoy his food, and it will do him good. Thus this sentence is not abrupt, but in strict connexion with the preceding context, which treats of health and how to promote it. Fritzsche (whose interpretation alone we will mention) understands it to mean that a liberal heart and one that feels cheerily disposed at meat will have a care for the food—in the sense of seeing to it that there be not any stint—he will not be niggard as regards meat. But this would abruptly introduce what is in no way connected with the preceding context. Fritzsche himself refers to the use of ἐπιμελοῦμαι αὐτοῦ for אָשִׂימָה עֵינִי עָלָיו in Gen. xliv. 21 [and the expression is not used in the LXX. in that sense in any other place: in Ecclus. it occurs only in our verse]. But this surely means, "I will pay attention to him," and cannot in any wise lead to the interpretation which Fritzsche would give to our verse. The Syr. has: "(he that is of) a good heart has much meat, and all that he eats mounts into body." This phrase represents the Rabbinical עלים על גופו ('Abhoth de R. Nathan,' ed. Schechter, p. 82 *a*). The Vet. Lat. seems to have been ambitious of imitating this, although it omits the second clause of the Syr., which indeed may have been only a gloss. It has: "splendidum cor et bonum in epulis est: *epulae enim illius diligenter fiunt.*" We mark that the Syr. is here not followed by any Greek MS.—not even by 248.[1]

As regards the inversion and wrong order in the Greek MSS., not only of *v.* 25, but in the following chapters, a few remarks may here be in place.

The Greek MSS. (with the exception of 248, the "unus vetustus codex" cited by Nobilius) proceed from ch. xxx. 24 to ch. xxxiii. 16, "as one that gathereth." This is continued till xxxvi. 11, "Gather the tribes of Israel together;" after which follow xxx. 25 to xxxiii. 16, "I awaked up last of all," when the rest of xxxvi. 11 is taken up, slightly altered. It is evident that this must have proceeded from a misplacement of the sheets in the archetype of our Greek MSS. Such an accident was more likely to remain uncorrected in a book like the present, than in any of which the matter was more strictly continuous. Hence it happens that a similar case has occurred in the Greek of the Book of Proverbs; that another transposition is found in many of the MSS. of the Aethiopic version of Ecclesiasticus; and yet another in a British Museum MS. of the same version. On a similar transposition in the 'Mostellaria' of Plautus see Ritschl, 'Parerga Plautina.' There, as here, the copyists endeavour by a slight alteration to conceal the abruptness of the transition. While the transposed order is found in the versions clearly derived from the Greek (Syr. Hexaplaris, Aethiopic, Armenian, and Coptic), with the exception of the Old Slavonic, the Vetus Latina and Peschitto-Syriac exhibit that followed by the A. V., and clearly shewn by internal evidence to be correct. This was also exhibited in the Complutensian edition. Owing doubtless to the authority of the Vulgate (into which the Vetus Latina had been received), it was followed in early editions of the LXX., and in the versions of Castalio and Tremellius. It is a sign of the general neglect into which the book had fallen that Fritzsche (p. 169) can claim to be the first person who, on critical grounds, has adopted this as the right order.

CHAPTER XXXI.

This chapter naturally connects itself with the last stanza of ch. xxx. The somewhat Epicurean tone of the latter is now to a certain extent modified, although rather by the moral which prudence would suggest than by the higher principles which true religion would inspire. The general subject of the chapter is the wise use of wealth and of what it procures or offers. A stanza of seven verses in depreciation of too great a desire for wealth, since most serious dangers are often

[1] In regard to what follows after this, see the note on p. 32 of the General Introduction.

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[a] 1 Tim. 6. 9, 10.

WATCHING for [a]riches consumeth the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep.

2 Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep.

3 The rich hath great labour in gathering riches together; and when he resteth, he is filled with his delicates.

4 The poor laboureth in his poor estate; and when he leaveth off, he is still needy. B. C. cir. 200.

5 He that loveth gold shall not be justified, and he that followeth corruption shall have enough thereof.

6 [b]Gold hath been the ruin of many, and their destruction was present. [b] ch. 8. 2.

7 It is a stumblingblock unto them

involved in its acquisition (*vv.* 1–7), is followed by another of four verses (*vv.* 8–11) in praise of him who, while in the possession of wealth, has escaped its perils. The temptations of wealth, especially in the pleasures of the table—or else thoughts of the greed after wealth and the other greed to which it so often leads—suggest stanzas 3 and 4, again respectively of seven and four verses (*vv.* 12–18 and 19–22). In the first of these moderation at table is recommended, while in the second the wisdom of such temperance is shewn. Similarly, in a stanza of six verses (25–30), moderation in wine is enjoined. This stanza is prefaced and followed by what together forms a stanza of three verses (*vv.* 23, 24 + *v.* 31), of which the object is not advice as to our own conduct in regard to food and drink, but as to our conduct towards others in these respects (*vv.* 23, 24), and as to liberality in providing banquets, and in *v.* 31 as to our bearing towards others at wine-parties.

1. *Watching for riches.*] Rather, "**the sleeplessness of wealth**" (Arm., Lat.), *i.e.* the sleeplessness which is caused by it. So Anacreon (Stobaeus, 'Flor.' iii. 241) called a talent a "gift which necessitates sleeplessness" (*δωρεὰν ἣ ἀναγκάζει ἀγρυπνεῖν*). Similarly the Syr., "watching consumeth the flesh of the rich." Apparently עֹשֶׁר and עָשִׁיר were different punctuations.

2. The second clause in the Greek should be rendered: **and sleep waketh up a sore disease**; or (with a few MSS.) "and a sore disease waketh up sleep." The Syr. rendering, "rejecteth," makes it likely that the Heb. here was יקיין ישנה. We believe the reading of the best MSS. to have been original. Probably the whole sentence was a descriptive clause of the *ἀγρυπνία πλούτου* (or rather *πλοῦτος*) which forms the subject of the last verse: "it is a watching care which driveth away sleep; a sore disease which refuseth slumber." We thus avoid the tautology of the present rendering of the first clause. The Syriac rendering for *ἀγρυπνία*, "food," seems difficult to account for, except as a corruption of *māmūn*, "wealth."

3, 4. A contrast between the labours of the poor and rich. The parallelism suggests that *ἐν συναγωγῇ χρημάτων* is not "to collect wealth" (Syr., Fritzsche), but, "**owing to the accumulation of his property**," he had to pull down his barns to build greater ones (De Wette). Compare Marcus Aurelius, v. 12. The latter half of the verse represents the time when he says to his soul, "Eat, drink, and be merry." On the other hand, the poor labours, "**owing to the decrease of his living**," for the opposite reason; and at the end, "after sparing and labouring leaves not even enough for his burial" (Aristophanes, 'Plutus,' 557). The following verses are quoted from Ben Sira in the Talmud: "All the days of the poor are evil, Ben Sira says, even his nights. His roof is amongst the lowest of the rooves; and his vineyard at the top of the mountains; the rain of other rooves [flows] down upon his; and the soil of his vineyard [falls] down to other vineyards" (Babh. B. 146*a*; Sanh. 100*b*; Kethubh. 110*b*).

5. *he that followeth corruption shall have enough thereof.*] For "thereof" (Alex.) the best MS. has "**himself.**" "Corruption" is variously taken to mean "the corruptible" (Luther, Fritzsche), or "that which leads to corruption" (Baduellus, who compares Gal. vi. 8). In both cases the parallelism is lost. The Syriac has: "he that pursueth wealth shall be led astray thereby;" whence Grotius conjectured *διάφορον — ὀλισθήσεται*. The first of these corrections (which perhaps should rather be *ἀδιάφορον*) we are inclined to accept. Instead of the second, we think it more probable that שבע was a false reading for ישגה, of which, perhaps, the last letter was lost in the Greek translator's copy. *Αὐτοῦ* was perhaps altered variously to *αὐτός* and *αὐτῆς* when *διαφθορᾶν* was written; compare the Coptic rendering, "he that pursueth it shall be filled with corruption."

6. *Gold hath been the ruin, &c.*] Rather, "**many have been delivered unto ruin for the sake of gold, and their destruction came in their face.**" The verse (as the Syriac shews) means, they perished for all their gold could do; it could

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that sacrifice unto it, and every fool shall be taken therewith.

[c] Luke 6. 24.

8 [c]Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and hath not gone after gold.

9 Who is he? and we will call him blessed: for wonderful things hath he done among his people.

10 Who hath been tried thereby, and found perfect? then let him glory. Who might offend, and hath not offended? or done evil, and hath not done it?

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11 His good shall be established, and the congregation shall declare his alms.

[d] Ps. 141. 4. Prov. 23. 1, 2, 3. ch. 37. 29.

12 If thou sit at a bountiful table, [d] ‖ be not greedy upon it, and say not, There is much meat on it.

‖ Gr. *open not thy throat upon it.*

13 Remember that [e] a wicked eye is an evil thing: and what is created more wicked than an eye? therefore it weepeth ‖ upon every occasion.

[e] Matt. 6. 23. & 20. 15.

‖ Or, *before every thing that is presented.*

14 Stretch not thine hand whithersoever it looketh, and thrust it not with him into the dish.

not prevent the most direct and obvious evils happening to them. Cp. Prov. xi. 4, 28.

7. *unto them that sacrifice unto it, &c.*] With this expression commentators compare Ephes. v. 5, "nor covetous man who is an idolater." The Syriac gives us an easier figure: "Riches are a stumbling-block to fools, and whosoever strays therein stumbles" (or "is overthrown thereby"). The words representing "them that sacrifice" and "fool" have changed places. It is probable that the Syriac order is right, and that the Hebrew word was עֹבֵר, misread by the Greek עֹבֵד; the literal meaning would then be, "Riches are a stumbling-block in the way of fools, and every [one] that passeth by stumbles thereon." "Servus fit rei cui imperare debet" (Grot.).

8. *hath not gone after gold.*] Has guided it instead of being guided by it.

10. *then let him glory.*] Lit., **let it be for a glory unto him.** In the first clause the Greek seems to be more correct than the Syriac: "who has clung to it and hath peace?" The author probably used the Aramaic verb בדק for "to try," misread by the Syrian דבק, "to cleave;" while the rest may be explained from the various punctuations, יְשֻׁלַּם and יְשֻׁלָּם.

11. *His good.*] The possession thereof will be secured him.

his alms.] Here more probably **his righteousness.**

12. Third stanza: on moderation at table. The Latin has the heading *de continentia.* The author has in mind Prov. xxiii. Compare the precepts on eating in 'Massekheth Kallāh,' p. 17*b*; 'Derekh Erets' (ed. Tawrogi), p. 29; and Musonius *ap.* Stobaeum, i. 369, 45.

12–18. On *temperance.*

12. *bountiful.*] Rather, **plenteous.** ἐπὶ τραπέζης is a Semiticism; cf. the Syr. here and Wright, 'Arabic Grammar,' ii. p. 179 ("because a person sitting at table rises *above* the level of it").

be not greedy.] Lit., **open not thy throat.** The author seems to be merely interpreting the phrase in Prov. *l. c.* 2, "put a knife at thy throat." The warning is probably not so much against greediness, as against making any remark.

There is much [*meat*] *on it.*] The γέ is idiomatic, and represents our "What a lot!" (Kühner, 'Grammar,' ii. 733.) The Syriac, "it is not enough for me," is characteristic. The praising of the food in Oriental countries is done by the host; the mere act of admiration by anyone else would be regarded as dangerous. See Lane, 'Modern Egyptians,' i. 315: "When a person expresses what is considered improper or curious admiration of anything, he is generally reproved by the individual whom he has thus alarmed;" and especially ibid. 183, when any one is invited to partake of a meal, "he must reply if he do not accept the invitation, 'Heneeän' ('may it be productive of enjoyment'), or use some similar expression; else it will be feared that an evil eye has been cast upon the food." Various remedies for the effects of such a phrase as "how pretty!" (καλόν γε) are given in the former passage.

13. *Remember that a wicked eye is an evil thing.*] Syr., "that God hates (יִשְׂנָא אֱלָהִים) an evil eye." The Greek text has perhaps toned down this powerful expression.

therefore it weepeth upon every occasion.] Rather, **of the whole countenance.** The thought is rightly explained by Fritzsche: as a sign of its wickedness, or in punishment of it, it alone of the whole countenance weeps. In Greek and some other languages δακρύω, κλάω are identified with being punished.

14. *whithersoever it looketh.*] "Whatever thou seest," according to one MS. and the Syr.; and this would be a more natural expression than that in the text. It is not unlikely, however, that we should render (with Grotius) "wherever he looketh" [*i.e.* the master of the feast]; and with this agrees

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15 Judge of thy neighbour by thyself: and be discreet in every point.

16 Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated.

17 Leave off first for manners' sake; [f] and be not unsatiable, lest thou offend.

[f] ch. 37. 29.

18 When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all.

19 A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured, [‖] and he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed.

‖ Or, *and lieth not puffing and blowing.*

20 Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early, and his wits are with him: but the pain of watching, and choler, and pangs of the belly, are with an unsatiable man.

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21 And if thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest.

22 My son, hear me, and despise me not, and at the last thou shalt find as I told thee: in all thy works be quick, so shall there no sickness come unto thee.

23 [g] Whoso is liberal of his meat, men shall speak well of him; and

[g] Prov. 22. 9.

the latter part of the verse: **and press not with him** [*i.e.* come not into conflict with him] **in the dish** (as it should be rendered).

15. *Judge of thy neighbour.*] Lit., **the things of thy neighbour**, *i.e.* his wishes. Compare Tob. iv. 15 (Fritzsche), and the phrase מיחייש דעתו של חברו (Kallâh, *l. c.*).

and be discreet in every point.] Rather, **on all occasions.** The clause is omitted by the Syr. and Vet. Lat., but seems half-apologetic for the minuteness and apparent triviality of these precepts.

16. *as it becometh a man.*] Lit., **like a human being**; but the original was probably כאיש, "like a man." Lat. *quasi homo frugi*; rather, a grown man, ἀνήρ (Barhebraeus). Διαμασᾶσθαι (*devour*) must refer to some childish and offensive way. The word is used by the comedian Apollophanes (Kock, 'C. A. F.' p. 798; compare Aristophanes, 'Vespae,' 780) of a prolonged mastication. The opposite vice would be καταπιεῖν. Similar precepts in Kallâh, *l. c.*: "ne comedat cunctis digitis; ne ingerat manum ori suo; ne bibat dum os eius plenum est." The first of these is to avoid the appearance of gluttony; the latter two, to avoid giving offence.

17. *Leave off first for manners' sake.*] A most successful translation.

18. These precepts will be illustrated by Lane, *l. c.*, 183: "The master of the house first begins to eat; the guests or others immediately follow his example: . . . when only one dish is placed upon the tray at the time, each takes from it a few mouthfuls, and it is quickly removed to give place to another."

19. The gloss *vinum*, which appears in the Vet. Lat. ("a little wine"), apparently at an early period supplanted the text; since Clem. Alex. 'Paed.' 2, 2, quotes the verse with οἶνος only. Comp. Prov. xiii. 24.

20. *Sound sleep.*] Lit., **sleep of health.**

of moderate eating.] Lit., **upon a moderate stomach.** Similar observations in Horace, 'Sat.' ii. 2, 81 (Fritzsche). Syr.: "with a man that is of moderate habits;" and the word "man" seems recommended by the second clause.

21. *arise, go forth, and vomit.*] According to the better reading, **rise up in the middle**, *i.e.* of the banquet; μεσοπορῶν = μεσῶν, "being in the middle of a meal" (so Arm.). Syr., "remove thyself from the midst of the throng;" and so the Vet. Lat., *surge e medio.* Which of these two was the meaning of the original, "Rise from the midst of the party" or "of the meal," is not certain; nor is the difference very great. Compare Lane, *l. c.*, p. 187: "Each person as soon as he has finished says, 'Praise be to God,' and gets up without waiting till the others have done." Fritzsche's paraphrase, "rise up and take a good walk," can scarcely be a serious explanation. The addition "vomit" (248, Co., and Lat.) is a suggestion of the purpose for which any one would rise; a suggestion drawn, we may hope, from Roman rather than from Hebrew customs. Compare the well-known place, Cic. 'ad Att.' xiii. 52, 1, of Caesar: ἐμετικὸν *agebat; itaque et edit et bibit* ἀδεῶς ("he intended to take an emetic after dinner," Watson). Yet it may be merely a dittography.

22. *quick.*] Rather, **active.** Syr., "humble;" probably an improvement. Fritzsche connects this *activity* with the supposed advice of the last verse.

23. *liberal of his meat.*] "Qui laute vivit seu largiter dat epula," Schleusner. Syr., "A good eye that is good upon bread is blest," perhaps "contaminating" the text from Prov. xxii. 9.

men shall speak well of him.] Lit., **lips shall bless.** 'Abhoth de R. N.,' p. 68 *b*:

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the report of his good housekeeping will be believed.

24 But against him that is a niggard of his meat the whole city shall murmur; and the testimonies of his niggardness shall not be doubted of.

[h] Isai. 5. 22.
[i] Judith 13. 2, 8.

25 Shew not thy [h]valiantness in wine; [i]for wine hath destroyed many.

26 The furnace proveth the edge by dipping: so doth wine the hearts of the proud by drunkenness.

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27 [k] Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately: what life is then to a man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad.

[k] Ps. 104. 15. Prov. 31. 6, 7.

28 Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind:

29 But wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling.

30 Drunkenness increaseth the rage

"Three things endear a man to the world: an open hand, *a spread table*, and *levitas capitis*."

of his good housekeeping.] Rather, **of his goodness** (lit., "beauty"). Syr., "and a good witness," mistaking טוּבָה for טֻבָּה.

24. Omitted in the Syr., owing to the homoeoteleuton.

him that is niggardly.] Mistaken by the Vet. Lat. *in nequissimo pane*, somewhat naturally. The verse is a reminiscence of Prov. xi. 25. Cp. *sup.* xiv. 10.

25–31. On *wine*.

25. *Shew not thy valiantness.*] From Isa. v. 22.

wine hath destroyed.] Syr., "old wine;" the original therefore varied the word in the clauses (*e.g.* יין and חמר).

26. *The furnace proveth the edge by dipping.*] The interpretation of this verse offers some difficulties. Commentators seem to confuse two processes,—the testing of gold and silver (with which the effect of wine is compared by Theognis, *v.* 499, ed. Bergk), and the dipping of red-hot iron in water to give it temper. As described in 'Encycl. Metropol.' viii. 408 *b*, in the latter process the steel is first heated and immersed to give it *hardness*, and a second time to give it temper. The degree of hardness attained is judged of (in the second process) by the colour which the metal takes in the several stages of the heating (ibid.). The verse might allude to this latter fact, and we might construe, "The furnace tests the hardness by colouring," with which the latter clause, "so doth wine the hearts of the proud by fighting" (*v. infra*), might be brought into agreement. At the same time it is very improbable that any such technicality is alluded to; and we have reason to suspect some mistranslation. The Syriac has: "As the furnace trieth the work of the goldsmith, even so is wine the provoker of sin." The second clause in the Greek is variously read, καρδίαν ὑπερηφάνων (Clem. Alex.); καρδίας ἐν μάχῃ ὑπερηφάνων (Vat.); ἐν καρδίας καὶ ἐν μάχῃ (155); ἐν καρδίᾳ ὑπερηφάνων ἐν μέθῃ (248, Co.). It would appear that καρδίας and ἐν μάχῃ are various translations of בקרב (or מקרב); and that the Syriac as well as the Greek versions go back to an original כן יין קרב זדין, "so doth wine the heart of the proud." As the colour of the steel is brought out by the furnace, so the inherent pride is brought out by wine. In 'Abhoth.' p. 68 *b* (ed. Schechter), wine is mentioned as one of the three things by which men are tested.

Fritzsche interprets the second clause (which he renders "so doth wine the hearts in the strife of the proud"), "according as the person who has drunk keeps cool or otherwise."

27. *as good as life.*] Syr., "like living water." כמו חים for כמו חים?

what life is then.] Rather, **is there.** Similarly Panyasis (*ap.* Stob. 'Flor.' i. 364) says, "That man seems not to me to live who, abstaining from wine, drinks another beverage."

These sentiments were perhaps natural at a period when there were practically no drinks known save wine and water; comp. Virg., 'Georg.' i. *ad init.*

28. *bringeth.*] Lit., **is.** The Syriac transposes ἐν καιρῷ into the first clause, rendering it "good times."

29. *bitterness of the mind.*] The Syr. has "pain, poverty, and headache." The verse should rather have been rendered, **Bitterness of soul is wine that is drunk with excess mid brawling.** The meaning of the last word, ἀντιπτώματι ("quarrelling"), is not clear; in xxxii. 30 it can be rendered "stumbling." Arm. (here), "opposition;" Fritzsche, "mutual assaults." In 'Abhoth de R. N.,' p. 109, wine is reckoned among the seven things of which a little is good, and a large amount harmful. Compare Theognis, *vv.* 509, 10.

30. *Drunkenness increaseth the rage of the fool till he offend.*] Syriac, "Too much wine

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of a fool till he offend : it diminisheth strength, and maketh wounds.

31 Rebuke not thy neighbour at the wine, and despise him not in his mirth : give him no despiteful words, and press not upon him with urging him [to drink.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *Of his duty that is chief or master in a feast.* 14 *Of the fear of God.* 18 *Of counsel.* 20 *Of a ragged and a smooth way.* 23 *Trust not to any but to thyself, and to God.*

B. C. cir. 200.

IF thou be made the master [of a feast,] lift not thyself up, but be among them as one of the rest ; take diligent care for them, and so sit down.

2 And when thou hast done all thy office, take thy place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a crown for thy well ordering of the feast.

3 Speak, thou that art the elder, for it becometh thee, but with sound judgment ; and hinder not musick.

maketh a stumbling to the fool." This we accept, supposing the Hebrew of the last words to have been עֶבְרָה לכסיל מכשול, misread by the Greek translator עֶבְרַת כסיל למ׳.

and maketh wounds.] Lit., **and addeth wounds** (יֹסֵף), almost "and multiplieth wounds" (Syr.).

31. *at the wine.*] Lit., **at the wine-party.**

with urging him to drink.] Rather, **with a demand for repayment** (Lat., Arm.). Cp. xxix. 28. As, however, the Syriac has "before men," it would seem that we must accept ἀπαντήσει (248, Co.) as the true reading: rendering "and wrangle not with him openly."

CHAPTER XXXII.

The admonitions of ch. xxxi. in regard to feasts naturally lead to others concerning the bearing of those who either preside at a feast —the *hegemon* or *symposiarch*—or at least occupy a prominent position in it (*vv.* 1–6). This again gives rise to admonitions as to the conduct of younger men (in another stanza of six verses: *vv.* 7–12). The more serious tone which the writer has gradually adopted leads, in a third stanza of six verses (*vv.* 13–18), to the admonition to be guided by the fear of the Lord and the counsel of wise and experienced men. Substantially the same is the subject of the last stanza (also of six verses: *vv.* 19–24), although it is presented in a more epigrammatic form. Thus the chapter consists of four stanzas, each of six verses. The transition from the First Part of the chapter (*vv.* 1–12) to the Second Part, which embodies both the more general and the more religious part of these admonitions, is clearly marked (see the note on *v.* 13).

1. *the master* [*of a feast*].] Appointed by lot or election in the companies described by the Classics (*e.g.* Pollux, vi. 11). See Wetstein on St. John ii. 9, who cites from Plutarch's 'Symposiaca' similar precepts. The mention of the office would seem to be rare in the Rabbinic writings.

be among them as one of the rest.] The Syriac adds the precept "sit not down at the head of the rich." Perhaps these words are genuine, the last word being slightly corrupted in the original (עָשִׁיר for עָרִיס), and meant "sit not down at the head of the couch."

take diligent care for them.] This, according to Plutarch, *l. c.*, would refer to the nature and quantity of the wine to be given to each.

2. *that thou mayest be merry with them.*] Rather, **through them.** "Ut gaudeas cum videbis illis placere quae ordinasti." Grot.

and receive a crown for thy well-ordering of the feast.] Fritzsche finds a reference to a supposed custom of *crowning* the successful symposiarch,—a custom to which the ancients, perhaps, make no allusion. He seems to us rightly to reject the explanation of the older critics, who thought of the crowns which were worn at drinking-parties by the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps also by the Hebrews (Wisdom ii. 8 ; Isaiah xxviii. 1–5 ; Riehm, s. v. *Kranz*). The Syriac has here "that thou mayest receive *honour* at the *table*;" the Vet. Lat., "ut *dignationem* consequaris *corrogationis*." The agreement of these two important witnesses seems to shew that the original had not "crown," but only "honour;" although, if the word אֵאר was used, it might reasonably have been construed in both senses, though employed only in the latter. It is rather more difficult to arrive at a conclusion about the last word, which the Latin renders so strangely by *corrogationis;* probably = "of the club" (Grotius; see the last edition of Ducange). But the Greek (which is well rendered in the A. V.) gives an excellent meaning.

3. *and hinder not musick.*] It is remarkable that Chrysostom cites this passage (xii. 395, Ben.) with the word "not" expressly omitted: τί ἐστιν καὶ ἐμποδίσεις μουσικά ; δείκνυσιν ἐκ

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4 [a] Pour not out words where there is a musician, and shew not forth wisdom out of time.

[a] Eccles. 3, 7. ch. 20. 7.

5 A concert of musick in a banquet of wine is as a signet of carbuncle set in gold.

6 As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold, so is the melody of musick with pleasant wine.

7 Speak, young man, if there be need of thee: and yet scarcely when thou art twice asked.

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8 Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words; be as one that knoweth and yet holdeth his tongue.

9 [b] If thou be among great men, make not thyself equal with them; and when ancient men are in place, use not many words.

[b] Job 32. 6.

10 Before the thunder goeth lightning; and before a shamefaced man shall go favour.

11 Rise up betimes, and be not

τούτου ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως αὐλὸς καὶ κιθάρα καὶ σύριγγες ἡδὺ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς πρεσβύτου διδασκαλία . . . διὸ καί φησιν · ἐμποδίσεις μουσικά · τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐάσεις αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι, ἐπισκοτίσεις αὐτοῖς, συσκιάσεις αὐτά ("hence he says thou wilt hinder the music; *i.e.* thou wilt not suffer it to appear, but wilt obscure it, throw it into the shade"). The same reading is found in 248, Co.; and it is not impossible that it is right. The text has in other ways got into some confusion, for *vv.* 3, 7, 8, which deal with the same subject, are all omitted in the Syriac. Clemens Alex. (173 B, ed. Potter) quotes the verse again in a different form, but more like that of Chrysostom than our text.

4. *Pour not out words.*] Rather, "prattle;" late Heb. שיחה.

where there is a musician.] Rather, **an entertainment**; since the word *ἀκρόαμα* includes the performances of jesters, story-tellers, and acrobats, as well as those of musicians, vocal and instrumental, "all of whom were employed to entertain the guests at the end of the banquets" (Casaubon on Athenaeus, bk. xiv., the first half of which contains a lengthy description of these performances). The Latin version, "where there is *no* attention," is characteristic; one Greek MS. has the same mistake; the Arm. also renders "attention," but is otherwise faithful. The Syr. renders "where wine is being drunk."

and shew not forth wisdom out of time [Syr. "at all times;" בלא עת would be less ambiguous than בכל עת.] *I.e.* do not play the sage when others are laughing. Compare Athenaeus, *l. c.*, p. 613 d.

5. *A concert of musick.*] Nearly "a band."

a signet of carbuncle set in gold.] Lit., **upon golden ornament**. Syr., "like a seal upon a purse of gold." On this stone, probably the ruby, see Riehm, 'Hdw.' s. v. *Edelsteine*, i. p. 296 b. The sentiment is very like Od. ix. 7; it is scarcely improved by the transformation of the "concert" into the "praise of God" (Syr.). Comp. Prov. xxv. 11.

6. *As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold.*] Syr. "like a necklace of gold, precious stones, and emeralds;" to which reading we are inclined to give the preference, supposing that the Greek is merely a second rendering of 5 *a*, which had been repeated by error in the translator's copy.

so is the melody of musick.] Syr. "good words."

7, 8. These verses are omitted by Syr.

7. *and yet scarcely when thou art* [rather, **hast been**] *twice asked.*] The verse is similarly rendered in the Vet. Lat. and Arm. Fritzsche translates, "yet scarcely twice even if it be desired" (after Baduellus).

8. *comprehending.*] Literally, *multum in parvo*. Compare Aeschylus, 'Suppl.' 200, *καὶ μὴ πρόλεσχος μηδ' ἐφολκὸς ἐν λόγῳ γένῃ*: and for the effect described in *b*, Hor. 'Sat.' ii. 6, 57, "iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti." Compare generally Riehm, *l. c.*, s. v. *Gastmahl*, and 'Derekh Erets,' p. 10 (ed. Tawrogi).

9. *make not thyself equal with them.*] Syr. "play not the ruler:" Heb., perhaps תמשל, which might be pointed so as to give either sense.

and when ancient men are in place.] The better MSS. read: **when another is speaking**. The reading of the A. V. is that of Co., supported by Syr., Lat., and Copt.; whereas 248 and Arm. represent a middle stage, "where there are speakers." To us it seems evident that the received reading is correct; and a miswriting of the Greek will probably be the simplest account of the variant.

use not many words.] Lit., **prate not much**.

10. *goeth.*] Rather, **hasteneth**. This verse is omitted in the Syr., and was considered by Bretschneider as an interpolation,

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B. C. cir. 200. the last; but get thee home without delay.

12 There take thy pastime, and do what thou wilt: but sin not by proud speech.

13 And for these things bless him that made thee, and hath replenished thee with his good things.

14 Whoso feareth the Lord will receive his discipline; and they that seek him early shall find favour.

15 He that seeketh the law shall be filled therewith: but the hypocrite will be offended thereat. B. C. cir. 200.

16 They that fear the Lord shall find judgment, and shall kindle justice as a light.

17 A sinful man will not be reproved, but findeth an excuse according to his will.

18 A man of counsel will be considerate; but a strange and proud

but on insufficient grounds. The meaning is thus given by Fritzsche (after Grot.): "A modest and graceful manner precedes the speech of a young man, just as regularly as the lightning precedes the thunder." With this we might compare such a description as that in Plato's 'Charmides,' p. 158 c (Jowett's translation, i. p. 14): "Charmides (there the model of a *νεανίσκος σώφρων*) blushed, and the blush heightened his beauty, for modesty is becoming in youth; he then said very ingenuously," &c. We should, however, prefer to regard *χάρις* as the favour which he inspires, nor do we perceive any allusion to his *speech*.

11. *Rise up betimes.*] Compare Philostratus v. Apollon. p. 26, ed. Kayser: *οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν νύκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀναλύοντες.*

and be not the last.] Lit., **and lead not the rear.** The Vet. Lat. has "at the time of rising hinder not thyself;" pointing בְּעֵת קוּם for בְּעֵת קוּם; and this seems to have been the punctuation of the Syriac, which, however, is slightly corrupt. Οὐρώγει probably represents the Heb. תְּאַסֵּף, which the Latin (if it had the Hebrew) might have pointed תְּאָסֵף.

without delay.] Lit., **and be not idle.** Syr. "while there is memory in thee;" Lat. *et illic avocare.*

12. *but sin not by proud speech.*] "But not with sin and proud speech" (Lat., Arm.). Syr. "in the fear of God and not with loss," in the last words of which we recognise the common confusion between חסר and חסד. Drusius and Grotius suppose some bodily exercise or game referred to.

13. *for these things.*] Rather, **after** or **upon these things.**

replenished thee.] Lit., **inebriateth thee.** Perhaps the Heb. original had כִּישְׁבִּיעֲךָ, of which the Greek translation would be a somewhat unfortunate rendering. Drusius cites an observation of Jerome that the Hebrew language puts "*ebrietas* pro *satietate.*"

14. The Syriac connects this paragraph with the last by introducing the words "in the fear of the God" into *v.* 12 *b*.

His discipline.] Omit "His." For the expression compare xviii. 14. Syr. "he that seeketh the service of God will receive instruction; and when he prayeth before Him, He will answer him;" omitting *v.* 15.

15. *He that seeketh the law.*] According to Fritzsche, "endeavours to fulfil it." We incline rather to the older view, according to which it means "seeketh its real meaning."

but the hypocrite will be offended thereat.] The passage reminds us of St. John vii. 17, "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." The difficulties of the purport of the Law will only be experienced by those who have no serious desire to put it in practice. See Westcott, *ad l. c.*

16. *shall find judgment.*] They will discover that true purport.

shall kindle justice as a light.] Syr. "shall produce much wisdom from their heart." The Hebrew would seem to have been יְצִיאוּ = يضيئون, which the Syrian translator pointed יְצִיאוּ; a curious vestige of this familiar Arabic verb. ("From their heart" (Syr.) is probably therefore an explanation; compare with the phrase Pindar, 'N.' iv. 8, *ὅτι γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας*, and the Rabbinical מוציאים מלבם, *e.g.* Midr. 'Schochar-Tob,' p. 3 *a*.) Grotius thinks of their good deeds shining forth throughout the world; perhaps having in mind the technical use of כיצוה for "almsgiving," &c. But more probably "righteous sentences" are meant (Fritzsche).

17. *will not be reproved.*] Lit., **declines** (or parries) **reproof.**

but findeth an excuse.] The Greek word is the same which was used for "concert" in *v.* 5. It is interpreted in the Arm. version as "models;" *i.e.* cases in which others have acted as he; by Grotius and Fritzsche, as "an interpretation," viz. of the Law. Plainly

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B. C. cir. 200. man is not daunted with fear, even when of himself he hath done without counsel.

19 Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done, repent not.

20 Go not in a way wherein thou mayest fall, and stumble not among the stones.

21 Be not confident in a plain way.

22 And beware of thine own children. B. C. cir. 200.

23 In every good work trust thy own soul; for this is the keeping of the commandments.

24 He that believeth in the Lord taketh heed to the commandment; and he that trusteth in him ‖shall fare never the worse. ‖ Or, *shall not be hurt.*

the "interpretation" of the dream in Dan. ii. 25, where the word is used by the LXX., would be quite different to that implied in the present case. We believe the sense to be rightly expressed by the Syriac, "and shall make his path according to his will." He will find out his own rules and take no guidance.

18. *will be considerate.*] Lit., **will not disregard an idea.** There are many difficulties in this verse.

(*a.*) "A strange and proud man" seems an improper expression. Gaab (followed by Fritzsche) writes ἀλλοτρίου [better ἀλλότριον], and renders "will not disregard the suggestion of a stranger." We believe ἀλλότριος and ὑπερήφανος to be both translations of the same word זָר, which by the first translator was read זָר; the correction of the reviser, ὑπερήφανος, was introduced as an addition.

(*b.*) "Even when of himself he hath done without counsel" is unsatisfactory as a rendering of μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ βουλῆς, out of which no meaning can easily be obtained. Fritzsche supposes the original to have been עמו לא עצה, and thus evolves the thought: "The proud man pays no attention to the opinion of another; and when he has acted, *has no counsel, i.e.* is completely at a loss." We believe ἄνευ βουλῆς to be a false repetition of the commencement of the next verse; and μετὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ to be a gloss upon ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι of the second clause of *v.* 19. These conjectures are confirmed by MS. 157 and partly by the Armenian version, which reads as follows: 19. ἄνευ βουλῆς μηθὲν ποιήσῃς . . . μεταμέλου. 18. ἄνευ βουλῆς μὴ παρίδῃς διανόημα. ἀλλότριος καὶ ὑπερήφανος οὐ καταπτήξει φόβον. The version, however, breaks off here. After the ejection of these there remains: "A man of counsel will not overlook an idea, and a proud man will feel no terror." If we compare the Syriac rendering of clause *a*, "leaves not wisdom hidden," it will appear probable that the original had לא יעלים עצה (Job xlii. 3)—"to darken counsel." According to Gesenius, 'Thes.' *s. v.*, עלם means to *censure* it, to endeavour to present it in an unfavourable light. The second clause is satisfactorily *Targumed* by the Syriac: "but the wicked man hath no control over his tongue." Compare Prov. xii. 15.

19. *advice.*] Rather, **counsel, or deliberation.**

and when thou hast once done.] "With deliberation," as glossed by the Greek (*v. supra*).

repent not.] *I.e.* thou shalt not repent. Cp. Ewald, 'Lehrb.' p. 602.

20. *and stumble not among the stones.*] Rather, **stony places.** The Syriac renders "lest a second time thou stumble." The warning conveyed, according to Fritzsche, is to avoid courses which may easily lead to difficult situations.

21. *Be not confident in a plain way.*] The meaning of the original is not very clear. The usage of the Greek of this period seems in favour of the rendering in the A. V., which is also that of S. H. The warning will then be not to trust too much to the apparent ease and simplicity of a course. The Syriac, "the path of the wicked," and the Latin *laboriosae*, are probably bold alterations.

22. *And beware of thine own children.*] An illustration, according to Fr., of the last warning: even children must not be trusted, however natural an object of confidence they might seem. The sentiment, however, seems to us here so unnatural and inappropriate that we incline to the Syriac text, "and be of good heed in thy paths;" supposing the Greek to represent the corruption of ארחותיך into אחריתך, which has occurred already.

23. *trust thy own soul.*] *I.e.* "be self-confident;" or we might render it "believe *with* thy soul:" but in either case the thought would be unsatisfactory; for surely *self-confidence* cannot be said to be a way of keeping the commandments. The Syriac renders: "keep thy soul:" שְׁמֹר נַפְשֶׁךָ = "be cautious" (Prov. xvi. 17, xxii. 5, &c.), which not only gives an intelligible phrase, but also restores the play on the two senses of the word "keep" intended by the author. Πίστευε comes from *v.* 21 or *v.* 24.

24. *He that believeth in the Lord.*] So Lat. and late MSS.; Vat., Alex., **in the law.**

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *The safety of him that feareth the Lord.* 2 *The wise and the foolish.* 7 *Times and seasons are of God.* 10 *Men are in his hands as clay in the hands of the potter.* 18 *Chiefly regard thyself.* 24 *Of servants.*

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[a] THERE shall no evil happen unto him that feareth the Lord; [b] but in temptation even again he will deliver him.

[a] Prov. 12 21. 1 Pet. 3. 13.

[b] 2 Pet. 2. 9.

2 A wise man hateth not the law;

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The structure of this chapter is somewhat difficult. It evidently treats of two different subjects, rather loosely strung together. The first section closes with *v.* 18. Its occasion seems to be taken from the second part of ch. xxxii. (see introductory remarks to it). As we have it in the Greek version, Part I. of ch. xxxiii. contains five stanzas, consisting respectively of three verses in the first and second stanza (*vv.* 1–3, 4–6); then of a third stanza of six verses (*vv.* 7–12), which is followed again by two stanzas, each of three verses (*vv.* 13–15 and 16–18). In this arrangement the central (third) stanza of six verses (*vv.* 7–12) is evidently the most important, and contains the main theme of discussion. This, if we understand it rightly, is kindred to the problem which partly formed the topic of discussion in the Book of Ecclesiastes—viz. the seeming arbitrariness in the dealings of Providence, the chance or else fatality which appears to attach to earthly things. A problem this, which—as we can readily understand—would naturally, almost inevitably, engage later Jewish thinking, not untinged by scepticism, when its ancestral religious teaching was—not without the influence of Grecianism—brought face to face with the moral problems presented in life. This great question, prompted perhaps by the second part of ch. xxxii., the writer seeks to answer. He prepares for it in the two stanzas (*vv.* 1–3 and 4–6) which precede its statement in the central stanza (*vv.* 7–12); he finds a solution for it in the stanza which follows (*vv.* 13–15), and he gathers up his life-experience with its struggles and its victory in the attainment of that solution, in the stanza with which the section concludes (*vv.* 16–18).

Before proceeding, we mark that the Syr. version omits *vv.* 2–4. To the question whether they really existed in the Hebrew original of the older Siracide and were omitted for dogmatic reasons by the Syriac translator (or his redactor), or whether they must be considered as a Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide, it is not easy to give an answer. On the one hand, the stanza introducing and preparing for the main question in *vv.* 7–12 would give good sense even if we were to omit (as in the Syr.) *vv.* 2–4. In that case *v.* 1 would set forth the general and comforting assurance, in view of the seeming prevalence of mere fate or else accident, that all shall be well with him who feareth the Lord. Verses 2 and 3 would next set forth in warning the influence of this great problem of life on the two classes differing from the pious servant of God: the fool—on whom all has simply a bewildering effect (*v.* 5), and the mocking sceptic who laughs at everything, even as a stallion who neighs under every rider (*v.* 6). Thus far the argument in favour of the omission of *vv.* 2–4 in the Syr. But, on the other hand, there are dogmatic and other reasons which might prompt the Syr. translator to omit these verses from his rendering of the Hebrew original. Thus *v.* 3 might seem a dangerous and rationalistic depreciation of the ancient Mosaic oracle by the *Urim*. And if that verse was to be left out, it would be natural to omit a whole triplet for the sake of symmetry; and in that case it must be *vv.* 2–4, since neither *v.* 1 nor yet *vv.* 5 and 6 could have been omitted.

On the whole, we are inclined to decide in favour of the originality and authenticity of the verses (2–4) omitted in the Syr., and for the following reasons:—(1) They are requisite for the symmetrical structure of the whole section (two stanzas of three verses, one of six verses, and again two of three verses each); (2) they occur in the Vet. Lat.—and there apparently not from the Greek, but either directly from the Hebrew or corrected by it (see the notes); (3) a sentiment such as in *v.* 3 entirely accords with the theological standpoint of the older Siracide, however objectionable it might seem to a later translator, zealous for orthodoxy as he understood it.

No special difficulties attach to the second part of ch. xxxiii. (*vv.* 19-end). It consists of three stanzas, respectively of five, five, and three verses. The subject is so different from that treated in the first part that we might be tempted to regard this part as displaced, if it were not that we call to mind that such sudden, almost capricious, transitions seem in character with the disguised discussion of a problem such as in the previous verses. The first stanza (*vv.* 19–23) bears on the favourite subject of family life; the second stanza (*vv.* 24–28) gives advice on the treatment of slaves; the third (*vv.* 29–31) enjoins the cautions of religion and prudence in the matter.

1. *in temptation.*] Rather, **trial.**

even again he will deliver him.] Heb. (cf.

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but he that is an hypocrite therein is as a ship in a storm.

3 A man of understanding trusteth in the law; and the law is faithful unto him, ‖ as an oracle.

‖ Or, *as the asking of Urim.*

4 Prepare what to say, and so thou shalt be heard: and bind up instruction, and then make answer.

‖ Gr. *bowels.*

5 The ‖ heart of the [c] foolish is like a cartwheel; and his thoughts are like a rolling axletree.

[c] ch. 21. 14.

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6 A stallion horse is as a mocking friend, he neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.

7 Why doth one day excel another, when as all the light of every day in the year is of the sun?

8 By the knowledge of the Lord

Syr.) ושב ומלט, "He will turn and deliver him;" *i.e.* He will reverse what is apparently His present purpose: the *καί* represents the Hebrew sign of the apodosis. We might supply "even in trials [no evil will happen to him but]."

2–4. These verses are wanting in the Syr. (see introductory remarks).

2. *the law.*] Lat. *mandata et justitias.* On the assumption that *vv.* 2–4 were in the original Hebrew, we would suggest that the term rendered "the law" had been מוּסָר, which should rather have been rendered "chastening." The wise man does not repine at the Divine chastening, but "kisses the rod;" the half-hearted, however, is thrown out of his course by it. For clause *b* the Lat. has "and will not founder like a ship in a storm." The Heb. was probably וכישל, variously interpreted as וְכָשַׁל and וּכְסִיל. We believe the Latin interpreter to have been right.

3. *as an oracle.*] See margin. For the readings (which do not interfere with the sense), see Fritzsche.

4. *bind up.*] The metaphor is from provisions for a journey that are packed up. Lat. *conservabit.* The imperatives (or imperfects) of צרר and נצר have perhaps been confounded as elsewhere.

then make answer.] "Then" is omitted in the best MSS.

5. *The heart.*] Lit. **bowels.**

like a cartwheel.] Syr. "like a swift wheel." The point of comparison, according to some, is their unsteadiness; according to others, the fact that they move always in the same groove. The latter, which is Fritzsche's suggestion, seems to us very improbable; whereas in support of the former interpretation we might quote Virgil's comparison of the frenzied Amata to a top ('Æn.' vii. 378), and the well-known lines of Tibullus (I. v. 2):

"Namque agor ut per plana citus sola verbere turbo
Quam celer adsueta versat ab arte puer."

and his thoughts are like a rolling axle-tree.] "In waggons of the kind called *plaustra* the axle-tree was not a fixture, but revolved together with the wheels" (Rich, 'Dict. of Antiq.' p. 72). The same author makes *axis versatilis* (Lat. *huius loci*) "a revolving cylinder, such as is worked by a windlass, for drawing up weights." In either case the point of comparison will be the impossibility of fixing it. The Syriac has "a swine:" we can scarcely doubt (with Linde and Bendtsen) that the original had a derivative of the Aramaic verb חזר, "to revolve:" compare חֲשַׁרִים and חִשְׁקִים.

6. *A stallion horse.*] Lat. *emissarius*, a low Latin word, on which see Ducange. Syr. "a ready horse;" pointing to an original מוּזִין, as in Jer. v. 8. The *primum* and *secundum comparationis* are inverted.

a mocking friend.] Syr. "the friend of the wicked;" suggesting an original אהב לצון, "one that loveth mockery."

he neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.] *I.e.* on all occasions, whatever the circumstances (Fritzsche). צהל, "to neigh," is used in the later Hebrew for "to giggle," *e.g.* Midrash on 'Proverbs,' p. 21 *a.* One is tempted to see an allusion to the story of Darius' horse (Herod. iii. 87), which the author may have learned from some other source. The *mockery* spoken of, if it represent the Hebrew word suggested, means "scoffing;" *i.e.* at religion and morality (Prov. ix. 12, &c.). He can never be serious.

7. *Why doth one day excel another.*] *I.e.* as a good day, or else as a holy day.

when as.] "This combination lasted till 1670" ('Old and Middle English,' p. 253). Maetzner, 'English Grammar,' iii. 430, quotes Shakspere, '3 Henry VI.' v. 7, "So Judas kissed his Master and cried, 'All hail,' *when as* he meant 'All harm.'" Marlowe, 'Jew of Malta,' v. 2, "What boots it thee to be the governor *when as* thy life shall be at their command?"

8. The answer is, they were separated by a Divine decree.

he altered.] Rather, **He made divers seasons and feasts.**

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they were distinguished: and he altered seasons and feasts.

9 Some of them hath he made high days, and hallowed *them*, and some of them hath he ‖made ordinary days.

‖ Or, *ordained for the number of days.*

10 And all men are from the ground, and [d] Adam was created of earth.

[d] Gen. 1. 27. & 2. 7.

11 In much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and made their ways diverse.

12 Some of them hath he blessed and exalted, and some of them hath he sanctified, and set near himself: but some of them hath he cursed and brought low, and turned out of their ‖places.

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‖ Or, *standings.*

13 [e] As the clay is in the potter's hand, to fashion it at his pleasure: so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best.

[e] Isai. 45. 9. & 64. 8. Jer. 18. 6. Wisd. 15. 7, 8. Rom. 9. 20, 21.

14 Good is set against evil, and life against death: so is the godly against the sinner, and the sinner against the godly.

15 So look upon all the works of the most High; and [f] there are two and two, one against another.

[f] ch. 42. 24.

16 I awaked up last of all, as one that ‖gathereth after the grapegather-

‖ Or, *gleaneth.*

9. *Some of them.*] *I.e.* the days.

he made high days.] Syr. "he blessed," ברך.

he made ordinary days.] Lit. **He put into the number of days**; *i.e.* days distinguished by nothing further than their *number* (in the month or year). In this use of the word signifying "number," the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages agree.

10. The Latin translator rendered the second clause, "and from the ground whence Adam was created." Cp. Job xxxi. 18.

11. *In much knowledge.*] *I.e.* by a plan too deep for our comprehension. Naturally, we should have expected that they would all have been equal.

made their ways diverse.] Syr. "and he made the inhabitants of the earth."

12. The verse gives specimens of these diversities rather than a classification of them. The first clause may refer to *worldly* dignities (Fritzsche); the second, to *spiritual* dignities; the third and fourth, to the destitute and ruined.

and set near himself.] ואליו הקריב, according to Fritzsche; with which compare Jer. xxx. 21. The Syr., however, renders "and they came near to him," which reminds us of the far more common phrase ויגישו אליו; and since ἐγγίζω is rarely transitive, ἤγγισαν may have been originally in the Greek text.

brought low, and turned out of their places.] Syr. "overturned, and rooted out of their dwellings." The author has in mind Isa. xxii. 19. For ἀνέστρεψεν we must read with Co. ἀνέτρεψεν (cp. Cobet, 'Misc. Crit.' p. 382).

13. *to fashion it at his pleasure.*] The old Greek MSS. have, instead of this, **all his ways are according to his pleasure.** The reading exhibited by the A. V appears only in H. and seems to be a conjecture (πλάσαι αὐτό for πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ). The Syr. Version omits it altogether.

to render to them as liketh him best.] Lit. **according to his judgment.** Syr. "to set him over (?) all his works." The Hebrew was very likely לפקדו, which would bear either meaning.

14. Then follows a list of συστοιχίαι.

so is the godly against the sinner.] Syr. "and against the light was created the darkness." The list of the συστοιχίαι of Pythagoras given by Aristotle, 'Metaphys.' p. 986 (ed. Bekker), contains φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, but not "life and death:" cp., however, Plato, 'Phaedo,' p. 71; and Zeller, 'Philosophie der Griechen,' i. 325, 4th edit.

15. *look upon.*] Syr. "has exhibited." Either can be supported from Eccles. vii. 14.

16. *I awaked up last of all.*] Rather, **I lay awake**, or "lucubrated;" Syr. "I came." We suggest, to account for this curious difference, that the original had בתי, intended for בָּאתִי, but pointed by the Greek translator בַּתִּי, from בות, *pernoctare*, in Chald. and Syr. "In the feeling," says Fritzsche, "that he has uttered something of importance, the author begins to reflect upon his position, and to feel that, though late in time, he has not laboured in vain." Still, this verse strikes us as singularly abrupt, if we compare the somewhat similar thought in xxiv. 30. The great transposition in the Greek MSS. and the versions derived from the Greek occurs in the middle of this verse. Is it possible that some paragraphs have been lost?

as one that gathereth.] Lit. **one that gathereth straws**, מְקוֹשֵׁשׁ, but used more generally in Isa. xxiv. 14, &c.

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ers: by the blessing of the Lord I profited, and filled my winepress like a gatherer of grapes.

17 [z] Consider that I laboured not for myself only, but for all them that seek learning.

[z] ch. 24. 34.

18 Hear me, O ye great men of the people, and hearken with your ears, ye rulers of the congregation.

19 Give not thy son and wife, thy brother and friend, power over thee while thou livest, and give not thy goods to another: lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for the same again.

20 As long as thou livest and hast breath in thee, ‖ give not thyself over to any.

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‖ Or, *sell not.*

21 For better it is that thy children should seek to thee, than that thou shouldest ‖ stand to their courtesy.

‖ Or, *look to their hands.*

22 In all thy works keep to thyself the preeminence; leave not a stain in thine honour.

23 At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life, distribute thine inheritance.

24 Fodder, a wand, and burdens, *are* for the ass; and bread, correction, and work, for a servant.

Of servants.

I profited.] Lit. **I got ahead**; Syr. "I rose;" Lat. "I hoped" (קִמְתִּי and קִוֵּתִי? The Lat. is perhaps an error for *properavi*). The thought that he had got before *others* (Fritzsche) is scarcely hinted.

like a gatherer of grapes.] The whole verse implies that Ben Sira had predecessors in the class of literature to which this book belongs, and that he made use of or incorporated a number of their sayings (comp. Gen. Introd. p. 19).

17. This verse is omitted in the Syr. Version.

18, 19. The Syriac transposes 19 *b* after 20. This gives a more natural order, unless indeed 19 and 18 are parallel sentiments.

19. *power over thee.*] Rather, **authority over thee**,—become not their dependant.

and thou intreat for the same again.] Compare Lysias, p. 638 (ed. Reiske): *βούλονται γὰρ πάντες ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων θεραπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνων δεῖσθαι ἀποροῦντες.* The rendering in the A. V. follows the Syriac more nearly than the Greek, which has: **lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for them.** The Hebrew may have had לְשׁוּב. The meaning "repent" for this word and its derivatives is late; and the original may have meant no more than "lest afterwards thou be compelled to beg of them."

20. *give not thyself over to any.*] The literal meaning may be, either "barter not thyself with any body" (Arm., Fritzsche), so that the other person assume thy place, or else "sell not thyself to any body." The Heb. (Fritzsche) was אל תמר, which the Syrian may have interpreted from the Aram. מר, a "lord" or "master," rendering "make no flesh lord over thee."

21. *stand to their courtesy.*] Lit. **look to the hands of thy sons**: cp. Ps. cxxiii. 2. The Arm. omits *σοῦ*, giving the meaning "that thy children should be in want." The same version (with Syr.) substitutes "their hands" for "the hands of thy sons." The author may have intended to emphasise the difference between "children" in clause *a*, and "sons" in clause *b*. But this is one of the cases in which ancient scribes allowed themselves considerable liberty in dealing with authors' texts. For the phrase compare Aristophanes, 'Vespae,' 613 (of an old man in these circumstances): *κεἰ μή με δεήσει ἐς σὲ (τὸν υἱόν) βλέψαι καὶ τὸν ταμίαν ὁπότ' ἄριστον παραθήσει*, and 'Abhoth de R. N.,' p. 90 *a*: "If a man eat of the property of his father or of his mother or of his children, his mind is not established; much more when he eateth of the property of others."

22. *keep to thyself the preeminence.*] We prefer the reading of C. and Arm., *ὑπεράνω*, "have the upper hand;" למעלה.

leave not.] Rather, **set not.**

23. The substance of this verse is quoted in the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira' in the following form:—"Hide, my son, thy wealth in thy life, and conceal it; and give it not to thy heirs to the day of thy death."

At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life.] Lit. **on the day of the completion of the days** [om. Arm.] **of thy life, and at the time of the end.** Syr. "at the time when the number of thy days shall be completed, on the day of thy death, bequeath thy goods to thy son." Arab. "at the end of thy life bequeath thy goods to thy son;" assuredly all that is required to express the thought.

ON SLAVES.

24. *a wand.*] Lit. **a rod.** Some have regarded this verse as a quotation (L. D.

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25 If thou set thy servant to labour, thou shalt find rest: but if thou let him go idle, he shall seek liberty.

26 A yoke and a collar do bow the neck: so are tortures and torments for an evil servant.

27 Send him to labour, that he be not idle; for idleness teacheth much evil.

28 Set him to work, as is fit for him: if he be not obedient, put on more heavy fetters. B. C. cir. 200.

29 But be not excessive toward any; and without discretion do nothing.

30 [h] If thou have a servant, let him be unto thee as thyself, because thou hast bought him [‖] with a price. [h] ch. 7. 20. [‖] Gr. *in blood.*

31 If thou have a servant, intreat him as a brother: for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul: if

Cramer, 'Moral der Apocryphen,' 201). Fritzsche finds in the proverbial form of the sentence the excuse for its coarseness.

correction.] Probably a euphemism for "the lash," as the Arm. renders it. Compare Prov. xxvii. 3, which in Gesner's 'Stobaeus,' p. 604, is quoted with *virga servo insipienti.*

25. The Syr. is here different: "Thou shalt give him no rest; and if thou raise his head, he desireth liberty." The Latin version has also a very interesting rendering: *operatur in disciplina et quaerit requiescere: laxa manus illi et quaerit libertatem.* The variations in the second clause will be explained if we suppose the original to have been הרף לו, otherwise read הרם לו; the "hands" and "head" are the supplements (doubtless correct ones) of the translators. The Greek and Latin of clause 1 may imply an original עבד בעבד ובקש מנוחה, of which the Greek translator rightly understood the first two words, while the Latin translation might be explained by pointing וּבַקֵּשׁ rather than וּבִקֵּשׁ: "make a slave work, and he will seek rest; relax his discipline, and he will seek liberty." The Syriac Version perhaps represents a guess at the general meaning of the passage rather than an accurate rendering.

26. *a collar.*] Rather, **strap**; referring to the reins. The Syriac omits this verse; and as the Hebrew language apparently possesses no words for the "rack" and the "torture," any more than it possesses one for the "cross," we may hope that it is an interpolation.

27. *be not idle.*] Syr. "that he may not rebel." We believe the Greek to be right.

28. *Set him to work.*] Syriac, "give him authority in thy house," apparently deriving מלאכה from מלך, and thinking of the history of Joseph. The point is only worthy of notice orthographically.

put on more heavy fetters.] Lit. **make heavy**; with which comp. Lament. iii. 7.

29. *But be not excessive toward any.*] Lit. **be not excessive in any flesh**; explained to mean, punish not too severely. The verb is used by the LXX. to represent the Heb. הותיר, so that אל תותר may be restored with considerable certainty for the first words. The Syriac has: "but not so upon any man." The verse is apparently a warning against excessive ill-treatment, μηδὲν ἀνίατον ποιεῖν. (Aeth. reads πιστεύσῃς.) On the condition of slaves among the Israelites, see the interesting Art. in Riehm, 'Hdw.'

without discretion do nothing.] Rather, "without judgment." The Vet. Lat. rightly glosses, *nihil facias grave.*

30, 31. The Syriac transposes 30 *b* and 31 *b*; while the Lat. omits 31 entirely. The Syr. makes the sense much clearer by adding *one:* "if thou have one servant." Compare Prov. xii. 9.

with a price.] Greek, **in blood.** The A. V. follows Drusius (who is followed by Böttcher and Fritzsche) in giving the assumed original the sense of the Aram. דמין, "price." It is, however, by no means certain that this is right; for the minor premise of the argument involved would not necessarily be true; while the major can scarcely be imagined. The fact, too, that the Syriac and Latin agree in rendering *in sanguine animae tuae* makes it highly probable that the original was בדם נפשך. The Syr. renders the whole clause: "and fight not with the blood of thy soul [*i.e.* thine own blood; compare Hofmann, 'Julian der Abtrünnige,' 169, 3]; because, if thou afflict him, he will go away and perish: and with what spirit [Lag.: but "by what way," Pol.] shalt thou find him." The thought is here intelligible, though the language is somewhat strange. The Arabic translator glosses, "thine own blood;" *i.e.* "thy goods."

as a brother.] So Alex. C., Arm., Lat., Syr.

for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul.] The Greek should mean, **for thou shalt need him as thine own soul** (needeth him). Fritzsche would correct the

B. C. cir. 200. thou intreat him evil, and he run from thee, which way wilt thou go to seek him?

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *Of dreams.* 13 *The praise and blessing of them that fear the Lord.* 18 *The offering of the ancient, and prayer of the poor innocent.*

B. C. cir. 200. THE hopes of a man void of understanding are vain and false: and dreams lift up fools.

Of dreams.

2 Whoso ‖ regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind.

‖ Or, *hath his mind upon.*

3 The vision of dreams is the resemblance of one thing to another,

Greek ἐπιδήσεις αὐτόν, "thou shalt bind him to thee" (a conjecture apparently confirmed by the Copt.). But the text is sufficiently supported by the Syr.: "because as thou art thyself, so is thy want."

The Syriac is evidently right in the transposition noticed above, because by its order it offers some *personal* reason for treating a [single] slave as oneself, and some reason based upon *ties of blood* for treating him as a brother. To find out what these are we must attempt, at least conjecturally, to restore the Hebrew, as in the following two paragraphs:—

"If thou have one servant, let him be as thyself—כי כמוך כמיחסוריך, for like thyself so is thy need of him." Perhaps we should correct כמיחסוריך, "in thy poverty," "he is like thee in thy poverty;" *i.e.* he is but little poorer than thou art; he is dependent on thee entirely, and thou no less upon him.

"If thou have one servant, regard him as thy brother—אל תקנא בדם נפיטך, be not jealous against thine own blood." תקנא was perhaps read תקנה by the Greek translator, as in Prov. iii. 31, and the word "not" omitted arbitrarily. The reason why he is compared to a brother is that once lost he cannot be replaced; whereas other relations (*e.g.* husbands, sons) may be. This conceit is familiar to us in the story of Intaphernes (Herodotus, iii. 119), but it is also employed by Sophocles ('Antigone,' v. 905) and in Flügel's 'Gefährte des Einsamen.'

and he run from thee.] We should render: **and he start to run away.** Arm. "he take umbrage and flee."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The religious problems referred to in the central part of the previous chapter are, as it seems to us, here once more taken up. Our author had travelled (*v.* 11), and his mind was greatly enlarged by what he observed and learned in foreign countries. In the first stanza of the present chapter (*vv.* 1–8) he now expresses his view of the manner in which heathenism attempted to solve the question how earthly affairs are determined or may be influenced. Although the Siracide speaks of heathenism in a liberal manner—as it were, from a philosophical standpoint,—he discards its views and practices without hesitation or reserve. Alike his conclusions and his liberality, he hastens to inform us—not without righteous self-consciousness — had been the result of his travels. The reference to this forms the introduction (*vv.* 9–13) to his own solution of these great problems (*vv.* 14–17). This constitutes the subject of the second stanza in the chapter. Lastly, in a third stanza, consisting, like stanza 2, of nine verses (*vv.* 18–26), the writer turns to another aspect of the subject. He had in the first stanza been repudiating heathenism, and in the second expressed the assured conviction of his own religion. The perversion and the misunderstanding of that religion form the subject of the third stanza (*vv.* 18–26). As before he had censured heathenism, so now a spurious Judaism—a Pharisaism before the Pharisees, a legal literalism and zeal for outward observances, combined with impenitence and sin. The glimpse which the chapter affords into the religious condition of the period is as important, as, on the other hand, it is interesting to hear the views of a travelled, enlightened, liberal Jew who discourses on the heathen and the Jewish world.

1. *The hopes of a man, &c.*] Rather, **a man without understanding hath vain and lying hopes.** Syr. "He that looks for vanity shall find delusion."

and dreams lift up fools.] Rather, **elate.** Syr. (Lag.) "and a dream is a vain delight."

2. *followeth after the wind.*] Cp. Hos. xii. 2. Syr. "who scareth a bird." Both correspond to Greek proverbs, ἀνέμους θηρᾶν ἐν δικτύοις, and διώκειν ποτανὸν ὄρνιν, doubtless, however, common to most nations. The Syriac, however, seems to be an interpolation from xxvii. 18; cp. Prov. ix. 12 (LXX.).

3. *the resemblance of one thing to another, &c.*] Lit. **this against this; the resemblance of a face opposite a face.** The reading in the text is not quite certain: for τοῦτο κατὰ τούτου some MSS. have τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦτο, which the Lat. represents. The Syr. and Arm. omit the first τοῦτο, wh ch may be a correction of τούτου, inserted in a wrong place. Accepting the reading of the Syr.,

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even as the [a] likeness of a face to a face.

[a] Prov. 27. 19.

4 [b] Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed? and from that thing which is false what truth can come?

[b] Job 14. 4.

5 Divinations, and soothsayings, and dreams, are vain: and the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail.

6 If they be not sent from the most High in thy visitation, ‖ set not thy heart upon them.

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‖ Or, *regard them not.*

7 For dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them.

8 The law shall be found perfect without lies: and wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth.

9 A man that hath travelled knoweth many things; and he that

we obtain "even so is the vision of dreams;" which is more intelligible than that of the Lat., which would mean, "dreams are each exactly like the other."

the **resemblance** *of a face* **opposite** *a face.*] The phrase seems to be taken from Prov. xxvii. 19, a very obscure passage. Baduellus interprets our passage as an account of the origin of dreams; signifying that the "fancy" reproduces images to the "intellect" in the same way as a mirror. Grotius, on the other hand (followed by Fritzsche), finds the point of comparison in the unreality of the image: *ut imago in spectro visa nihil post se relinquit, ita nec somnia.* This is more probably right. Compare 'Julian der Abtrünnige,' 177, 15: "while thine eyes are on them they are gone."

4. *Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed?*] The Syriac Version seems at first sight very different: "and over the head of his people he will gain the victory." This, however, means only that the Syrian divided the words before him wrongly, reading for מרשע מה יצדק, מרוש עמה יצדק. The Arab. gives the following version of the Syriac: "he that gives them the lie and relies not on them winneth the victory more than the greatest of his people." The Syriac Version seems to imply that the words "unclean" and "cleansed" should rather have been rendered "evil" and "righteous." Just as righteousness does not spring out of evil ("Do men gather grapes of thorns?"), so the truth does not come out of the false and unsubstantial. The Greek text would have referred to the unclean thing rendering everything else unclean,—a striking comparison, though not a very appropriate one.

5. *Divinations, &c.*] In this opinion the author is far in advance of the later Rabbinical schools.

and the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail.] Syriac, "he that believeth them, there is his heart." Lat. *et somnia malefacientium vanitas est.* The Greek seems evidently correct. The physical phenomenon alluded to is sometimes mentioned by the ancients.

6. *in thy visitation.*] Rather, **as a visitation**; the Vet. Lat. and Armen.: "unless a visitation be sent." Apparently we have not here the genuine words of the author. The Syriac has: "even though it be ordained of God that men go astray with the fancies of the night." Combining the Syr. and Greek, we obtain a text like אם מאת יה תפקד, "even though thou be visited from God;" and it is almost clear that the next verse requires some such saying. So many have been led astray by dreams that it is best to distrust them all, even at the risk of some one being really inspired. The verse well illustrates the methods of the two translators.

7. *and they have failed, &c.*] Rather, **and** [many] **have failed.**

8. *The law shall be found perfect without lies.*] Rather (Fritzsche), **is perfected or realised without the help of false things** (such as dreams). Syr. "Where there is no sin, God is pleased;" Lat. *consummabitur verbum.*

The second clause is difficult: "Wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth." Syr. "the wisdom of the wicked is believed in the night." Evidently there was a word in the original read by the one בליל, by the other בליל. "The wicked" of the Syriac need not be considered. Probably the original meant "wisdom is perfected in a faithful mouth;" *i.e.* wisdom when combined with sincerity is perfect.

Arguing back from this, we may interpret the first clause: "By not lying, the law is accomplished;" *i.e.* the telling of the truth is so important that by keeping this rule a man observes the whole law. The Syriac translator apparently was offended by this sentiment and diluted it. The author was led up to these remarks on *truth* by the falsehood of dreams.

9. *A man that hath travelled knoweth many things.*] So a few MSS., S. H. and Arm. The best Greek MSS., however, have πεπαιδευμένος, "*a man that* **is educated**, &c." The Syriac is here very different: "A wise man examines much." This seems to shew that the late Hebrew word, בָּקִיא, *exercitatus*, was

B. C. cir. 200. hath much experience will declare wisdom.

10 He that hath no experience knoweth little: but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.

11 When I travelled, I saw many things; and I understand more than I can express.

12 I was ofttimes in danger of death: yet I was delivered because of these things.

13 The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live; for their hope is in him that saveth them.

14 Whoso feareth the Lord shall not fear nor be afraid; for he is his hope. B. C. cir. 200.

15 Blessed is the soul of him that feareth the Lord: to whom doth he look? and who is his strength?

16 For [c]the eyes of the Lord are upon them that love him, [d]he is their mighty protection and strong stay, a defence from heat, and a cover from the sun at noon, a preservation from stumbling, and an help from falling. [c] Ps. 33. 18. & 34. 15. [d] Ps. 61. 2, 3, 4. & 91. 1, 2, 3, 4.

17 He raiseth up the soul, and lighteneth the eyes: he giveth health, life, and blessing.

used here; the Syriac inverted the order of the words and read בְּקָא.

he that hath much experience will declare wisdom.] Syr. (as rendered by Dr. Payne Smith, col. 1147): *qui prosperat omnia examinat* (perhaps, however, we should correct ܣܟܠ for ܣܟ, obtaining some later Hebrew word like רָגִיל). The verse, according to the most probable readings, refers merely to practice in the arts or sciences.

10. *but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.*] Syriac again, "he that hath had experience;" perhaps misreading נָסָה for נָסָע, with which the author may have intended a jingle. Lat. *qui in multis factus* [qu. *iactus* or *iactatus*?] *est.*

11. *When I travelled, I saw many things.*] An interesting notice of the author's personal experience: cp. chap. li. 13. It is much to be regretted that he does not enter into fuller details concerning his journeys.

and I understand more than I can express.] Syr. "and many things have passed over me;" Lat. *et plurimas verborum consuetudines.* The Hebrew to which these three renderings seem to lead up is ורבים דברים עלוני; the Greek represents a slightly different division of the first words, ורב מדברי; while the last seems almost to have been interpreted from the Arab. معلوم, confirming Hitzig's conjecture about chap. vi. 22. The true reading may possibly be represented by the Syriac, "and many things have passed over me;" which would fitly prepare for the next verse. Attempts to obtain a satisfactory meaning from the Greek will be found in Fritzsche.

12. *yet I was delivered because of these things.*] Syr. "on account of them." This phrase is obscure. The Greek might conceivably mean "for all that." Aeth. "and withal God saved me;" but this the Syriac seems to forbid. The same difficulty applies to Fritzsche's explanation, "on account of the *following* things;" which is also not in the manner of our author. We must therefore follow Bretschneider in making the "things" his prudence and skill; unless we might suppose a mistranslation of the Hebrew, *e.g.* בעברם (read בַּעֲבָרָם), by which the author had intended "when they passed over [me];" sc. the "things" mentioned in the previous verse.

13. *The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live.*] Cp. Isa. xxxviii. 16: "the life of my spirit." Syr. "The Lord doeth the business of them that fear him;" perhaps רעות יראי י״י for רוח יראי י״י תחיה תהיה.

for their hope is **towards their Saviour.**] Syr. "for great is his hope and he saves."

14. This verse is omitted in Syr. It may be a reminiscence of such passages as Ps. lvi. 12.

15. *to whom doth he look?*] A question employed for the purpose of introducing the reason of the beatitude: like those at the end of the Twenty-fourth Psalm.

strength.] Rather, **support** or **stay.** Heb. מִשְׁעַן.

16. The highly poetical metaphors of this verse are all diluted in the Syriac Version.

17. **Raising up** *the soul, and* **lightening** *the eyes.*] Syr. "the joy of the soul." Heb. probably מְיַשֵּׁחַ: which the Greek translator would seem to have interpreted from the Arabic مشمخ.

he giveth health, life, and blessing.] Syriac, "medicine of life and blessings." Perhaps in the original "health, life, and blessing"

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18 [e]He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous; and ‖ the gifts of unjust men are not accepted.

[e] Prov. 21. 27.

‖ Or, *the mockeries.*

19 [f]The most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked; neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.

[f] Prov. 15. 8.

20 Whoso bringeth an offering of the goods of the poor doeth as one that killeth the son before his father's eyes.

21 The bread of the needy is their life: he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.

22 He that taketh away his neighbour's living slayeth him; and he that [g]defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a bloodshedder.

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[g] Lev. 19. 13. Deut. 24. 14, 15.

23 When one buildeth, and another pulleth down, what profit have they then but labour?

ch. 7. 20.

24 When one prayeth, and another curseth, whose voice will the Lord hear?

25 [h]He that washeth himself after the touching of a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing?

[h] Num. 19. 11, 12.

26 [i]So is it with a man that fast-

[i] 2 Pet. 2. 20, &c.

were used as epithets, the word "giveth" being a gloss.

18. See introductory remarks. The long passage which follows contains interesting suggestions, but displays that want of continuous thinking, which prevented the Jewish Chokhmah ever developing into a system of philosophy. The author vacillates between different points of view, but follows neither to its legitimate consequences.

He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous.] Fritzsche's suggestion that זבח, "a sacrifice," has been wrongfully read זֹבֵחַ, is confirmed by Syr. For "ridiculous" Alex., with some other MSS., has "culpable" or "contaminated;" so, too, Lat. and Cyrill. Alexandr. vi. 311, who quotes this passage with Job viii. 20 and the end of Isaiah. We believe this (last) reading to be right, and (comparing it with the Syriac) suppose that the author must have intended some play on the words עוֹלָה and עֲוָלָה.

the gifts of unjust men are not accepted.] So 248, Co., Syr., Arm. The best Greek MSS. (and Lat.) have "**mockeries.**" We venture to suggest that the author here has another play on a word: for זבח, "sacrifice," he substitutes בוז ("scorn," "mockery," a Syriac word), זבחי רשעים for בזחי רשעים. This sort of witticism has always had peculiar attractions for the Jewish mind. So in the Qaraite-Arabic writings Mohammad is called *Pasûl* ("unclean") for *Rasûl* ("Apostle"), Mekka *Makkōth* ("plagues"), &c. The substitution of *Bosheth* ("shame") for *Baal* ("lord") in the biblical text affords an early example of this. The Syriac, which has here "offerings," may have simply "corrected" the text. Comp. Prov. xv. 7; xxi. 27.

20. *that killeth.*] Lit. **that slaughtereth.** The point of comparison lies in the impossibility of conciliating the father with such a sacrifice. The words remind the reader of Virgil's Priam, "qui nati coram me cernere letum fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus."

21. *The bread of the needy is their life.*] Rather, **is the life of the poor**; by no means a lucid sentiment. Syr. "the bread of mercy," לֶחֶם חֶסֶד, misread by the Greek, לְחֶסֶד. "The bread of mercy," *i.e.* "the bread of charity;" the abuse referred to being the diversion of means intended for charitable purposes, or more properly to be spent in charitable objects, for more ostentatious employment in sacrifice.

22. *He that taketh away, &c.*] The original apparently was יִגֵּשׂ, "takes violently away." The Syr. misunderstood this, and rendered "inherits;" the Arabic translator improves this into "makes him the heir of his goods." Συμβίωσις is a very unusual expression for *victus*, "substance." Either the Aeth. rendering, "who separates a man from his wife," or Grot. "takes away social intercourse," would be more literal than the A. V. But in favour of the A. V. we have the obvious sense of the passage, as well as Arm. and S. H. The Lat. *in sudore panem* is remarkable, and seems to be an allusion to Gen. iii. 19.

23. The order of thought is satisfactorily explained by Fritzsche. In the case of such a sacrifice as that described, while one prays (*i.e.* the sacrificer), the other (the poor man whom he has robbed) curses; how then can such a sacrifice profit any more than the operation described in this verse?

25, 26. Those, too, who approach God must do so seriously; He cannot be trifled with. It is not exactly said that the outward observance of fasts can only be of meaning or

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eth for his sins, and goeth again, and doeth the same: who will hear his prayer? or what doth his humbling profit him?

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *Sacrifices pleasing to God.* 14 *The prayer of the fatherless, of the widow, and of the humble in spirit.* 20 *Acceptable mercy.*

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HE [a]that keepeth the law bringeth offerings enough: he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering.

[a] 1 Sam. 15. 22. Jer. 7. 3, 5, 6, 7. Hos. 6. 6. Mic. 6. 6, 7, 8.

2 He that requiteth a good turn Mark 12. 33.

value in so far as it is symbolic of an inward process, but that a fast for sin and prayer for its forgiveness can only attain the object sought, if combined with the abandonment of sin—just as a bath of purification cannot avail if a dead body is immediately touched again. The sentiment seems almost to have become proverbial in Jewish theology. Thus we read (Taan. 16 *a*, line 10 from bottom) that a man who is guilty of a sin and confesses, but does not turn from it, is like one who holds an unclean reptile in his hand, who, even if he immersed in all the waters of the world, his immersion (bath of purification) would not profit him; but if he casts it from him, when he immerses in forty Seah (the bare legal measure of water for such a bath), immediately his immersion profiteth (obtains the object of purification)—the references in proof being to Prov. xxviii. 13 and Lam. iii. 41 (comp. also Yalkūt on the passage in Prov. and the Midr. R. on that in Lam.). In 'Abhoth,' *ut sup.* p. 116, constant repentance with constant sinning is reckoned among the five unpardonable offences.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The reference in chap. xxxiv. to heathenism and to Judaism, whether pure or corrupt, leads to a farther and, in many respects, most interesting discussion. The main subject is that of sacrifices, on which the writer propounds his own more liberal views, insinuating rather than stating them, artfully slipping them in between other sayings irreprehensible to Jewish orthodoxy—thus finding a place for what he might scarcely have dared openly and broadly to teach. Equally interesting is it to notice how the Syriac translator modifies and alters in a Christian sense. Not only does he eliminate all references to sacrificing in the strict sense, substituting expressions which a Christian writer might employ, but his references to the words used by our Lord are so evident as at once to be obvious to every reader (comp. the notes on *vv.* 2–9). Thus the chapter may be regarded as adding important evidence on the Christian authorship of the Syr. Version. On the other hand, it does not seem likely that the Greek translation contains important Hellenistic alterations by the younger Siracide. Of such we should probably have had more distinct expression than the Greek text contains. Indeed, the reference to sacrifices is exactly in the spirit which, as we have all along observed, is characteristic of the elder Siracide. It is the Grecianism of Palestine rather than of Alexandria—a mild Sadduceeism, before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees: the influence of Greek thinking and life upon the more liberal spirits of Judæa, the effect upon them of contact with the great world without.

It is difficult to arrange the chapter into other than two sections, of which the one treats of sacrifices in their real import and value (*vv.* 1–11), the other of sacrifices unrighteous and unacceptable (*vv.* 12–15). The mention of the cry of distress addressed to the Lord (*v.* 15) leads to a more detailed reference to all such appeals, which assuredly will bring their answer in the Divine interposition, whether for deliverance or for judgment. But the greatest wrong was that which heathen persecution inflicted on the people of God; and the loudest cry for Divine judgment, that for vengeance on them and for smiting into fragments the sceptres of the unrighteous (*v.* 18). Thus the appeal for answer to prayer and for Divine interposition merges into a strong anti-heathen passage, while for Israel a season of refreshing mercy is asked in the interval before the judgment on their oppressors. We infer that the elder Siracide must have written in a time of anticipated persecution and suffering (see General Introduction).

1. *bringeth offerings enough.*] Syr. "If thou doest what is written in the Law, thou hast multiplied service." If the Greek Version may be regarded as expressing the views of a Jew who attached not any absolute value to the ritual observances of the Law, the Syr. translator seems purposely to have omitted all reference to sacrifices and to occupy a totally different (Christian) standpoint.

he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering.] Syr. "blessed be his spirit,"—alteration of text in the same spirit as in the first clause.

2. *He that* **giveth** *a good turn.*] *I.e.* "requiteth a benefit." The Syriac of this verse is rendered by Dr. Payne Smith, col. 1179, "qui donum obfert id facit quod optimam retributionem s. *usuram* sibi refert." The

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offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise.

[b] Dan. 4. 27.

3 [b]To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.

[c] Exod. 23. 15. Deut. 16. 16.

4 [c]Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.

5 For all these things [are to be done] because of the commandment.

6 The offering of the righteous maketh the altar fat, and the sweet savour thereof *is* before the most High.

7 The sacrifice of a just man is acceptable, and the memorial thereof shall never be forgotten. B. C. cir. 200.

[d] Prov. 3. 9.

8 [d]Give the Lord his honour with a good eye, and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.

[e] 2 Cor. 9. 7. ‖ Or, *set apart.*

9 [e]In all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance, and ‖dedicate thy tithes with gladness.

[f] Tobit 4. 8.

10 [f]Give unto the most High according as he hath enriched thee; and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.

[g] Prov. 19. 17. 2 Cor. 9. 8.

11 [g]For the Lord recompenseth, and will give thee seven times as much.

‖ Or, *Diminish nothing of thy offerings.*

12 ‖Do not think to corrupt with

Hebrew was probably גְּמוּל גְּמוּל. The Syriac alteration here involves a meaning almost the opposite of that conveyed by the Greek. The translator seems to have wished to convey some of the N. T. directions and promises about the gracious retribution to those who give.

sacrificeth praise.] זבח תודה. Syr. "keepeth the law." Had he read תורה for תודה?

3. *is a propitiation.*] The Syr. once more alters in the same spirit as before: "and restrain thy strength that thou do what is abominable." If the Greek represented repentance as real propitiation, the Syr. omits all reference to it, and so avoids what might sound either Jewish or Judaising.

4–11. Nevertheless, though the best sacrifice is good conduct, still for the sake of the commandment, actual sacrifices must be offered also. This deserves special attention as expressive of views afterwards more fully developed in Hellenism.

4. *before the Lord.*] Syr. "before Him." For the phrase (or rather quotation), see references in marg.

5. *For all these things are to be done.*] Apparently not of absolute and internal necessity, but simply because ordered in the Law, and therefore to be observed. The Syriac translator once more alters the statement into "every one that doeth well keepeth the commandment."

6. *maketh the altar fat.*] Perhaps מדשן, which should have been rendered "is thought fat," *i.e.* rich, savoury, "the altar" being a gloss. The Syr.: "is the prayer of their mouth,"—a very significant alteration.

and the sweet savour thereof.] Syr. "and their works cleave open the heavens."

7. *the memorial.*] Fritzsche suggests that this may have meant the אזכרה or memorial-sacrifice of Lev. ii. 2, 9, &c. But this seems not likely. The Syr. seems to shew that the word is used in our ordinary English sense.

8. *Give the Lord his honour.*] Lit. **glorify the Lord.** Syr. "give to the poor," &c.

and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.] Syr. "and vacillate not in thy gifts." He may have read תמעט for תמעט: but the alteration of "firstfruits" into "gifts" can only have been intentional. On the "firstfruits," see 'The Temple, its Ministry and Services,' ch. xix.

9. *and dedicate thy tithes.*] Syr. "lend to him that will not pay thee." The alteration here is not only bold, but the reference to St. Luke vi. 34, 35 is so clear that we can scarcely doubt the Syr. intended to put the words of Christ into the mouth of the Siracide. Very significantly the Syr. next reverses the order of the verses that follow, placing *v.* 11 of the Greek in immediate juxtaposition to *v.* 9 and *v.* 10 after our Greek *v.* 11. The entire elimination of allusion to sacrifices and the reference to the words of our Lord seem to establish the Christian authorship of the Syriac Version.

10. *and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.*] Lit. **according to the finding of thy hand,** כמצא ידך; Syr. "with an ample hand" (מְלֵא for מצא?).

11. *seven times as much.*] Syr. "ten thousand times." The addition in the Syr., "he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, and who shall recompense but He Himself?" is an interpolation from Prov. xix. 17.

12. *Do not think to corrupt with gifts.*] Rather, **Think not to bribe.** For this the Syriac has a most interesting variant, putting simply "hesitate not," without further

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gifts; [h] for such he will not receive: and trust not to unrighteous sacrifices; for the Lord is judge, and with him is [i] no respect of persons.

13 He will not accept any person against a poor man, but [k] will hear the prayer of the oppressed.

14 He will not despise the supplication of the fatherless; nor the widow, when she poureth out her complaint.

15 Do not the tears run down the widow's cheeks? and is not her cry against him that causeth them to fall?

16 He that serveth the Lord shall be accepted with favour, and his prayer shall reach unto the clouds.

17 The prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds: and till it come nigh, he will not be comforted; and will not depart, till the most High shall behold to judge righteously, and execute judgment.

[h] Lev. 22. 20, 21, 22. Deut. 15. 21. Mal. 1. 8, 13, 14.
[i] Deut. 10. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 7. Job 34. 19. Wisd. 6. 7. Acts 10. 34. Rom. 2. 11. Gal. 2. 6. Eph. 6. 9. Coloss. 3. 25. 1 Pet. 1. 17.
[k] Exod. 22. 23, 27.

18 [l] For the Lord will not be slack, neither will the Mighty be patient toward them, till he have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful, and repayed vengeance to the heathen; till he have taken away the multitude of the ‖ proud, and broken the sceptre of the unrighteous;

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[l] 2 Pet. 3. 9.

‖ Or, *cruel oppressors.*

19 Till he have [m] rendered to every man according to his deeds, and to the works of men according to their devices; till he have judged the cause of his people, and made them to rejoice in his mercy.

[m] Rom. 2. 6.

20 Mercy is ‖ seasonable in the time of affliction, as clouds of rain in the time of drought.

‖ Gr. *fair.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *A prayer for the church against the enemies thereof.* 18 *A good heart and a froward.* 21 *Of a good wife.*

addition. This suits the train of alterations in the Syr. But possibly שוחד has been misread שוחר. Whether the corruption here is in the Syriac or Hebrew, it is not easy to determine, though the former seems more likely. We are inclined to think, however, that the Hebrew had some denominative of שוחד. The Greek word δωροκοπεῖν also occurs in 3 Macc. iv. 19: δωροκοπία is more common. The Lat. renders *offerre munera prava.* Arm. "bring not as a bribe;" and so Aeth. Syr. Hex. "labour not with offering."

13. *He will not accept any person.*] Rather, **respect any person**, according to the well-known Hebraism. The Syr. has characteristically: "the prayer of the poor comes before him." This can scarcely be regarded as a paraphrase; still less as the true reading. The "accepting of persons" comes in from the end of the previous verse.

14. *when she poureth out her complaint.*] Lit. "**prattle;**" a contemptuous word, of which the original was doubtless purposely employed. *Gemitus*, which the Lat. adds at the end of the verse, seems to be a vestige of an old reading (which would correspond with the Syriac) at the commencement of the verse, afterwards altered to *preces*, to correspond with ἱκετεία of the Greek.

15. The verse is omitted by the Syr. translator, but probably genuine.

17. *till it come nigh.*] Syr. "till he examine it."

18. The writer rapidly passes to an anticipation of judgment upon those tyrannical heathen rulers whose sway rested upon Israel with such terrible weight of persecution (see introductory remarks). The Syriac does not offer any variety of importance in this verse, though it renders none of the six clauses exactly as the Greek. Perhaps we may find a vestige of the old word מְחֹקֵק, "a sceptre," in σκῆπτρα, for which the Syr. offers "rulers." The Lat., too, in *v.* 19 has preserved a vestige of the Hebrew in its rendering "according to the works of Adam."

20. **His** *mercy is seasonable.*] Syr. "the hater will be ashamed."

of drought.] בצרת, which the Syrian interpreted from his own language.

The verse indicates an apprehension of national suffering, when those under the yoke of the foreign rulers would long for some seasonable relief in the present, and earnestly look for the final deliverance assured to them in the righteous judgment of the God to whom they appealed.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The same abrupt transition as in ch. xxxiii. (*v.* 19), from a subject, sublime and of deepest interest, to another trivial if not almost repulsive, appears again in this chapter at *v.* 18. Once more we might be tempted to think of a misplacement in the text; but of this there is not any ex-

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HAVE mercy upon us, O Lord God of all, and behold us:

2 And send thy fear upon all the nations that seek not after thee.

[a] Jer. 10. 25. ‖ Or, *upon.*

3 [a] Lift up thy hand ‖ against the strange nations, and let them see thy power.

[b] Ezek. 20. 41. & 28. 25. & 36. 23. & 39. 27.

4 As thou wast [b] sanctified in us before them: so be thou magnified among them before us.

[c] 1 Kings 8. 43, 60.

5 And [c] let them know thee, as we have known thee, that there is no God but only thou, O God.

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6 Shew new signs, and make other strange wonders: glorify thy hand and thy right arm, that they may set forth thy wondrous works.

[d] Ps. 79. 6.

7 Raise up indignation, and [d] pour out wrath: take away the adversary, and destroy the enemy.

8 Make the time short, remember the ‖ covenant, and let them declare thy wonderful works. ‖ Gr. *oath.*

9 Let him that escapeth be consumed by the rage of the fire; and let them perish that oppress the people.

ternal evidence. The first part of the chapter (*vv.* 1–17) connects itself with the concluding part of ch. xxxv.—both as regards Israel and the Gentile world. It is a prayer, at times sublime, for the deliverance of Israel, the fulfilment of the prophetic promises, and the advent of the Messianic kingdom, even although there is not any mention of a personal Messiah. As points of subsidiary interest we note, on the one hand, the tone of sadness as regards the condition of Israel at the time the chapter was written, pointing back to a period of persecution and suffering; and, on the other hand, the variations introduced in the Syriac translation, which, although sometimes seemingly slight, are of great significance as regards the religious views of the translator.

Of the second part of the chapter (*vv.* 18–26) it is neither easy nor pleasant to speak, especially when following on such sentiments as in Part I. The connexion between the verses is not very obvious, although the whole may perhaps be summed up under the general heading "Discernment." Possibly also *v.* 21 may mark the beginning of a sub-section on the relation of the sexes. We can only add that the part as a whole descends from antithetic sayings, neither very wise nor very elevated, to what may be euphemistic allusions to the dangers threatening married life from the presence of unmarried acquaintances (*vv.* 25, 26).

1. *Have mercy upon us, &c.*] Syr. "Redeem us, O God, all of us."

behold [*us*].] Lat. *respicere.*

2. *send thy fear upon all the nations* that seek not after thee.] The last words must be omitted as not found in the original MSS. of the Greek, but only given by the Vet. Lat. and Syr. The addition may be an interpolation from Jer. x. 25 or Ps. xxxix. 6. The Vet. Lat. and Syr. also omit "all."

3. *the strange nations.*] Syr. (perhaps corruptly) in the singular.

4. *As thou wast sanctified.*] נקדשת, Ezek. xxviii. 22, &c. God is *sanctified* either by rewarding the well-doer or punishing the evil-doer: here the latter is indicated.

6. *Shew new signs.*] The reference seems to the former miraculous deliverances, especially to that from Egypt.

and make other strange wonders.] This should be rendered: **and do fresh wonders,** שנה (Grot., Fritzsche). This is confirmed by the Syriac.

glorify.] Perhaps "strengthen" (Syr.), חזק, was intended.

8. *the covenant.*] ὁρκισμοῦ; Sin. ὁρισμοῦ, confirmed by Syr. Lat. *finis;* Arm. and S. H., "term." We should therefore substitute **the end.** "Bring near" (Syr.) seems a more suitable verb than "remember."

and let them declare thy wonderful works.] Syriac, "because there is none that sayeth unto thee, What doest thou?" Whoever was the author of this phrase, it is very remarkable. It is intended to excuse the prayer "hasten on the time." The writer is represented as pleading that, if the Divine term were brought somewhat nearer, no one could find fault with such a change.

9. *Let him that escapeth.*] Syr. "In wrath and fire destroy the hater." We are not likely to find any easier reconciliation of this with the Greek than הנושע and השונא. The expression is like 1 Kings xix. 17.

and let them perish that oppress **thy** *people.*] Lit. **find destruction.** Syr. "and all the lords and princes of the people." Probably the וכל of the original meant "and destroy" (וְכַלֵּה), misread by both translators. The violence of the sentiment may have led the Greek to substitute for it the milder prayer in the text. A literal translation might have been dangerous to the Jewish community in Alexandria.

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10 Smite in sunder the heads of the rulers of the heathen, that say, There is none other but we.

[e] Jer. 31. 10.

11 [e] Gather all the tribes of Jacob together, and inherit thou them, as from the beginning.

[f] Dan. 9. 18, 19. [g] Exod. 4. 22. [h] 2 Chron. 6. 41. Ps. 132. 14.

12 O Lord, [f] have mercy upon the people that is called by thy name, and upon Israel, [g] whom thou hast named thy firstborn.

13 O be merciful unto Jerusalem, thy holy city, [h] the place of thy rest.

‖ Or, *that it may magnify thine oracles.*

14 Fill Sion ‖ with thine unspeakable oracles, and thy people with thy glory.

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15 Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed from the beginning, and raise up ‖ prophets that have been in thy name.

‖ Or, *prophecies.*

16 Reward them that wait for thee, and let thy prophets be found faithful.

‖ Or, *supplicants.* [i] Numb. 6. 23. [k] 1 Kings 8. 60.

17 O Lord, hear the prayer of thy ‖ servants, according to the [i] blessing of Aaron over thy people, [k] that all they which dwell upon the earth may know that thou art the Lord, the eternal God.

18 The belly devoureth all meats, yet is one meat better than another.

10. *the heads.*] Cp. Ps. cx. 6. Syr. "the crown," perhaps softening the expression. The verse contains a further appeal against the tyrannical oppressors of the people of God—those heathen rulers referred to in ch. xxxv. 18.

of the heathen.] The better reading is **of the enemy** (best Greek MSS., Syr., Lat.).

11. *and inherit thou them.*] Probably meaning "give them their inheritance." The Greek MSS. have "and I inherited," to adapt the syntax to that of xxxiii. 16 (*v. supra*). Lat. *et hereditabis eos*, following the Hebrew idiom והנחלתם.

as from the beginning.] Syr. "and let them inherit, as thou saidst from the beginning."

12. *the people that is called by thy name.*] ἐπ' ὀνόματί σου. Better Greek would perhaps be ἐπ' ὀνόματος. They were the "people of Jahveh."

whom thou hast named.] Best Greek MSS. **which thou hast likened to.** The other reading is supported by the Syr., and is probably correct, the reference being to Ex. iv. 22.

13. *the place of thy rest.*] The expression is strictly biblical (Ps. cxxxii. 14), and here very significantly used to point to the final fulfilment of the good promises of God concerning Israel and Jerusalem.

14. *Fill Sion with thine unspeakable oracles.*] Rather, **with the talk of thy deeds.** The passage has been admirably restored by Tischendorf from the Vat. ἀρεταλογίας. The former editions had ἆραι τὰ λόγιά σου, which Fritzsche endeavours to construe. The Latin *in enarrabilibus verbis*, translated in A. V., stands for ἀρρητολογίας, which S. H. also represents. The Syriac seems to point to a Hebrew גדולותיך. This is apparently the only place in Greek literature in which a derivative of ἀρεταλόγος is used with its original meaning. Ordinarily it means a "buffoon" or "jester." See Mayor on Juvenal xv. 16. The ἀρεταί (in Pindar especially, "great deeds") will in this case be real and not exaggerated.

and thy people.] Emend from the Syriac, **and thy temple** (ναόν).

15. *Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed.*] Rather, **to thy creations,** *i.e.* "works from the beginning." Prove the truth of the record of them by doing others like them. But the Syr., which renders "confirm the testimony of thy *servants*," is far simpler: and indeed עֲבָדֶיךָ (cf. Eccles. ix. 1, ἐργασίαι) may mean either, but more naturally: "thy servants." Perhaps the phrase "which were of old" led the translator astray.

and raise up prophets.] Rather, **and raise up the prophecies uttered in thy name.** "Raise them up" in the sense of waking them out of their sleep—fulfil them. Syr. "let them come." Similarly κινεῖν is used of waking up an obsolete story.

16. The fulfilment of God's promises is described as the reward of the patience and faith of those who now suffer, and the confirmation of the truth of prophecy.

17. *according to the blessing of Aaron.*] Syr. "according to the will of thy people." The blessing of Aaron is recorded Numb. vi. 23. With the Syriac cp. Ps. cvi. 4 (with Peshitto). It seems to us clear that the Greek is a gloss, and a remarkable one.

the eternal God.] Syr. "that thou alone art God for ever."

18–20. The general subject is that of "discernment"—in matters relating to the senses, as regards the speech, and, lastly, the deeds of men.

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19 [l] As the palate tasteth divers kinds of venison: so doth an heart of understanding false speeches.

[l] Job 34. 3.

20 A froward heart causeth heaviness: but a man of experience will recompense him.

21 A woman will receive every man, yet is one daughter better than another.

22 The beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance, and a man loveth nothing better.

23 If there be kindness, meekness, and comfort, in her tongue, then is not her husband like ‖ other men.

‖ Or, common.

24 He that getteth a wife beginneth ‖ a possession, [m] a help like unto himself, and a pillar of rest.

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‖ Or, to thrive.

[m] Gen. 2. 18.

25 Where no hedge is, there the possession is spoiled: and he that hath no wife will wander up and down mourning.

26 Who will trust a thief well appointed, that skippeth from city to city? so [who will believe] a man that hath no house, and lodgeth wheresoever the night taketh him?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1 *How to know friends and counsellors.* 12 *The discretion and wisdom of a godly man blesseth him.* 27 *Learn to refrain thine appetite.*

18. *The belly.*] Syr. "the soul" or "appetite;" and "sweeter" for "better."

19. *tasteth* [*divers kinds of*] *venison.*] Omit the words within brackets. The English rendering follows a different interpretation from that of Fritzsche, which is that the palate distinguishes venison from other kinds of flesh. The Hebrew expression (which it is hard to recover) may have signified "high" meat. It is this which the palate can distinguish, whereas in *v.* 18 the difference is discovered during digestion.

20. *A froward heart causeth heaviness.*] Syr. "a hidden heart — great is the care thereof."

but a man of experience will recompense him.] Syr. "understands these things.'

The difference between the two translations proves the original to have been obscure. The sentiment intended was very likely that of Prov. xx. 5.

21. Omitted by the Syriac.

22. *the countenance.*] "Her husband's" (Vet. Lat.); cp. xxvi. 2. The Syriac has "praiseth," reading מְשַׁבַּחַ for מְשַׂמַּחַ, and makes the countenance the woman's. The idea is that of love being kindled by the *eyes*, often dwelt on by the Greek poets.

a man loveth nothing better.] Lit. **it surpasseth all human desire.** Syr. "every desire of the eyes;" possibly an intentional sobering down of the expression.

23. *and comfort.*] Omit these words (found in Vet. Lat., Co., 248; = וכורפא according to Fritzsche).

is not . . . like other men.] His lot far surpasses theirs. οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπους is a very common Greek phrase, always used in the sense of "better" or "higher than man." The verse is wanting in the Syriac.

24. *getteth.*] Fritzsche, "by purchase or otherwise."

beginneth a possession.] Commences possessing. But there is little doubt that we should read (following the guidance of the Syriac): "As the beginning of thy possessions, obtain a wife,"—ראשית קנין קְנֵה אשה, a verse modelled on Prov. iv. 7, ראשית חכמה קנה חכמה. The Greek translator here pointed קְנֵה for קְנֵה; but ἐνάρχεται is very likely an error of the transcribers for ἐν ἀρχῇ. Hesiod in the well-known lines makes a wife the second possession.

a help like unto himself.] See margin.

and a pillar of rest.] Compare the Latin phrase *acquiescere in aliquo.*

25. *the possession.*] Rather, **the vineyard.** Cp. Syr. here, and note on xxviii. 24.

will wander up and down mourning.] "Is taken captive and dispersed," Syr. The original may have been obscure; the A. V., however, suits the context sufficiently. S. Ephraem ('Opp. Gr.' i. 92 *d*) quotes this verse, substituting however ὑπομονή, "patience," for γυνή.

26. *well appointed.*] Syr. "like an antelope."

that skippeth.] The better reading (Lat. *exilicus*). The Vat. has "that tumbleth."

hath no **nest.**] Syr. "wife," interpreting.

and lodgeth.] Syr. "and dieth;" but we should perhaps emend נלכד for נלכד.

wheresoever the night taketh him.] Lit. **wheresoever he happens to be at eventide.** The verb represented is one of a class of Semitic verbs signifying "to be somewhere at a certain time." Fritzsche suggests הערב (1 Sam. xvii. 16).

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EVERY friend saith, I am his friend also: but there is a friend, which is only a friend in name.

2 Is it not a grief unto death, when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy?

3 O wicked imagination, whence camest thou in to cover the earth with deceit?

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4 [a] There is a companion, which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend, but in the time of trouble will be against him.

[a] ch. 6. 10.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The three main divisions of the chapter are well marked. Advice in regard to *friends* (substantially the same as that given in c. vi.), whether untrustworthy or otherwise (*vv.* 1–6), is followed by directions with reference to *counsel* (*vv.* 7–15)—when and with what limitations it should be sought and taken. This naturally leads to general remarks on the need of *reflection* and the character of *real wisdom* (*vv.* 16–26). The stanza is very artistically arranged. Three classes of wise men who are not really such (*vv.* 19, 20, 22) are contrasted with three who are really wise (*vv.* 23, 24, 26). In each case an explanatory verse is added after mention of the second class (*v.* 21, and again *v.* 25). The concluding stanza (*vv.* 27–31)—if here in its right place—once more diverges, as in previous chapters, to a subject not worthy of treatment. The "counsel," "reflection," and "wisdom" are to discretion in the choice of food and moderation in it. The only link of connexion between this chapter and the first seventeen verses of the preceding is in *v.* 25. Most probably the last stanza forms part of the following chapter.

1. *Every friend saith.*] We can here observe that the Syriac has lost a letter at the beginning of the line; for ܠܟܠ ܡܚܒ we should perhaps read ܡܚܒ ܟܠ.

I am his friend also.] אהבתי or אהבתי, meaning "I love him;" cf. Böttcher, 'Lehrb.' § 948; Driver, 'Hebrew Tenses,' § 11. For the expression compare Prov. xx. 9; and for the sentiment, ibid. 6.

but there is a friend which is only a friend in name.] Syr. "whose name is friend." Comparing Prov. xxi. 24, it would seem that the Greek interpretation of this is wrong; the author meaning "there is a friend who deserves the name," *i.e.* out of the whole number of self-styled friends there are a few who really belong to that class.

2. *Is it not a grief unto death.*] The Syriac (continuing the last verse), "who cometh not unto death." Heb. הֲלֹא עַד מָוֶת נָגַע, "Cometh it not nigh unto death?" The Syrian therefore wrongly pointed הֲלֹא for הֲלֹא, whereas the Greek read נָגֵע for נָגַע; but the latter, by punctuating correctly, came nearer the sense of the original. Compare with the phrase Euripides, 'Heracl.' 247, *καὶ τάδ' ἀγχονῆς πέλας*, &c. The omission of the word "nigh" caused the insertion of the glosses "is therein" (*ἔνι*) and "remains" (*μένει*) in different recensions.

when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy.] Lit. (according to the better reading) **to enmity.** Syr. "a true friend should be to thee as thyself." The original would seem to have contained the word נהיה, and also the word צדק, curiously interpreted in one of its Arabic meanings (الصديق) by the Greek, and in another (الصدق) by the Syrian.

3. The expression is so bitter that we might fancy the author to be speaking from his own experience. "O wicked imagination:" possibly we should take this phrase generally, comparing Gen. vi. 9. But it may be (as Fritzsche thinks) an apostrophe of the horrible *idea* of the friend becoming unfaithful.

whence camest thou in.] Lit. **whence wast thou rolled in,**—like an unexpected figure on a stage by a machine; compare F. V. Fritzsche's note on 'Thesmophoriazusae,' p. 97, where phrases like *ἀπορά γ' ἡμῖν πράγματα δαίμων τις εἰσκεκύκληκεν* are collected and explained. As the Syriac and Latin both render "wast thou created," we think the translator responsible for the Grecism. The *rolling* of water, however, may have been also in the translator's mind.

4. *There is a companion which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend.*] (Cp. vi. 8–12.) The Greek, as Fritzsche observes, admits of three constructions: of which he prefers that by which *ἑταῖρος φίλου* are combined, "a companion of the friend." But this seems a very unnatural expression, especially if we consider the fondness of the ancient languages for repetition of the same word in such cases. The Syriac has: "Evil is the friend who approacheth the table." Evidently we have the same confusion between רֵעַ and רָע which was noticed in xiv. 9; whereas the last words in both versions are apparently translations of בִּשְׂמְחָה קָרֵב, שִׂמְחָה in the later Hebrew meaning "a feast." The criticism of this verse is very closely con-

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5 There is a companion, which helpeth his friend for the belly, and taketh up the buckler ‖ against the enemy.

‖ Or, *in presence of the enemy.*

6 Forget not thy friend in thy mind, and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.

7 Every counsellor extolleth counsel; but there is some that counselleth for himself.

8 Beware of a counsellor, and know before ‖ what need he hath; for he will counsel for himself; lest he cast the lot upon thee,

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‖ Or, *what use there is of him.*

9 And say unto thee, Thy way is good: and afterward he stand on the other side, to see what shall befal thee.

10 Consult not with one that sus-

nected with that of the next, which commences with the same words in the Greek, but with "good is the friend" in the Syriac. The probability seems to us in favour of the latter being right, the Hebrew text before the Greek translator having been corrupted in a very common manner. Probably, however, רע אהב and טוב אהב should have been rendered "an evil friend" and "a good friend." The rule for the postposition of the adjective may be broken in the case of רע (Prov. xxix. 6; Ewald, 'Lehrb.' p. 751; compare Nöldeke, 'Syr. Gramm.' p. 150). The translation of the first clause should then have been "an evil friend approacheth in prosperity." It is remarkable that the Aethiop. retains "approacheth."

will be against him.] Heb. כְּמִנֶּגֶד (cp. Syr.), meaning rather, "will stand aloof."

5. *There is a companion which helpeth his friend for the belly.*] (Cp. vi. 10.) *I.e.* "out of sordid motives" (Fritzsche). If we adopt the corrections of the Syriac Version (see last note), it will be evident that the friend described in this verse must be the opposite of the former, and that the parasite cannot be referred to. The Syr. renders: "Good is the friend who fights against the enemy and takes a shield." It would seem that this represents the sense of the original. The parallelism, however, makes it probable that some words had been omitted, which the Greek χάρω γαστρός represent. We suggest that the Hebrew was טוב אהב נלחם בעד רחם, "a good friend fighteth on behalf of a friend," the word רחם (by a rather violent Aramaism) being used for "a friend," for the sake of the assonance with נלחם. The Greek wrongly pointed this word רֶחֶם, "the belly" (cp. Ps. cix. 4), while the homoeoteleuton caused the omission of the words in the Syrian's copy.

taketh up the buckler.] Cp. Ps. xxxv. 2.

6. *Forget not thy friend in thy mind.*] Syr. "praise not (אל תִּשְׁבַּח for אל תִּשְׁכַּח) thy friend lightly" ("at the beginning of the friendship," Barhebraeus).

and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.] Syr. "make him not ruler over thy house;" perhaps אל תישאהו, read variously with שׁ and שׂ. Though the Hebrew text may be restored with some certainty, it is by no means easy to detect the original purport of the clauses. As, however, the tone of most of these precepts is that of warning rather than of exhortation, it is probable that the Syriac is nearer the truth than the Greek. We venture to suggest (assuming מ twice corrupted to ב) that the author *meant*, "praise not thy friend above a kinsman, and exalt him not over thy household;" and, if so, as a corrective to a misapplication of Prov. xxvii. 10. The Aeth. translator conjectures (?) τύχῃ for ψυχῇ, "forget not thy friend in thy wealth,"—an attractive suggestion, which, however, would be certainly misleading.

7. *Every counsellor extolleth counsel.*] (Cp. vi. 6.) Lat. *prodit*; "considers his own counsel best," Schleussner. Fritzsche regards the text as corrupt. Our simplest course will be to read ἐξερεῖ for ἐξαίρει, though so obvious a suggestion can scarcely have been left to us to make. The verse will then apparently be modelled on *v.* 1 (πᾶς φίλος ἐρεῖ Ἐφιλίασα αὐτῷ κἀγώ), and the original meaning have been "every counsellor will say: Counsel," *i.e.* will call the course he suggests *counsel*, and therefore properly for the benefit of the person to whom it is given; whereas in some cases the counsellor himself is the person intended to profit thereby. The Syriac, "Behold every counsellor; yet there is counsel that is well made," seems to be a loose paraphrase rather than a translation. Compare 'Derekh Erets,' p. 38: "beware of him that counselleth according to his own way (for his own interest)."

8. *what need he hath.*] *I.e.* what is his real purpose or design.

lest he cast the lot upon thee.] It is useless inquiring what this can mean, since the Syr., by its rendering "an evil plot," seems to have interpreted חֶבֶל rightly as "a net:" "lest he entangle thee in his net." Fritzsche finds this meaning in *ne forte mittat sudem in terram* of the Lat.

10. Examples of the persons whose advice

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pecteth thee: and hide thy counsel from such as envy thee.

11 Neither consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; neither with a coward in matters of war; nor with a merchant concerning exchange; nor with a buyer of selling; nor with an envious man of thankfulness; nor with an unmerciful man touching kindness; nor with the slothful for any work; nor with an hireling for a year of finishing work; nor with an idle servant of much business: hearken not unto these in any matter of counsel.

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12 But be continually with a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord, whose mind is according to thy mind, and will sorrow with thee, if thou shalt miscarry.

13 And let the counsel of thine

should not be taken. First, *one that suspecteth thee;* rather, **one that looketh upon thee with ill-favour:** cp. L. and S. *s. v.* ὑποβλέπω. The Syriac Version paraphrases this "thy enemy;" but the Lat. in some MSS. retains a remarkable variant, "thy father-in-law," which has indeed no value in itself, but points to an original חמיך, rightly derived by Syr. and Greek from the Aramaic verb חמא, "to see," which apparently was used with the same specialization as the Hebrew עין and Lat. *invideo.* This verse comes in the Vet. Lat. between 5 and 6; see on *v.* 11.

11. *Neither consult.*] Necessary to the sense, but omitted in the Vet. Lat. and Syr. The Lat. commences with the words, "With an irreligious man treat about holiness, and with an unjust man about justice;" probably interpolated, when, owing to the transposition of *v.* 10, the sentence was left without a natural commencement.

with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous.] ἀντίζηλος. Lagarde, 'Mittheilungen' (Göttingen, 1884), 133, says: "The thing to be ascertained by further investigation is the signification of ἀντίζηλος. We can only guess that it is *fellow-wife*, we do not know it; from Steph. 'Thes.' i. 2, 908, it cannot be proved." Syr. "lest thou commit adultery with her;" probably through some misunderstanding, though even in the Greek the subject of deliberation here is not strictly parallel to the rest. Compare 'Derekh Erets,' p. 19.

neither with a coward in matters of war.] Syr. "with an enemy lest thou fight."

with a merchant concerning exchange.] *I.e.* about goods, and more particularly about *his* goods (Syr.). His advice should not be asked on such matters as the article to be taken. In all these cases the reader is warned not to ask counsel of any person directly interested in the result of the deliberation.

with a buyer of selling.] *I.e.* about the price, as Syr. "his price,"—the price which he ought to pay. In the East it would seem that these precepts are by no means unnecessary.

Then follows a class of counsellors who, from their character, are incapable of being judges of the matter to be discussed.

with an envious man of thankfulness.] Rather, **with an ill-natured man** (cf. Syr.; Lat. *viro livido*).

with the slothful for any work.] The habitually timid and shrinking must not be consulted about taking any important step.

with an hireling for a year of finishing work.] Lit. **with a domestic servant.** The readings, however, vary; and Alex. has "for a yearly servant," which is supported by Lat. Syr. "with an evil hireling bind not up [*i.e.* confide not] a secret." A man hired by the time would be a bad counsellor concerning the point at which the work was finished; since it would be to his interest to protract the period as long as possible (Bretschneider). Since no similar disqualification can be urged against the "domestic servant," we prefer the reading ἐπετείου.

with an idle servant of much business.] Rather, "**work.**" Syr. "with a servant who seeks to harm his master," in which we recognize ברע, but scarcely anything more. The opinion of a lazy servant must not be asked on the question whether there is much work to be done. (Cp. Prov. xviii. 9.)

12. The attributes of the good counsellor follow.

a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord.] Whose advice will therefore be uniformly on the side of right.

whose mind is according to thy mind.] Whose advice will therefore be disinterested. The first qualification is wanting in the second class of counsellors mentioned above; the second in the first.

and if thou stumblest, will grieve with thee.] For this the Syr. has: "and who, when thou art hurt, is hurt himself, and with whom it goes well when it goes well with thee." Both are explanations of the previous clause.

13. Yet self-reliance is, after all, better.

And let the counsel of thine own heart

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own heart stand: for there is no man more faithful unto thee than it.

14 For a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him more than seven watchmen, that sit above in an high tower.

15 And above all this pray to the most High, that he will direct thy way in truth.

16 Let reason go before every enterprize, and counsel before every action.

17 The countenance is a sign of changing of the heart.

18 Four manner of things appear: good and evil, life and death: but the tongue ruleth over them continually.

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19 There is one that is wise and teacheth many, and yet is unprofitable to himself.

20 There is one that sheweth wisdom in words, and is hated: he shall be destitute of all ‖ food.

‖ Or, *wisdom.*

21 For grace is not given him from the Lord; because he is deprived of all wisdom.

22 Another is wise to himself; and the fruits of understanding are commendable in his mouth.

stand.] Rather, **And call the council of thine own heart;** a figure curiously like that of Plautus, 'Mostell.' 688, "huc concessero dum mihi senatum consili in cor convoco." The Syrian probably had a mutilated original before him.

14. And men's instinct ordinarily tells them what to do. A similar sentiment to that in the text occurs in the so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira:' "Let there be to thee sixty counsellors; yet desert not thine own soul." Syr. "the heart of a man rejoices in his way." Perhaps the renderings represent יגיד כדרכו and יגיל בד respectively; and the original meant "tells him concerning his way."

than seven watchmen that sit above in an high tower.] Syr. "than the useless wealth of the world."

15. And after self-reliance, prayer is of primary importance. The counsellors are given in the inverse order of importance,—one's friends, oneself, God.

16. Third stanza (see introd. remarks).

Let reason go before every enterprize.] Rather, perhaps, **a word is the beginning of every act.** The Syriac here follows a mutilated original: "before all men and before everything," לפני כל . . . ולפני כל . . . דבר.

17. *The countenance is a sign of changing of the heart.*] The words "the countenance is" are a gloss from 155, 248, and Co., and must be omitted. The words remaining, "a sign of changing of the heart," are in apposition with *μέρη*, according to Fritzsche, "four things come to light as the signs of the changing of the heart;" a sense which seems obviously inappropriate. Lat. *verbum nequam immutavit cor.* The Syriac omits the words. We believe them to be inexplicable in their present condition; and suggest that they are part of xiii. 21, 22, written by some one on the margin.

18. *Four manner of things appear.*] Lit. **four parts.** One may compare Deut. xxx. 19, "I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse." The Syriac has: "the Lord created all things."

but the tongue ruleth over them continually.] Compare Prov. xviii. 21. Syr. "and he that ruleth over his tongue shall be saved from evil." This reminds us very temptingly of the Arabic يبرح (Wright, ii. p. 113, Rem. b.).

19. The commentators quote from Menander, *μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός.* The passage cannot have been understood by the Syr.

20. *he shall be destitute of all food.*] Syr. "depriveth himself of all honour;" Lat. "of everything." The original, however, may have contained some vigorous phrase.

21. This verse is omitted by Syr., and may be an explanation of the fact mentioned in *v.* 20.

22. *the fruits of* [add *his*] *understanding are commendable in his mouth.*] "Commendable" is an emendation of 248, Co., Lat., for "faithful," which, as Bretschneider and Fritzsche have seen, is an interpolation from the end of the next verse. The Syriac order is somewhat confused here. It would seem, however, that the clause corresponding to this is 23 *b*, "and the fruits of his works are from the appearance of his face." The combination of these two renderings suggests an original like ופרי ערמתו מקבל פיו, "and his own mouth receives the fruit of his understanding." The Syrian and the first Greek translator both took מקבל as a preposition, whereas *ἐπαινετοί*,

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23 A wise man instructeth his people; and the fruits of his understanding fail not.

24 A wise man shall be filled with blessing; and all they that see him shall count him happy.

25 The days of the life of man may be numbered: but the days of Israel are innumerable.

[b] Prov. 3. 35. ‖ Or, *credit.*

26 [b] A wise man shall inherit ‖ glory among his people, and his name shall be perpetual.

27 My son, prove thy soul in thy life, and see what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.

28 For all things are not profitable for all men, neither hath every soul pleasure in every thing. B. C. cir. 200.

[c] ch. 31. 12, 17.

29 [c] Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing, nor too greedy upon meats:

‖ Or, *variety of meats.*

30 For ‖ excess of meats bringeth sickness, and surfeiting will turn into choler.

31 By surfeiting have many perished; but he that taketh heed prolongeth his life.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *Honour due to the physician, and why.*
16 *How to weep and mourn for the dead.*
24 *The wisdom of the learned man, and of the labourer and artificer: with the use of them both.*

"praiseworthy," represents a view which made it a passive participle.

23. *A wise man instructeth his people.*] These words remind us of x. 1. The Syr. has: "there is a wise man that is wise at all times," *i.e.* reading לעלם for לעם (=לעמו), and יש for איש. If we consider (1) the parallelism, (2) the frequent omission of letters, we shall perhaps decide in favour of the Syriac reading. The division implied in these verses is into (1) the wise to others but not to themselves; (2) neither to themselves nor others; (3) to themselves and not to others; (4) to both. The Syr. has misunderstood the second clause. Comp. 'Abhoth de R. Nathan,' p. 87.

25. And that reputation will last, in spite of the wise man's death. This verse is omitted by Syr. On the second clause, see the introductory remarks.

26. *shall inherit glory.*] So 248, Co., Lat., Syr. The better Greek MSS. have "faith." The original probably meant "shall have a perpetual inheritance."

27. People should find out their particular weaknesses, and avoid yielding to them.

28. *all things are not profitable for all men.*] Syr. "all food is not good." There has been a confusion between לכל and אכל. We believe the Greek text to be right.

neither hath every soul pleasure in everything.] "Pleasure in a little," Syr. This seems clearly corrupt; ܨܠܝܠ for ܟܠ. The Arabic translator makes of this: "and a little sufficeth for the soul."

29. *Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing.*] The Syriac has again אכל for כל.

nor too greedy upon meats.] Lit. **be not poured out**, a very elegant Grecism: compare Aristoph. 'Vespae,' 1469. The Syr. should be rendered "let not thine eye be evil over," *i.e.* be not envious of. This points to a Hebrew אל תרע, a transposition of אל תער of the Hebrew (cf. Is. xxxii. 15).

30. *will turn into choler.*] Lit. **will approach near to.** Cp. xxxi. 20 for the sentiment, and *v.* 2 (with note) for the expression.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The concluding stanza of ch. xxxvii. naturally leads to what forms the subject of the first twenty-three verses of this chapter. But when taken in connexion with the second part of the chapter (*vv.* 24–end), it seems as if the first part formed a portion of a larger train of thought. The subject of the second part is sufficiently set forth, or at least introduced in *v.* 24. It is the pre-eminence of Wisdom—to which Alexandrians and Palestinians would attach different ideas—as that which alone was worthy of a man's life, but to which a man's whole life must be devoted if it was to be attained. As regards this general proposition, both Alexandrians and Palestinians would agree. But when the Son of Sirach proceeds to compare with such pursuits all other occupations as not only inferior to, but incompatible with the pursuit of wisdom, the Palestinians would have agreed with him in regard to agriculture, *vv.* 25, 26, but not as to handicrafts, the praise of which is very frequent in Talmudic writings. Indeed, it was a principle (Qidd. iv. 14; comp. 29 *a*), although not universally admitted (see in Qidd. iv. 14, the views of Simeon b. Elazar, but especially those of R. Nehorai), that every parent should teach his son some trade or craft. In accordance rather with Hellenic than Palestinian ideas, the writer declares all

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B. C. cir. 200. HONOUR a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him: [a] for the Lord hath created him. B. C. cir. 200.

[a] ver. 12.

such occupations needful indeed for ordinary life, *vv.* 31, 32, but excluding a man from those higher distinctions and that higher work which are sketched in truly Palestinian fashion.

With this train of reasoning the subject of the first part of the chapter may be in this wise connected that it excludes the occupation of a physician from the general disparagement of all other pursuits than study. For the physician has a direct appointment from God; his medicaments are directly from God; and the exercise and success of his profession are directly dependent upon God. When we enter into further details, the various topics in the first part (*vv.* 1–23) appear well connected, although their connexion is rather that of succession of thinking than strictly logical, when one thought springs from the other. This, indeed, is the case throughout Ecclesiasticus—we had almost said in much of Jewish Wisdom-literature, though certainly not in the canonical Ecclesiastes. The fundamental position of the writer is indicated in the two opening verses of the chapter. It is twofold: the physician is to be honoured—the physician is from God. In the first stanza (*vv.* 1–8) it is emphasised that the physician and his medicaments are from God; in the second (*vv.* 9–15), that healing is from God, and that it implies repentance and good works on our part. Throughout the writer does not seem quite clear how to combine the skill of the physician with absolute help from God. A very curious instance of rationalistic interpretation of the miracle recorded in Ex. xv. 23–25 occurs in *v.* 5, which seems to imply that the healing was in the wood. (Comp. the same view in Philo, 'de vita Moys.' i. 33; and another rationalistic explanation of the miracle in Jos. 'Antiq.' iii. 1, 2.) The apparent depreciation of the physician in *v.* 15 is not inconsistent with the honour previously ascribed to him. It only presents another aspect of the subject, and the reference in *v.* 15 is not so much to the physician as to the sick who require his aid—dangerous illness being regarded, according to Jewish ideas, as the judgment of the Lord.

From such reference to dangerous sickness the transition in the third stanza (*vv.* 16–23) to death and mourning is easy and natural. The writer enjoins the duties towards the dead, and the usual practice of mourning, but tempers the latter with the caution that while too little of it would give offence, too much is unadvisable, as alike hurtful unto oneself and foolish. We have here that mixture of selfishness and Eastern world-wisdom with religion which forms one of the characteristics of the book (see General Introduction). Alike its philosophy and its theology are far from elevated—a kind of fatalism not unmixed with a constant regard for self underlying all. Yet even here what may be designated as the "ground-tone" in the previous two stanzas is not changed. The two ideas are still present to the writer: on the one hand, what men will think of us; and, on the other, that all is from God.

We feel tempted to note a few Rabbinic parallels to this chapter. In regard to the honour due to the physician (see note on *v.* 1) we have the exact parallel in Aramaic in Jer. Taan. 66 *d* and in pure Hebrew (though with different application) in Shem. R. 21 (see our note on Ecclus. xviii. 19). On the other hand, we read also: "The best of physicians deserves Gehenna" (Qidd. iv. 14). The dependence of healing upon God, and the need of humiliation, prayer, and good works in such cases, were generally acknowledged Rabbinic principles. In connexion with *v.* 12 we might quote this: "He that suffers pain goes to the physician" (Babh. Q. 46 *b*)—although the proverb has a wider and general application in the Talmud. In regard to *v.* 15 we read this as "a proverb": "The door that is not open to charity (the poor) shall be open to the physician" (Bemid. R. 9, and Midr. on Cant. vi. 11). The duties in reference to the dead are often insisted upon by the Rabbis. As regards excessive sorrow, referred to in *v.* 18, we read: "Every one who mourns over the dead beyond measure weeps over another dead" (viz. he will himself die), Moed Q. 27 *b*. On the subject of trades and occupations, we have already given parallels. But as regards the infinite superiority of the student to all others, referred to in *vv.* 31-end, we recall the contemptuous answer of Jochanan b. Zakkai to the workman who claimed equality with the Rabbi, since both laboured for the public good, and to whom the Rabbi would apply Eccles. iv. 17 (see the Midrash on the passage). And although (Ber. 17 *a*) the Rabbis are said to have placed on the same level the work of the labourer in the field and that of the student in the city, provided only his heart be directed towards God—by which, however, we are to understand that he engaged in study of the Law according to his ability—yet the immense superiority of the professed student of the Law to all other classes of men is too well known to require illustration. Lastly, as regards the miracle recorded in Ex. xv. 25, it may be interesting to know that the rationalistic explanation

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2 For of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive ‖ honour of the king.

‖ Or, *a gift.*

3 The skill of the physician shall lift up his head: and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.

4 The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them.

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5 [b] Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?

[b] Exod. 15. 25.

6 And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works.

7 With such doth he heal [men,] and taketh away their pains.

8 Of such doth the apothecary

given by the Son of Sirach (in *v.* 5) occurs also in the Targum Onkelos. (For the views of Philo and Josephus, see above.)

1. *which ye may have of him.*] These words must be omitted, as not in the Greek. Syr. "Honour a physician before thou needest him;" with which the quotation in the Talmud and Midrash, אוקיר לאסייך עד דלא תצטרך ליה, exactly agrees (Jer. Taan. 66 *d*; Shem. R. 21). We learn, therefore, that in the Greek text (1) we must emend *πρὸ τῆς χρείας αὐτοῦ* for *πρὸς τὰς χρείας*; and (2) we must omit *τιμαῖς*. This last may be merely a copyist's error; or it may have been inserted by some one who desired a more natural connexion between clauses *a* and *b*, and imagined the word *τιμαῖς* ("his natural" or "proper honours") would give this. We do not think "honour" is here used in the sense of "pay," in spite of the interesting Latinism *ut medico honos haberetur*, cited by Baduellus. The subject of ill-health probably suggested to the author the remarkable character of the medical art, which even those who are not afflicted with illness ought, he thinks, to appreciate. The sentiment, therefore, is wholly different from that of xviii. 19, but does not imply "either that people were in the habit of employing medical aid too seldom, nor that the medical profession was insufficiently respected" (Fritzsche).

for the Lord hath created him.] Syr. (and perhaps Greek): "for him, too, the Lord hath created." Like the poet, *nascitur, non fit.* Even the vast advances in the science made since the author's time do not prevent this observation still holding good. Yet the meaning may be simply that God hath appointed the healing art, "which is as necessary to the human body as cultivation to plants" (Midrash on Samuel, p. 28 *b*).

2. *For of the most High cometh healing, &c.*] Syr. "for by God is a physician taught." It is probable that both translators are wrong in supplying a verb in the first clause. The original (probably כי מי"י רפאות ומלך יקח תפארת) may have meant: "For from a king one can receive honour; but from God only the art of healing;" the phrases being (as sometimes in the Proverbs) inverted probably to call attention to the play on the roots פאר and רפא; with which compare Isa. lxi. 3. The author is not alluding to the custom of maintaining state-physicians (which is well attested), but to the nature of his distinction, which, coming from a higher source, entitles its recipient to higher respect than any title bestowed by kings. If the reading "**gift**" of the best authorities (for "honour") be correct, this note will have to be modified only in respect of the play on words suggested.

3. *The skill of* a *physician shall lift up his head.*] The author means that this eminence of the medical profession is as a matter of fact generally recognised, and that there is no position of honour to which a physician of unusual skill may not aspire. The case in Gen. l. 2 (cited by Delitzsch, s. v. *Arzneikunst*, in Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch') is perhaps to be explained by the special ideas of the Egyptians.

and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.] Syr. "he shall be brought." The latter seems a more likely expression than the Greek rendering.

4. And no suspicion should attach to the instruments of the art. A paraphrase of the original is here preserved: אלוה העלה סמים מן הארץ. The word for "medicines" is adopted by the Syr. and S. H.

will not abhor them.] Perhaps some sects then, as in our times, disliked the employment of natural agency in the healing of the sick. (See Midrash, *l. c.*)

5. A scriptural argument in proof of the last assertion.

that the **power** *thereof might be known.*] Syr. "the power of God," perhaps a religious emendation on the part of the Syrian translator. Fritzsche (after Bretschneider), thinking that it is the virtue of the simples which is here being insisted on, prefers the reference to the wood; and this seems the correct view (see the introd. to the chapter).

7. *With such doth he heal men, and taketh away their pains.*] Syr. "doth the physician relieve;" similarly Lat., *in his curans mitigabit*

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B. C. cir. 200. make a confection; and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth.

9 My son, in thy sickness be not negligent: but [c] pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole.

[c] Isai. 38. 2.

10 Leave off from sin, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all wickedness.

11 Give a sweet savour, and a memorial of fine flour; and make a fat offering, ‖as not being.

‖ Or, *as a dead man.*

12 Then give place to the physician, [d] for the Lord hath created him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him. B. C. cir. 200.

[d] ver. 1.

13 There is a time when in their hands there is good success.

14 For they shall also pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper that, which they give for ease and ‖remedy to prolong life.

‖ Or, *curing.*

15 He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hand of the physician.

16 My son, [e] let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, as if thou hadst suffered great harm

[e] ch. 22. 11. 1 Thess. 4. 13.

dolorem; and Ben Sira, בהם הרפא מרפא את המכה. The Qal participle having become a substantive, that of Piel is employed instead. The Greek original must have been corrupted.

8. *Of such doth the apothecary make a confection.*] Rather, **the perfumer.** Heb. preserved as above in Ber. R. 10, בהם הרוקח מרוקח את המרוקחת.

and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth.] This means, according to Drus., Grot., Fritzsche, that before the drug is made, the patient is already healed—a hyperbolical description of the excellence and rapidity of the effects of these simples. Syr. "that work may not fail, nor wisdom from the face of the earth;" representing the same text with the single alteration of "wisdom" for "peace." In spite of the ingenuity of the explanation quoted, we believe the Syr. rendering to be right; for the perfumer's concoction can have no such effect, nor were the trades of physician and chemist distinct in those days. Though all these artists are inspired by God, yet they are made to employ certain simple means. The reason for which, the philosopher thinks, is a Divine design to encourage science; which otherwise would vanish, being useless. "Miraculous" healing would never have suggested a study of botany or mineralogy. "Peace" in the Greek text is probably a false repetition of שלם (συντελέσῃ) from the foregoing clause.

9–15. Second stanza. See introductory remarks.

9. *be not negligent.*] The word παράβλεπε is difficult. Lat. *non despicias te ipsum.* Fritzsche, with many others (as A. V.), "Neglect not to pray;" but it is doubtful whether the word can bear the meaning. The Syr. omits it. May it be a marginal variant from the last verse representing ܢ of Syr. there?

but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole.] Syriac, "because he is the healer;" and either this, or "that he may heal thee," must have been the meaning of the original.

10. *Leave off from sin, and order thy hands aright.*] Lit. **straighten thy hands.** Bretschneider compares such phrases as "pure hands" (Job xvii. 9, &c.). Fritzsche thinks guilt is symbolized by crooked hands (compare with this Propertius, iii. 7, 60). The expression is in any case a strange one. The Syriac omits it. Bretschneider remarks on the Jewish theory that bodily pain was a punishment for sin.

11. *as not being.*] "He who regards himself as lost will assuredly give the best thing in his possession to God" (Fritzsche). The whole verse is omitted in the Syr., and the last clause of it in the Vet. Lat.

12. *for the Lord hath created him . . . go from thee.*] These words are omitted in the Syr., and may contain an interpolation from *v.* 1.

14. *that he would prosper that, which they give for ease and remedy to prolong life.*] Rather, **for the sake of life;** *i.e.* to make a living (Fritzsche). Syr. "and by his hand there may come healing and life."

15. The Armenian Version here recommences. The Syr. renders: "because he that sinneth . . . is given . . . ," which would transform what might seem an attack on physicians generally into a reason why prayer should be employed. The sentiment in the Greek form would seem at first sight unlike what we have had in the previous verses; but see the remarks on the subject in the introduction to this chapter. On the other hand, the Syriac gives an unnatural expression. For the language, comp. Prov. xxii. 14 *b.*

16. *let tears fall down.*] Cp. Jer. ix. 17.

begin to lament.] Probably שא קינה.

as if thou hadst suffered great harm.] The Hebrew (*e.g.* וירע לך) probably meant "feel

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thyself; and then cover his body according to the custom, and neglect not his burial.

17 Weep bitterly, and make great moan, and use lamentation, as he is worthy, and that a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of: and then comfort thyself for thy heaviness.

f ch. 30. 23. 2 Cor. 7. 10.

18 *f* For of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the *g* heart breaketh strength.

g Prov. 15. 13. & 17. 22.

19 In affliction also sorrow remaineth: and the life of the poor is the curse of the heart.

20 Take no heaviness to heart: drive it away, and remember the last end.

21 Forget it not, for there is no turning again: thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself.

‖ Or, *the sentence upon him.*

22 Remember ‖ my judgment: for thine also shall be so; yesterday for me, and to day for thee.

h 2 Sam. 12. 20.

23 *h* When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest; and be comforted for him, when his spirit is departed from him.

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24 The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise.

25 How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is ‖ of bullocks?

‖ Gr. *of the breed of bullocks?*

26 He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

27 So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day; and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work:

28 The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his

that thou hast suffered," and the Greek implies the same.

according to the custom.] Rather, **according to his due.** כמשפטו — perhaps, in graveclothes suited to his station; compare Herodotus, ii. 139.

neglect not his burial.] This may refer to some abuse of the time, but more probably is only a solemn injunction of what was regarded as a religious duty.

17. *Weep bitterly, and make great moan.*] The Syr. has a very different sentiment: "Wine and refreshment for mourners;" alluding to the customary funeral-feast mentioned by Jer. xvi. 7, Tobit iv. 18 (Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch'). Yet such an allusion should have been made later on in the chapter.

24–end. Part II. (see the introd.).

24. *The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure.*] Rather, **of a scribe.** The Syriac, "shall increase his wisdom," seems to be a wilful alteration. As the Atticists tell us that *εὐκαιρία* is late Greek for *σχολή*, perhaps one of these words should be omitted.

and he that hath little business.] And therefore can enjoy the leisure necessary for study. Drusius quotes from Hillel, "qui multum negotiatur non evadet sapiens;" and from R. Meir, "minue occupationes et vaca legi." (The former is a quotation from Abh. ii. 5; the latter from Abh. iv. 10.)

26. *to make furrows.*] The expression is a rare one. The Coptic seems to have read *εὐθῦναι* or *ἐκτεῖναι*, "to straighten." On the Syriac here, see Payne Smith, 'Thes.' p. 1891.

to give the kine fodder.] Syr. "to finish his work." Heb. perhaps לכפות, derived by Syr. from כפה instead of כפא. This mistake may have led to the other.

27. *So.*] *I.e.* cannot become wise.

that laboureth, &c.] Rather, **that spends the night as the day.**

and are diligent to make great variety.] *I.e.* to invent fresh and fanciful patterns.

to counterfeit imagery.] *I.e.* to make the image resemble the thing counterfeited.

28. *considering the iron work.*] So the inferior MSS., Sin., and Alex., Lat., Arm., S. H., Aeth., but Vat. *ἀργῷ σιδήρῳ*, a difficult phrase. Fritzsche's conjecture that this means unwrought iron, and that ידע was a false reading for יגע, does not seem supported by the Syr., "considering vessels of weight."

wasteth.] Syr. "splitteth." The Vat. reading is "**stiffeneth.**" The Heb. יבקע would correspond with the Syr., and is rendered "waste" by the LXX. of Micah i. 4. Both *τήξει* and *πήξει* might be used for the

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flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly:

29 So doth the potter sitting at
[i] Jer. 18. 3. his work, and [i] turning the wheel about with his feet, who is alway carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number;

30 He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and [ll] boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnace:

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[ll] Or, *tempereth it with his feet.*

31 All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work.

32 Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down:

effects of fire; see Sext. Empir. p. 329, 14 (ed. Bekker).

and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace.] A remarkable phrase. Syr. "he burneth" or "is burnt with." The original was probably יתחרה, which is almost exclusively employed of mental warmth, and was probably intended by the author to refer to the excitement produced by the heat.

is ever in his ears.] Lit. **renews his ears**, explained by Grotius as "pleases with its freshness;" an idea which the context assuredly does not confirm. Arm. "excites" (*κινεῖ?*); S. H. "empties" (*κενοῖ?*); Aeth. "annoys" = *κναίει* (conjectured also by Grabe), or rather *ἀποκναίει*, which may be right; *ἀποκναίειν τὰ ὦτα*, "to wear away the ears," is a Greek phrase, of which Philo in particular is fond, applied to persons who are for ever harping on the same string. No less ingenious, however, is the conjecture of Fritzsche that "renews" is a translation of יְחַדֵּשׁ, itself a misreading of יְחֵרֵשׁ, "deafens," a word formed like יְעַוֵּר. The Syriac has "towards the conception he inclines his hand;" a remarkable rendering, the discussion of which would lead to conjectures not suitable for this place, but which suggests the correction *φωνῇ σφύρης κλινεῖ τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ*.

of the thing that he maketh.] Lit. **of a vessel.**

The last clause, "he setteth his mind . . . perfectly," is omitted in the Syr.

29. On the process described in this and the following verse, see Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch,' s. v. *Töpferei.*

who is alway carefully set at his work.] Omitted in the Syr.

and maketh all his work by number.] *I.e.* makes it to order in definite numbers.

30. *He fashioneth the clay with his arm.*] Heb. יצר; the Syr. seems to have read יִרֹץ, "he breaketh."

and boweth down his strength before his feet.] The clay is prepared by stamping; cp. Isa. xli. 25. The Syriac version, "before his death he is bowed and bent," suggests that they took "before his feet" as a euphemism (compare the Latin *rigidas calces extendere*), scarcely to be found elsewhere.

he applieth himself to lead it over.] "Lead" must here mean to "glaze," white lead being employed in certain glazes. On the materials employed by the ancients in making glazes, see 'Dict. of Antiq.' s. v. *Fictile.* The Hebrew was probably מִשְׁחָה (cp. Payne Smith, 'Thes. Syr.' p. 2240, *s. v.* ܡܫܚܐ ܕܚܣܡ). The Syrian, who renders "his work," may have either confused this with מַעֲשֶׂה, or made a mere guess at the meaning, as the Aeth., who also translates "work," seems to have done.

and he is diligent [lit. **and his sleeplessness is**] *to make clean the furnace.*] So that no improper materials may spoil the pottery. Syr. "to build" (perhaps corrupt; cp. Arab.). Perhaps the phrase in Hos. vii. 4 may suggest that the Siracide had intended לְבַעֵר, "to heat," miswritten לְבָרֵר.

31. *All these trust to their hands.*] Not, like the wise man, to their minds. Syr. "all these for the sake of their profit;" reading, perhaps, בידי כשרו for בידו שברו. (Lat. *speraverunt.*) Yet there may have been a play on the words אֱמֶן and אֱמֶן.

and every one is wise.] They have then a wisdom, which is confined to the narrow groove of their respective arts; unlike that described in xxxix. 1. Both the Greek and Heb. (יתחכם) mean rather "**plays the wise man**" than "is wise."

32. These are all essential elements of a civilised community.

they shall not dwell where they will.] *I.e.* men shall not establish any kind of community (Bad., Drus., Fri.). But the interpretation of Grotius, "they shall not sojourn," *i.e.* these artisans will easily find employment

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33 They shall not be sought for in publick counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

34 But they will maintain the state of the world, and [all] their desire is in the work of their craft.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 *A description of him that is truly wise.*
12 *An exhortation to praise God for his works; which are good to the good, and evil to them that are evil.*

in their native country, seems more natural. The Syriac renders: "and wherever they dwell they shall not hunger." This suggests that for *οὐ* in the Greek we should read *οὗ*; while "they shall not walk about" (Gr.) and "they shall not hunger" (Syr.) probably represent different readings, יעברו and יִרעבו, of which we should prefer the latter.

33. *They shall not be sought for in publick counsel.*] This clause is not found in any Greek MSS. except 248 and the second hand of Sin.; into the former of which it might seem to have been introduced from the Syriac. On the other hand, MS. 248 helps us to correct the Syriac text (ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܐ ܒܟܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܐ ܒܡܬܠܐ), in which ܢܬܒܥܐ, "they shall not be wanted," is clearly required for "they shall not sit"), and also preserves apparently a trace of independence in the preposition *ἐν* (Sin. *εἰς*). The true form of the clause would seem to have been, "they shall not be inquired of (their opinion shall not be asked) for public counsel." That the clause forms a genuine and necessary part of the text is shewn by the context and the parallelism so forcibly, that even Fritzsche, ordinarily no friend of either Syr. or 248, admits it.

nor sit high in the congregation.] Lit. "**overleap.**" Commentators here think either of "septa intra quae habetur senatus" (Grotius) or of "their coming forward into the front benches" (Arm., Bretschn., Fri.). Syr. (followed by S. H.): "they shall not be exalted," perhaps representing a variant יגדלו for ידלגו, the latter of which, as the more difficult, should be preferred; compare also the uses of ܢܣܩ in Syriac (Payne Smith, 'Thes.' p. 945), "gradatim ascendit ad honores, ad thronum regni promovit."

they shall not sit on the judges' seat.] Cp. Riehm, s. v. *Gerichtswesen*; Job xxix. 7.

nor understand the sentence of judgment.] Lit. **the covenant of judgment**; representing, according to Fritzsche, ברית משפט, a phrase which he supposes to mean "the law covenant," *i.e.* the principles of justice. No doubt the moral and civil codes were not separated in those days. Syr.: "covenants and judgments."

declare.] This requires the alteration of *ἐκφανῶσι* to *ἐκφάνωσι* (Fritzsche).

justice.] Most authorities: "**discipline.**"

they shall not be found where parables are spoken.] Lit. **they shall not be found in parables**; which Grotius interprets of their not being found quoted among authors of parables. The Syrian seems to have pointed ימצאו actively, "they shall not find;" *i.e.* "they shall not attain to any portion of," which he paraphrastically renders they shall not "understand." This is probably the better interpretation. The suggestion that מְשָׁלִים, "parables," is a mistake for מוֹשְׁלִים, "rulers" (Gaab), deserves mention.

34. *But they will maintain the state of the world.*] Grotius quotes the Hebrew phrase שיש בהן ישוב של עולם, "people by whom the world is rendered habitable," applied to artisans, &c. Our author's words, however, would seem to have been כי אם ברית עולם יכינו (Syr. יבינו). The following clause (in which their "desire" seems to represent a word meaning "business," רנה, Syriace) would appear to give a slight probability to the Syriac reading "they understand."

and their desire.] The original (probably) "their meditation:" *v. supra.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

This is, perhaps, one of the most interesting chapters in the book. It gives insight into the views and philosophy of the author, and into one of the main objects of his work. Perhaps more clearly than any other it connects itself with the general drift of our canonical Ecclesiastes in discussing the great problems of life and the connexion between the (moral) government of God and the events and incidents of this world. It sets forth, from the standpoint of the writer and presumably of the *Chokhmah* or religious philosophy of that period, how the Jewish sage—the philosophic believer—solved the great problems of religious thinking. He is no longer narrow, exclusively Judaic, ignoring other men and other thought, bigoted

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B. C. cir. 200. BUT he that giveth his mind to the law of the most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all B. C. cir. 200.

and prejudiced. He has learned abroad; he has made personal experience of what is foreign. But, above all, he has been nourished at the fount of his ancestral religion (*v.* 1). And from a wider consideration of men and things he returns a firm believer in the God of Revelation, the God of Israel (*vv.* 8, 14*d*, 15). Alike the main object and the main result of his thinking and of his investigations was that which also formed the topic of *Chokhmah*-literature — presented in Proverbs and Parables (*vv.* 2, 3, 6, 7). This was the outcome of a proper understanding of the deeper meaning of the Law, with which we must here combine the history of Israel, as the practical application of the fundamental principles contained in the Law (*v.* 8), and of which the full bearing appeared in prophecy (*vv.* 1, 22, 23). The great problem of *Chokhmah* was to vindicate the ways of God with man. The *thesis* itself (or the final conclusion) is propounded in *v.* 16*a*, and the manner of its demonstration as well as its limits are indicated in *v.* 16*b*. Nature, the history of the world, and the experience of each individual force upon us—in view of what seems sometimes unmitigated evil, at other times like mere accident, or else as if it were fate—such questions as these: "What means all this? wherefore is it?" (*v.* 17)—that is, if there be a God, such as Revelation has set Him forth. The Book of Ecclesiastes had in part treated the same questions, though chiefly from the subjective standpoint (as it were of the laughing philosopher). And it had answered them by pointing from self, and seeming accidentalness or fate—in short, away from moral indifferentism—through eternal, absolute right and truth, to personal moral responsibility as the final solution (Eccles. xi. 9; xii. 13, 14). But our writer answers them rather from the objective standpoint. The progression of thought may be thus marked. We accept the position that all these seemingly incongruous things, so full of difficulty when viewed separately, are of and from the Lord. And we maintain that all His works are exceeding good—nay, we regard them as His commands (*v.* 16): for God reigneth. But we err and go astray when we view them separately: we must view them in their *nexus*—as integral parts of God's government—each "in its season," *v.* 16*b*; each "for their use," *v.* 21. And so we reach the conclusions expressed in *vv.* 33, 34. This, in our view, will help us to understand alike the structure and the contents of this chapter, on which (as so often) the variations in the Syr. throw additional light.

The praise of the sage in the previous chapter leads our author to describe the ideal representative of Hebrew *Chokhmah* (Wisdom) in *v.* 1. In two stanzas, each of three verses (*vv.* 2–4; 5–7), his intellectual and then his spiritual qualifications are described. [We omit as spurious the first clause in *v.* 6. The pious gloss—omitted in the Syr.—is worthy of the Greek translator.] In a third stanza of three verses (*vv.* 8–10) the activity and final success of this sage are detailed, the whole appropriately closing with an encomium in *v.* 11 which may well be fitted on to *v.* 1. We infer that in the view of the writer the main object and topic of Revelation was *Chokhmah* or Wisdom. This Wisdom was alike based upon and the outcome of the Law, as properly understood; and it was also fully indicated and vindicated in prophecy, *v.* 1. Thus Ben Sira had evidently passed beyond the merely external and literal view of the Law, and occupied the standpoint of the Old Testament *Chokhmah*-literature. He continues and further developes that direction; but he also imports into it not indeed Hellenistic ideas, but the results on his own mind of the influence of foreign, Grecian, thinking and intercourse. Similarly, he connects prophecy with the problems of *Chokhmah*. In his view it points to the full vindication of the results of *Chokhmah*. The future kingdom of God, as set forth in prophecy, would be anti-heathen; but chiefly he regarded it as the vindication of the moral government of God, the restoration of moral equilibrium in the world (*vv.* 22–25).

The second part of the chapter (beginning with *v.* 12) is intended fully to set forth the great topic which engages the thinking and teaching of the Hebrew sage — in other words, the object and the results of true *Chokhmah*. This is introduced in stanza iv. (*vv.* 10–15; six verses) by a solemn appeal, of which the outcome is that true *Chokhmah* will lead to the worshipful acknowledgment of God. Then follows in the fifth stanza, also of six verses (*vv.* 16–21), the statement of the theme itself (as previously described). Next we have an analysis of the *thesis* of *Chokhmah*. In stanza vi. of four verses (*vv.* 22–25) the subject is: the ways of God. These are described in a threefold antithesis: *vv.* 22 and 23, *v.* 24*a* and *b*, and *v.* 25*a* and *b*. The seventh stanza, consisting of eight verses (*vv.* 26–33), deals with the problem of the order and phenomena of Nature as affecting man, and shews that what from one aspect is good (*vv.* 26, 27) may from another aspect prove evil. Yet all cometh from God, exhibits His wise purposes, and

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the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies.

2 He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.

3 He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables.

4 He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men.

5 He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins.

6 When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour out wise sentences, and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer.

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7 He shall direct his counsel and knowledge, and in his secrets shall he meditate.

8 He shall shew forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord.

9 Many shall commend his understanding; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation.

10 [a] Nations shall shew forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise.

[a] ch. 44. 15.

11 If he die, he shall leave a

executes His behest. The whole concludes with two verses (*vv.* 34, 35), of which the first returns to the original theme (*vv.* 16, 17), while the second reiterates the acknowledgment and praise of God in all things on the part of true *Chokhmah* (comp. *vv.* 14 *d*, 15 *a*, *b*, *c*).

1. *But he that giveth.*] The Greek means lit. "except him that giveth." There can, however, be no doubt that the A. V. rendering is what the author intended.

of all the ancient.] Independent literary effort would seem to have ceased for some time. At the same time the writer is desirous of connecting the thinking of his ideal sage with the results of the previous development, of which it forms only another and further link.

and be occupied in prophecies.] Cp. Eccles. i. 13.

2. *He will keep the sayings.*] Treasure them up. Syr. "learn."

and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.] The phrase in the Greek (or in the Hebrew) is taken from Prov. i. 3. The Syriac has: "and he will reflect on whatever is deep." We suppose that this represents an original מעמקים, corrupted in the copy of the Greek to מעקמים, derived from עקם (Chald. and Syr.), "perverse," "crooked." For *στροφή* in this sense, a rich collection of parallels is given by Schleussner, *s. v.*

3. *the secrets of grave sentences.*] *I.e.* the deeper meaning of wise sayings, which is secret; that is, hidden from superficial view.

4. Further ways in which he qualifies himself.

He shall serve among great men.] Syr. "he shall go."

and appear before princes.] Vat. "a prince." Syr. this time: "he shall serve among kings and rulers." The Greek is preferable.

Also he must travel.

he hath tried.] Doubtless the original meant "he must try," or "is sure to try." The opening lines of the Odyssey will occur to every reader.

5. He will look for still higher guidance.

6. And when all these conditions are fulfilled, a special grace is required to produce the result. But the words *ἐὰν . . . θελήσῃ* are omitted by Syr.

he shall pour out wise sentences as showers.] Syr. "parables twofold;" corrected, however, in the Arab.

and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer.] The Syriac renders it: "people will praise him for his thoughts." Probably the original was ambiguous.

7. *He shall direct his counsel.*] Lit. "he himself."

8. *that which he hath learned.*] Rather, wise doctrine.

9. *Many shall commend.*] Syr. "many shall learn from;" perhaps יוֹדוּ and יורו. The latter in the active could give no satisfactory sense.

11. *If he die.*] The Greek MSS. seem all to have the opposite order: If he persist,

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greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall ‖ increase it.

‖ Or, *gain unto it.*

12 Yet have I more to say, which I have thought upon; for I am filled as the moon at the full.

13 Hearken unto me, ye holy children, and bud forth as a rose growing by the ‖ brook of the field:

‖ Or, *rivers of water.*

14 And give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lily, send forth a smell, and sing a song of praise, bless the Lord in all his works.

15 Magnify his name, and shew forth his praise with the songs of your lips, and with harps, and in praising him ye shall say after this manner:

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16 [b] All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and [c] whatsoever he commandeth shall be *accomplished* in due season.

[b] Gen. 1. 31. ver. 33. Mark 7. 37. 1 Tim. 4. 4. [c] Numb. 23. 19.

17 [d] And none may say, What is this? wherefore is that? for at time convenient they shall all be sought out: [e] at his commandment the waters stood as an heap, and at the words of his mouth the receptacles of waters.

[d] Rom. 9. 20. [e] Ps. 33. 6, 7. & 147. 15, 18.

he shall leave a greater name than a thousand; and if he cease, he increases it. The inversion is found very early, although it does not appear on what authority. Evidently it was introduced by some one who hoped thereby to render this extremely difficult verse easier. The Syriac renders: "If he will, he shall be praised among a thousand: and if he be silent, among a small people." Clearly we have to deal with a text that has been either corrupted or misunderstood, for the restoration of which we venture the following suggestions:—(1) The verbs עמד and חמד might easily be confused, owing to the indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals in some parts of Palestine. Between אם יעמד, "if he stand," and אם יחמד, "if he desire," the preference seems to be for יעמד, on account of "if he cease" in the second clause. (2) The phrases "he shall leave a name" and "he shall be praised" perhaps represent יִשָּׁאֵר and יְאֻשַּׁר; doubtless of the two the latter is the more appropriate. (3) The phrases ἐμποιεῖ αὐτῷ and "in a small people" offer no obvious original which would account for them both; we suggest, however, that the original contained words signifying "without number" (*e.g.* לא מספר or בלי מספר, read by the Greek לוֹ מְסַפֵּר). The whole verse then, we suppose, may have meant: "If he remain alive, he will be praised by (or 'more than') a thousand; and if he die, by people without number." *Omnia post obitum fingit majora vetustas.*

12. *I am filled as the moon at the full.*] Syr. "as the moon on the twelfth day;" Heb. כַּסֵּא of Prov. vii. 20. The Latin Version has *quasi furore*, perhaps having the σεληνιαζόμενοι in mind.

13. The verses refer, according to Fritzsche, to the spiritual blooming and blossoming which will proceed from hearing his hymn.

bud forth as a rose.] The Syriac, "lilies and cedars," seems to represent different attempts at rendering וְרָד.

by the brook of the field.] Better, **the water-brook**, as A, C, S, Lat., Arm., S. H.

14. *send forth a smell.*] Syr. "lift up your voices."

and sing a song of praise.] Lit. **praise a song**; compare Ps. lv. 11. As the translator is maintaining the *schema etymologicum* of the original, he would seem to have derived ἔσμα from αἰνέω.

15. *Magnify his name.*] הבו גדל.

17. *And none may say . . . that.*] These words are omitted in the T. R., but found in the Greek MSS. (cf. Nestle, p. 127). Their omission would necessitate the throwing out of the second clause; and, as a matter of fact, both are omitted in the Latin, which substitutes the second clause here for the second clause of *v.* 21. The Syriac, on the other hand, while omitting *v.* 21, has our verse in an enlarged form. Plainly the verse cannot be original in both places; the question is only for which place the author is more likely to have intended it. Now such a sentiment seems more natural at the commencement of the following enumeration than in the middle of it. We believe, therefore, that the true text is preserved by the Syriac.

at time convenient they shall all be sought out.] The Syriac (*v. supra*) renders: "No one can say, Wherefore is this and wherefore that? for all are created appropriately; nor can he say this is good and that evil; for all shew themselves men at their time." The Syriac expression is peculiar, but probably represents the Heb. יִפְקְדוּ (cp. Symm. 1 Sam. xx. 18), which might well mean "will appear on the muster-roll."

at his commandment the waters stood as an heap.] *I.e.* at the Creation, before the separation of the waters into their receptacles; so

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18 *f* At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him; and none can hinder, when he will save.

f Ps. 135. 6.

19 *g* The works of all flesh are before him, and nothing can be hid from his eyes.

g Hebr. 4. 13.

20 He seeth from everlasting to everlasting; and there is nothing wonderful before him.

21 A man need not to say, What is this? wherefore is that? for he hath made all things for their uses.

22 His blessing covered the dry land as a river, and watered it as a flood.

23 As he hath turned the waters into saltness: so shall the heathen inherit his wrath.

h Hos. 14. 9.

24 *h* As his ways are plain unto the holy; so are they stumblingblocks unto the wicked.

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25 For the good are good things created from the beginning: *i* so evil things for sinners.

i ch. 40. 10.

26 *k* The principal things for the whole use of man's life are water, fire, iron, and salt, flour of wheat, honey, milk, and *l* the blood of the grape, and oil, and clothing.

k ch. 29. 21.

l Gen. 49. 11. Deut. 32. 14. ch. 40. 20. & 50. 15.

27 *m* All these things are for good to the godly: so to the sinners they are turned into evil.

m Rom. 8. 28. 1 Tim. 4. 4

28 There be spirits that are created for vengeance, which in their fury lay on sore strokes; in the time of destruction they pour out their force, and appease the wrath of him that made them.

29 *n* Fire, and hail, and famine,

n ch. 40. 9

Gutmann, Fritzsche. The older interpreters thought of the Red Sea or the Jordan. The Syr. has a different verse.

18. *At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him.*] The Greek means literally, **in his commandment is all pleasure.** The Syriac renders: "with joy is his will performed."

and none can hinder, when he will save.] Syr. "and none retards his command." Here a question of some interest arises, which, owing to the Aramaising character of our author's Hebrew, is hard to solve. It is quite clear that the words פקדן, "command," and פרקן, "salvation," have been confused, but it is not clear whether that confusion took place in the Hebrew of the Siracide, or in the Syriac of the translator. "His command" seems to us a more natural word in this verse than "his salvation;" on the other hand, we have some hesitation in crediting the Siracide with so decided an Aramaism as the first hypothesis requires.

20. The Syriac has a different verse: see also on *v.* 16.

22. *covered the dry land.*] "The dry land" occurs in the second clause in the Greek. Lat. *inundavit;* Syr. "riseth;" perhaps we should read ἐπέκλυσεν for ἐπεκάλυψεν.

23. *As he hath turned the waters into saltness: so, &c.*] Probably Bretschn. and others are right in referring "so" to the previous verse, with the meaning "similarly," "on the contrary," or "as powerfully." The Syriac has: "so doth his wrath judge the nations." Clearly the author meant "his wrath" to be the subject of the sentence, in antithesis to *his blessing*, which is the subject of the previous verse. The Hebrew then was probably כן רגזו יוריש גוים, "so doth his wrath drive out (exterminate) nations;" and "his wrath" will also be the subject of the second clause, which perhaps contains a reference to the Cities of the Plain. Cp. Ps. cvii. 33.

24. A favourite sentiment with our author.

25. *so evil things for sinners.*] Lat. "good and evil;" Syr. "for sinners also whether for good or evil." The agreement of these two versions might seem a strong argument in favour of this having been the original text. But the Greek rendering suits the context far better, and the Syr. and Latin reading may only represent a later Christian emendation.

26. The place of *iron* in this list is certainly remarkable. The Syriac list adds "fat" and "raiment."

28. The question whether these "spirits" are angels or winds is discussed by Fritzsche, who decides for the latter; yet *vv.* 29, 30 seem to contain a list of these "spirits." Unless, therefore, it is a poetical phrase for "forces," we must regard it as embodying the same idea as in later Rabbinism, which personified as Angels certain natural phenomena and eventualities.

lay on sore strokes.] Syr. "uproot mountains." The expression עקר הרים was in common Rabbinic usage to denote the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible or incredible (see the passages in 'The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' vol. ii. pp. 109, 376, notes).

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and death, all these were created for vengeance;

30 [o] Teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions, [p] ‖ serpents, and the sword, punishing the wicked to destruction.

31 [q] They shall rejoice in his commandment, and they shall be ready upon earth, when need is; and when their time is come, they shall not transgress his word.

32 Therefore from the beginning I was resolved, and thought upon these things, and have left them in writing.

33 [r] All the works of the Lord are good: and he will give every needful thing in due season.

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34 So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall all be well approved.

35 And therefore praise ye the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bless the name of the Lord.

o Deut. 32. 24.
p Wisd. 16. 5.
‖ Or, *vipers*.
q Job 38. 35. Ps. 148. 8.
r Gen. 1. 31. ver. 16.

CHAPTER XL.

1 *Many miseries in a man's life.* 12 *The reward of unrighteousness, and the fruit of true dealing.* 17 *A virtuous wife and an honest friend rejoice the heart, but the fear of the Lord is above all.* 28 *A beggar's life is hateful.*

29. *famine and death.*] Syr. "and deadly stones." Here a somewhat similar difficulty occurs to that noticed at *v.* 18; for clearly we have a confusion between כַּפִּין, "stones," and כָּפָן, "hunger," and the confusion may have been either in the Hebrew or the Syriac. Fewest difficulties will be offered by the supposition that the Greek translation is correct.

30. *Teeth of wild beasts.*] Syr. "beasts of teeth," *i.e.* wild beasts, a very common Syriac phrase; and this the order of the Greek words makes it probable that the Siracide himself employed.

32. *Therefore from the beginning I was resolved.*] "Against temptations which might shake his faith in God's providence" (Grotius). In that case, for "I thought" we should probably substitute "I perceived" the true state of the case. The verse makes the author cite his words above (16, 17), which the intervening verses have proved. The Syrian, not seeing this reference, has a rendering which is very plainly wrong.

33. *he will give.*] Rather, **supply** or "furnish."

34. *in time they shall all be well approved.*] On the occasion for which they were created. The Syriac adds, "for they are all stored up in his treasuries."

CHAPTER XL.

The connexion of this with the preceding chapter is both external and internal. As regards the former, the mention of the evils which afflict us in the world leads to the discussion of human sorrow and of its causes. This forms the first part of the chapter, ending with *v.* 17; while in the second part, by way of contrast, the happiness that is in the world is described, and its real source indicated as in the fear of the Lord. The internal connexion with the previous chapter lies in this, that here the object is once more to shew that the good as well as the evil that befals men is from the Lord, and thus again to vindicate the ways of God.

The discussion is introduced by a prefatory verse, of which the burden is that somehow sorrow seems the lot of all men. Some of these sorrows are caused by the conditions of our existence, by the evil that comes to us through care, or lastly by our own needless or foolish apprehensions. This is the theme of the first stanza of six verses (*vv.* 2–7). But if this be the common lot of humanity, it falls sevenfold on the wicked, and theirs are also real evils—and these come to them from God in punishment of their sins. This is the subject of the second stanza (comprising four verses: *vv.* 8–11). A more detailed exposition of this follows in the third stanza (*vv.* 12–17). The first and the last verse in it are antithetic, and may be regarded as introductory and concluding, while the intermediate four verses form two couplets: the first (*vv.* 13, 14) shewing what becomes of their ill-gotten goods, the second what becomes of their children (*vv.* 15, 16); these two—property and children—being the chief objects of desire. And the stanza appropriately closes with the antithesis of *v.* 17.

With *v.* 18 begins the second part of the chapter. If there be sorrow in the world—and real sorrow is the consequence of sin—there is also much real good and joy, and the truest and best is the result of fear of the Lord. This is beautifully set forth in a stanza of ten verses (*vv.* 18–27), in eight of which the second clause always forms a counter-climax to the first, while the ninth verse leads up to the final conclusion, fully expressed in the concluding verse (*v.* 27), which sets forth the blessedness resulting from fear of the Lord.

The concluding stanza of three verses

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GREAT [a] travail is created for every man, and an heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things.

[a] Gen. 3. 19. Eccles. 1. 3.

2 Their imagination of things to come, and the day of death, [trouble] their thoughts, and [cause] fear of heart;

3 From him that sitteth on a throne of glory, unto him that is humbled in earth and ashes;

4 From him that weareth purple and a crown, ‖ unto *him that is clothed with a linen* frock.

‖ Or, *to the porter.*

5 Wrath, and envy, trouble, and unquietness, fear of death, and anger, and strife, and in the time of rest upon his bed his night sleep, do change his knowledge.

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6 A little or nothing is his rest, and afterward he is in his sleep, as in a day of keeping watch, troubled in the vision of his heart, as if he were escaped out of a battle.

7 When all is safe, he awaketh, and marvelleth that the fear was nothing.

8 [Such things happen] unto all flesh, both man and beast, and that is sevenfold more upon sinners.

(*vv.* 28–30) is somewhat loosely connected with the subject-matter of the chapter, being apparently a practical application in the nature of advice how to avoid an unhappy life by industry, frugality, and piety.

1. *till the day that they return.*] The Greek of the best MSS. here is difficult, and indeed unconstruable. Even if we render "till the day of their being buried into the mother of all things" (Lat., Aeth.), we obtain an unnatural expression. We should expect the word אסף or הֶאָסֵף, "their being gathered in," and some word meaning this we believe the Greek to have had originally; *e.g.* ἐπιστροφῆς of MS. 157 (rendered in the A. V.). The Syriac Version has: "and so long as they grasp the land of the living."

2. *Their imagination, &c.*] The text starts with a remarkable accusative, which the Lat., S. H., and Arm. versions, *beneficio linguarum*, faithfully represent. To Bretschn. is due the suggestion that the original had את, "with," which the translator mistook for the sign of the accusative. However, the Syriac translation makes the words contained in this verse the subject of which the substantives in *v.* 5 are the predicate, verses 3 and 4 forming a parenthesis, which construction seems obviously right. The translation should be emended as below.

their thoughts.] Syr. "their glory."

and the fear of their heart.] Syr. "and the occupation of their heart."

the imagination of expectation.] Syr. "and the end of their words."

the day of death.] Syr. "till the day of their death."

4. *a linen frock.*] Syr. "the garment of poverty."

5. According to the punctuation as altered in agreement with the Syr. (see *v.* 2), a stop should be placed at "strife," and "do" altered to "doth." The objects of his thought enumerated are seven: perhaps the last two seem to be nearly the same as the first; the first is rather passion, the sixth rankling hatred (Lat. *furor* and *iracundia perseverans*; similarly Arm.).

change his knowledge.] Alter his state of mind.

6. *as in a day of keeping watch.*] Rather, **of watch**, or **of watching.** Just as the watcher, says Fritzsche, is alarmed by everything which he sees, so is the dreamer. But "a day of watching" seems a very unintelligible expression. It is unfortunate that the Syriac deserts us here. The Armenian Version gives two very satisfactory emendations, ἐννυπνίοις and κοπιᾷ, **and after that he toils with dreams as in the day.** The period during which he really rests is short, scarcely lasting a moment; during the rest of the time he is as hard at work as in the daytime. Had the Armenian translator been less faithful, it would not have been so easy for us to see what he read.

the vision of his heart.] Syr. "of the night," the more ordinary expression.

7. *When all is safe, he awaketh.*] So Grotius. Bretschneider renders: "at the moment when he is rescued from this troubled dream." Fritzsche, "at the moment of his supposed rescue;" *i.e.* at the critical moment in the vision, when he fancies himself out of reach, he wakes up. The expression, however, is sufficiently strange to indicate either corruption or mistranslation. The Syr. renders: "according to the desire in his heart." It is not easy to suggest any words which would have given rise to both interpretations. Perhaps the verse began with words signi-

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9 [b] Death, and bloodshed, strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge;

10 These things are created for the wicked, and for their sakes came the [c] flood.

11 [d] All things that are of the earth shall turn to the earth again: and that which is of the [e] waters doth return into the sea.

12 All [‖] bribery and injustice shall be blotted out: but true dealing shall endure for ever.

13 The goods of the unjust shall be dried up like a river, and shall vanish with noise, like a great thunder in rain.

14 While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice: so shall transgressors come to nought.

15 The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth many branches: but are as unclean roots upon a hard rock.

16 [f] The weed growing upon every water and [g] bank of a river shall be pulled up before all grass.

17 Bountifulness is as [‖] a most fruitful garden, and mercifulness endureth for ever.

18 To labour, and [h] to be content with that a man hath, is a sweet life: but he that findeth a treasure is above them both.

[b] ch. 39. 25, 29, 30.

[c] Gen. 6. 13. & 7. 11.

[d] Gen. 3. 19. ch. 41. 10.

[e] Eccles. 1. 7.

‖ Gr. *bribes.*

[f] Job 8. 11. & 18. 16.

[g] Gen. 41. 3.

‖ Or, *a garden that is blessed:* as ver. 27.

[h] Phil. 4. 11. 1 Tim. 6. 6.

fying "he wakes up with . . . and a cry" (וישועה, misread by Greek ישועה"). The phrase καιρῷ σωτηρίας occurred in iv. 22.

8. [*Such things*].] As those about to be described.

[*happen*] *unto all flesh.*] Rather, **are with all flesh.** The verse would seem to have been corrupted at an early period. The Syriac omits ver. 9, 10.

9. Fritzsche would omit as a gloss the word "tribulation(s)," partly with the view of gaining a group of seven, partly because the word is too general, as he thinks, to occur in the middle of such a list. The same difficulties may have been felt by those copyists who put all the words following ἐπαγωγαί in the genitive, and make them depend on it; compare also Schleussner *s. v.* In rhetorical enumerations of this sort, however, we must not be too critical.

11. *that which is of the waters doth return into the sea.*] Syr. "that which is from the height to the height," reading מָרוֹם for מַיִם. Between these variants there cannot be any difficulty in choosing. For the sentiment of the Greek not only occurs in Eccles. i. 7, but forms a very appropriate conclusion of the stanza (see introd. remarks); while that of the Syriac would scarcely be biblical.

12. *All bribery and injustice.*] Syr. "every sinner and ungodly man," perhaps paraphrasing. For the general reasoning see the introductory remarks.

13. *shall be dried up like a river.*] Like an אכזב or stream which fails in the summer.

and shall vanish with noise.] Rather, **shall roar themselves out,** *i.e.* exhaust their power, like the thunder in summer; a remarkable comparison. Fritzsche thinks of the noise of the thunder being overpowered by that of the rain.

14. *While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice.*] Rather, **In the opening of his hands one shall rejoice** (Bissell)—probably in the sense of: when such an one is made to restore his ill-gotten gains, or is emptied of his riches, there is general joy.

15. *The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth, &c.*] They will therefore be unable to fully enjoy their possessions.

but are as.] Lit. "**and**" (*i.e.* nor). Syriac: "the root of sinners is like an ear which springs up on a rocky crag;" which, because it hath no depth of earth, must soon wither away. It seems as if the Syrian were thinking of the familiar parable in St. Matt. xiii.

16. *The weed.*] The Hebrew אחו is transliterated as in other places of the LXX. It seems to us that v. 14 *b* should be transferred hither. Cp. Job viii. 11, 12.

17. *is as a most fruitful garden.*] Lit. **a garden in blessings.** The Syriac has: "the works of the just shall be blest *in time.*" It is difficult to tell whether the Hebrew כְּעֵדֶן, "like Eden," was mistaken for בְּעֵדֶן, or whether the error is no older than the Syriac Version itself.

18. Here begins the second part of this chapter (see introductory remarks). The Syriac Version adds at the end of v. 17, "and he that approacheth unto them is like one that findeth a treasure;" while for this verse it gives "majesty and honour establish the name; yet better than both is he that findeth wisdom." The first of these clauses seems identical with the second in the Greek, with a

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19 Children and the building of a city continue a man's name: but a blameless wife is counted above them both.

20 Wine and musick rejoice the heart: but the love of wisdom is above them both.

21 The pipe and the psaltery make sweet melody: but a pleasant tongue is above them both.

22 Thine eye desireth favour and beauty: but more than both corn while it is green.

23 A friend and companion never meet amiss: but above both is a wife with her husband.

24 Brethren and help are against time of trouble: but alms shall deliver more than them both. B. C. cir. 200.

25 Gold and silver make the foot stand sure: but counsel is esteemed above them both.

26 Riches and strength lift up the heart: but the fear of the Lord is above them both: there is no want in the fear of the Lord, and it needeth not to seek help.

27 The fear of the Lord is [i]‖a fruitful garden, and [k] covereth him above all glory.

28 My son, lead not a beggar's life; for better it is to die than to beg.

[i] ver. 17.
‖ Or, *a garden that is blessed.*
[k] Isai. 4. 5.

slight corruption of מישניהם to some derivative of נגש; while the remaining two bear most of the traces of interpolation. The Latin Version substitutes *in ea* for ὑπὲρ ἀμφότερα.

19. *Children and the building of a city.*] Syr. "building and planting." The word בנין might be pointed so as to mean either "building" or "children." The second word "building" represents more than once in the LXX. the Hebrew בנות, which might also mean "daughters." A comparison with the Syriac shews us that πόλεως is a gloss. The true text may therefore have been, "Sons and daughters continue a man's name; but nevertheless a blameless wife surpasses them." We suppose the Aramaising form suggested to have given rise to the error of the translators. The S. H. Version has here a marginal note to prevent the misunderstanding in the case of the first word.

20. *Wine and musick.*] Syr. "old wine."

the love of wisdom.] If this be correct, the words must represent the Greek φιλοσοφία, and correspond with similar makeshift renderings of that word in Syriac and other languages. For that which rejoices the heart must be something acting on it objectively, not subjectively, corresponding therefore with "philosophy," but not with the "love of wisdom." Syr. "the love of a friend."

22. *favour.*] Old English for "grace." Cp. "young though thou art, thine eye hath staid upon some *favour* that it loves" (Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night,' ii. 4).

corn while it is green.] Lit. **the green of the sown-land.** Compare M. Aurelius, x. 35: "The healthy eye must not say τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω, I want only green;" *Viridia enim oculis grata sunt visumque reficiunt* (Gataker). Among the "ingenious sayings" of Mohammad (Freytag, 'Proverbia Arabum,' iii. 1, 608) is this: "Aspectus rerum viridium videndi facultatem auget."

23. *never meet amiss.*] It might be suggested from a comparison with the Syriac that the Hebrew was here מְבָרְכִים, meaning "greet" rather than "meet." "Greetings" or good wishes from friends come never amiss; and yet more timely are those paid by a wife to her husband (את אישה; את being falsely interpreted as "with." This, in accordance with a later Rabbinic exegetical rule. Comp. Jer. Ber. 14 *b*, Ber. R. 1, and other passages). The Arm. and Aeth. agree with Syr. in substituting "a good wife" for the last words.

24. *Brethren and help are against time of trouble.*] The Heb. עזר, probably employed in the original, should have been pointed (with Syr.) עֵזֶר and rendered "ally:" "A brother and an ally [save] in time of trouble." The sentiment of the verse is common in our author and elsewhere (*e.g.* Prov. xvii. 17).

25. *make the foot stand sure.*] Cp. Ps. xxxi. 9.

counsel.] Sagacity.

26. *it needeth not.*] Rather, **one needeth not in it**: *i.e.* armed with it, a man requires no other help.

27. *a fruitful garden.*] See *v.* 17. The Syriac renders similarly in both places.

and covereth him above all glory.] The authorities vary between the sing. and plur. for "covereth." Fritzsche decides for the singular, on the ground that the subject must be "God," who covers his *fear* [with glory] more than all greatness. The original must have been difficult, for the Syrian hesitates between "is raised" and "is praised."

28–30. Begging. Cp. xxix. 21 *sqq.*

28. *lead not a beggar's life.*] The Syriac

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29 The life of him that dependeth on another man's table is not to be counted for a life; for he polluteth himself with other men's meat: but a wise man well nurtured will beware thereof.

30 Begging is sweet in the mouth of the shameless: but in his belly there shall burn a fire.

CHAPTER XLI.

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1 *The remembrance of death.* 3 *Death is not to be feared.* 5 *The ungodly shall be accursed.* 11 *Of an evil and a good name.* 14 *Wisdom is to be uttered.* 16 *Of what things we should be ashamed.*

O DEATH, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at rest in his possessions, unto the man that hath nothing to

entirely perverts this very simple sentiment: "refuse not him that asketh thee; be not good to kill, but be good to preserve alive."

29. *that dependeth.*] Lit. **that looketh to.** The phrase corresponds with the Rabbinical המצפה לשלחן חברו; "Three lives are no lives: he that looketh to the table of another," &c. (Bets. 32 *b*; Abh. de R. N. 25).

for he polluteth himself.] Rather, **who polluteth himself.** Fritzsche takes this literally, on the ground that the meat given him might very well be unclean; we prefer to take it figuratively.

but a wise man well nurtured.] *I.e.* well educated.

30. Fritzsche would understand this of the contrast between his sweet manner and his internal feeling of degradation. The "begging" is more frequently interpreted of the morsel which he receives, while Grotius makes the "fire" that of hunger. The author is apparently thinking of Job xx. 12.

CHAPTER XLI.

The chapter consists of two parts (the first ending with *v.* 13), which are connected by succession in thinking rather than by a logical *nexus*. The first part of the chapter, however, is closely bound to the argument in the previous chapter. There the writer had treated of the evils that afflict man, among which "fear of death" was the most real and common to all (xl. 1–5). Besides, this was an evil the source of which must be traced to the Creator Himself. But in the first part of ch. xli. the writer endeavours to prove even in this respect his previous thesis by shewing in the first stanza (*vv.* 1–4) that death is not such an evil as men represent or imagine it; and, in the second stanza (*vv.* 5–13), that it only becomes a real evil to the ungodly (comp. also xl. 8). Throughout we notice in the treatment of this subject a melancholy absence of the hope of another and better life. In the first stanza consolations are offered derived from the welcome release which death brings under certain circumstances, and from its general incidence, so that after all it was ultimately of little consequence how many years a man might have to live, while, on the other hand, it was right to submit to the will of God. Such being the case, the second stanza (*vv.* 5–13) shews that death had real terrors for the sinner. The three things upon which a man set value and which would remain, as reward or otherwise, after his death, are described in an ascending climax as property, children, reputation. In all these three would the sinner suffer after his decease. Of these three the most precious and most enduring was a good name, after which we should chiefly strive.

This latter statement naturally leads in the second part to an enumeration of the things which were shameful, and should therefore be avoided. The three introductory verses (*vv.* 14–16) bear particular reference to this, that to be proud or else ashamed of a thing it must appear outwardly and publicly: in other words, that the reputation of which we are to have such care depends upon this. Nineteen things are then enumerated of which we should be ashamed. These apply to the various circumstances of life, and they are arranged in a certain order and connexion. We mark that, in accordance with the purpose of the writer, only such offences are mentioned as may permanently injure a man's reputation. Some difficulty may be felt as regards the offence mentioned in *v.* 19 *c*. We have little doubt that (as Fritzsche suggests) the expression was proverbial. Nor can we doubt that it referred to an unwillingness to give to the poor from the abundance of one's table (comp. St. Luke xvi. 20, 21). And here, indeed, we have a parallel Rabbinic saying (Sanh. 92 *a*): "He that does not leave a piece of bread (פת) upon his table shall never see a sign of blessing" (סימן ברכה = no good shall ever come to him). [In Jer. Teram. 45 *d* it is interdicted to put bread under one's arm. Levy ('Neuhebr. Wörterb.' iv. 154 *a*) regards this as directed against superstition, but the context shews that it was forbidden because perspiration, except from the face, was regarded as poisonous.]

1. Drusius compares Seneca's words: "O vita misero longa, felici brevis."

the remembrance of thee.] Probably the original had "art thou" (cf. Syr.).

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vex him, and that hath prosperity in all things: yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat!

2 O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and ‖ is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth, and hath lost patience!

‖ Or, *to whom every thing is troublesome.*

3 Fear not the sentence of death, remember them that have been before thee, and that come after; for this is the sentence of the Lord over all flesh.

4 And why art thou against the pleasure of the most High? there is no inquisition in the grave, whether thou have lived ten, or an hundred, or a thousand years.

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5 The children of sinners are abominable children, and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.

6 The inheritance of sinners' children shall perish, and their posterity shall have a perpetual reproach.

7 The children will complain of an ungodly father, because they shall be reproached for his sake.

8 Woe be unto you, ungodly men, which have forsaken the law of the most high God! for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction:

9 And if ye be born, ye shall be

liveth at rest in his possessions.] Compare Dan. iv. 4, with which the expression in the text may agree.

that hath nothing to vex him.] The word in the text is condemned by the Atticists as late Greek. Perhaps it represents שאנן (Job xii. 5).

to receive meat.] Compare the opening verses of Eccles. xii. The words perhaps meant rather to "enjoy the taste (of food);" the Heb. טעם being interpreted by the Greek after the Arab. طعام.

2. *thy sentence.*] Also apparently a paraphrase for "thou." MS. 155 further adds "and thy remembrance."

that is now in the last age.] Fritzsche's proposed alteration of ἐσχατογήρῳ to ἐσχατόγηρῳ would introduce an impossible accentuation; see Kühner, 'Ausf. Gr.' i. 249, 2nd edit.

is vexed with all things.] There is no reason for preferring the marginal variant.

that despaireth.] Rather, **is disbelieving**, אין אמון. Syr. (Lag.), "without money," perhaps אין מכון.

3. *Fear not the sentence of death.*] In the sense that it is the law and common lot of humanity. Grotius compares a fragment of Aristophanes, τὸ γὰρ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον λῆρος πολύς· πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν. The Syr. makes it probable that "the sentence of" is an insertion by the Greek translator.

remember them that have been before thee, and that come after.] Comp. Eccles. i. 10, לראשנים וגם לאחרנים. "Remember that they are in the same case with thee" (Syr.).

4. *And why art thou against.*] Lit. **why dost thou decline?** Evidently this clause belongs to the preceding verse.

there is no inquisition in the grave.] That question is not asked there; it makes no difference, as regards our condition when we are dead, whether our life has been short or long.

5. *and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.*] "The reason why they are abominable" (Fritzsche). But this explanation does not seem satisfactory. Syr. "and a race of misery (lit. woe to it!) is the generation of the wicked." Compare Aeth. "and their houses shall be overturned." Ἀναστρέφομαι is employed in Ezek. iii. 15 to represent מושבים. It might be suggested that the original had here ומושֻׁמֵם מושב רישעים, "and the dwelling-place of the wicked is loathsome."

6. *inheritance.*] Syr. "sovereignty;" Heb. (perhaps) רישת, which might be pointed so as to mean either רֵישֶׁת or רִשׁוּת. The latter would indeed be a Chaldaism, but not out of place in our author; while the former could scarcely be used in this way. We believe, therefore, that the Syr. version is here correct.

7. *will complain of.*] *I.e.* will have cause to do so. Syr. "shall curse;" if this be right, the Hebrew probably contained a jingle יקללו and יקלו.

8. *which have forsaken the law of the most high God.*] Syr. "to whom misery clings till the day of their death."

for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction.] This clause must be omitted, as only found in 248, Co., and probably a correction or interpretation of the next clause, "and if ye be born."

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born to a curse: and if ye die, a curse shall be your portion.

[a] ch. 40. 11.

10 [a] All that are of the earth shall turn to earth again: so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.

11 The mourning of men is about their bodies: but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.

12 Have regard to thy name; for [b] that shall continue with thee above a thousand great treasures of gold.

[b] Prov. 22. 1.

13 A good life hath but few days: but a good name endureth for ever.

14 My children, keep discipline in peace: for [c] wisdom that is hid, and a treasure that is not seen, what profit is in them both?

[c] ch. 20. 30.

[d] ch. 20. 31.

15 [d] A man that hideth his foolishness is better than a man that hideth his wisdom.

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16 Therefore be shamefaced according to my word: for it is not good to retain all shamefacedness; neither is it altogether approved in every thing.

17 Be ashamed of whoredom before father and mother: and of a lie before a prince and a mighty man;

18 Of an offence before a judge and ruler; of iniquity before a congregation and people; of unjust dealing before thy partner and friend;

19 And of theft in regard of the place where thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his

9. Your birth and death will both be misfortunes.

a curse shall be your portion.] תֵּחָלְקוּ.

10. The first clause occurred above (xl. 11); and as the Syriac omits it, there is grave reason for doubting its genuineness here. See below.

so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.] In the event of the first clause being genuine, the application will be found in the sequence from that with which they began to that in which they end.

11. *The mourning of men is about their bodies.*] *I.e.* the main object of sorrow with most men is that their bodies die, but there is a worse fate than this, which does not excite their apprehension—the loss of their name. In the case of the sinner that name will perish.

but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.] The second hand of S has here ὄνομα δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται, "but a good name shall not be blotted out." This is supported by the Arm. Very similar is the reading of the Syr. "and the name of them that do good," and of the Copt. "and the name of good men." This last, ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν, is the reading of MSS. 155, 308; ἁμαρτωλῶν (which appears exclusively in Aeth. and Lat.) is perhaps a false interpretation of ανων. From the agreement of the Syr. and the Greek, it seems probable that "the name of good men" was clearly expressed in the original.

12. *above.*] Rather, **longer than.** From Prov. xxii. 1. The Midrash on that passage substitutes "a thousand Dinārs of gold" for the "silver and gold" of the text.

Verses 13–xlii. 8 are omitted by the Syriac, which substitutes for them a short and curious sentiment. Some of the verses before us look like centos or quotations from previous chapters in the book.

13. *A good life hath but few days.*] Lit. **a number of days**, to which the Arm. boldly adds "hath not."

14. *in peace.*] Proleptically, "and enjoy peace therefrom."

The second half of this verse occurred word for word in xx. 30, while v. 15 occurred in xx. 31.

16. *Therefore be shamefaced according to my word.*] So Fritzsche and others; it may, however, mean only "be heedful of my word."

it is not good to retain all shamefacedness.] Rather, **to observe.**

neither is it altogether approved in every thing.] This implies the reading οὐ παντάπασιν ἐν παντὶ (for ἐν πίστει), recorded by Hoeschel, and supported by the Copt.; and this we believe to be correct. The best Greek MSS., however, offer οὐ πάντα πᾶσιν ἐν πίστει, a difficult expression variously interpreted ("nor is everything appreciated truly by all," Fritzsche). The Arm. renders "nor at all to please every one by faith." A more intelligible explanation would be "nor is the rule 'everything to every one in confidence' approved."

17. The list of cases of shame now given amounts rather to an enumeration of the persons on whom one should reflect when tempted to commit any crime, being those whom the crime most deeply hurts.

before father and mother.] "And mother" is omitted by the Arm., perhaps accidentally.

19. *of theft in regard of the place where*

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covenant; and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat; and of scorning to give and take;

20 And of silence before them that salute thee; and to look upon an harlot;

21 And to turn away thy face from thy kinsman; or to take away
e Matt. 5. 28. a portion or a gift; or e to gaze upon another man's wife;

22 Or to be overbusy with his maid, and come not near her bed; or of upbraiding speeches before friends; and f after thou hast given, upbraid not;

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23 Or of g iterating and speaking f ch. 20. 15. again that which thou hast heard; g ch. 19. 7. and of revealing of secrets.

24 So shalt thou be truly shamefaced, and find favour before all men.

CHAPTER XLII.

1 *Whereof we should not be ashamed.* 9 *Be careful of thy daughter.* 12 *Beware of a woman.* 15 *The works and greatness of God.*

thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his covenant.] It seems evident that a word has here dropped out, since the rhythm of the sentence is otherwise lost. Various attempts have been made to correct the sentence, among which we may mention Bretschneider's supplement "of disbelief," and Fritzsche's conjecture that "of the truth" was a translation of a false reading for "of the curse." Strangely, the true reading is here supplied by the Armenian Version, which gives "of lying in regard of the truth of God and His covenant," omitting the words "of a lie before a prince and a mighty man" in the second clause of *v.* 17. We believe that the Armenian translator cannot be conjecturing, but must have found this reading in his text. Besides settling the difficulty to which we have referred, it is recommended as doing away with the tautology of *κριτοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος* following upon *ἡγουμένοι καὶ δυνάσται*. For any difference between them would be difficult to substantiate. Lastly, this reading arranges the crimes in a natural order, ranging from the most deadly to the lightest. The history of the interpolation of *v.* 17 in the Greek would be an important contribution to our knowledge of the vicissitudes through which the text of this book has passed.

and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat.] Lit. **to fix the elbow:** according to the commentators, holding it tight, allowing no one else to obtain a portion of it. (See the introd. to the chapter.) The Arm. adds *ἀλλοτρίους*, "the bread of others;" and the Aeth. has "to approach to eat the strangers' bread."

of scorning to give and take.] Rather, **of railing over giving and taking.** Another reading is *σκορπισμοῦ*, "scattering," which the marginal annotator of S. H. explains of adulteration. "From robbing the goods of thy neighbour entrusted to thee" (Aeth.). "Taking and giving," מישא ומתן, is a common Rabbinical expression for "commerce."

20. *of silence before them that salute thee.*] The Syriac, which, as we have noticed, omits the whole of the preceding passage, dwells on this point at some length.

21. *to turn away thy face from.*] Rather, **the face of.** Heb. השיב פנים (1 Kings ii. 16, &c.), the opposite of *ὅρασις* of the last verse.

take away a portion or a gift.] Rightly referred by Fritzsche to the distribution of goods between kinsmen. For the last word, מַתָּן, it seems probable that מָנָת, "a share," should have been read; the corruption perhaps occurs elsewhere in this book.

22. *overbusy.*] These "maids" in the Greek romances and elsewhere are the ordinary go-betweens. The readings, however, vary.

23, 24. These verses are attached to the following chapter in the Greek editions.

23. *of iterating and speaking again that which thou hast heard.*] This is apparently the only way in which the T. R. can be translated; we should, however, read with S, *ἀπὸ δευτερώσεως λόγου ἀκοῆς*, **of repeating a word which thou hast heard.** The caution is against circulating idle rumours.

24. Cp. xxxii. 10.

CHAPTER XLII.

Having in the previous chapter indicated what a man should be ashamed to do, the writer marks in the first stanza of this chapter (after an introductory verse) the things of which a man ought *not*, and needs *not*, to be ashamed—bearing in mind that by the latter expression he means that they will not really affect his reputation. This is indicated in the last two clauses of *v.* 8, with which the stanza closes (*vv.* 1–8). For *v.* 8*c* (the wording of which should be compared with

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OF these things be not thou ashamed, and [a] accept no person to sin thereby:

2 Of the law of the most High, and his covenant; and of judgment to justify the ungodly;

3 ‖ Of reckoning with thy partners and ‖ travellers; or ‖ of the gift of the heritage of friends;

4 Of exactness of balance and weights; or of getting much or little;

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[a] Lev. 19. 15. Deut. 1. 17. Prov. 24. 23. ch. 20. 22.

‖ Or, *Of thy partners' speech.*

‖ Or, *companions.*

‖ Or, *of the giving.*

xli. 24 *a*) seems to imply that there was a false feeling of shame, which might prevent a man from doing that which, if "truly instructed" and disciplined, he would not hesitate to do before all men. The difficulty, that *vv.* 6, 7 seem not to be formally included in the enumeration of things not to be ashamed of, is only apparent. The proposal to put *v.* 8 before *vv.* 6, 7—in which case they should be included in the next stanza (placed in connexion with *v.* 9)—is attractive, but not necessary. For, although there may be difference in form, *vv.* 6, 7 manifestly contain, like the other verses in the stanza, directions concerning things which a man need not be ashamed to do. And possibly they may not have been formally connected with what a man should not be "ashamed of," because in the nature of things they would take place in the privacy of home and not in view of the public. Lastly, it is evident that with *v.* 9 another train of thought begins,—no longer referring to a man's actions, but to his feelings.

The large number of directions needful in regard to domestic life naturally leads the writer to revert to what seems to have been a topic of frequent lucubration with him: that of daughters and women. This forms the subject of stanzas 2 and 3, each of three verses (*vv.* 9–11; *vv.* 12–14). On each of these points we might adduce Rabbinic parallels. Indeed, *vv.* 9, 10—although in a different, and as it seems to us more apt form—are quoted in the Talmud (perhaps from memory), as "written in the book of Ben Sira" (Sanh. 100 *b*). With this other Talmudic sayings may be compared—such as, "Happy he who has male children; woe to him that has female children" (Sanh. *u. s.*; Qidd. 82 *b*; Babha B. 16 *b*); "A boy comes into the world: his loaf comes in his hand—a girl, nothing at all with her" (Nidd. 31 *b*). Indeed, it was hagadically explained that the word נקבה for "maiden" meant נקייה באה, "she cometh empty" into the world (Nidd. *u. s.*). And as regards women generally, it is sufficient to refer to such sayings as "Women are of a light mind" (Shabb. 33 *b*; Qidd. 80 *b*); "Multiply not talk with a woman; they say, with one's own wife: how much more with the wife of one's neighbour? Hence the sages say, if a man multiplies talk with a woman he brings evil upon himself, he neglects study of the Law, and his end will be to inherit Gehinnom" (Ab. i. 5).

As regards the second part of our chapter (beginning with *v.* 15), it might seem as if it were not in any way connected with what had preceded. But if we regard ch. xxxix. 16–xlii. 14 as so much matter intercalated, then ch. xlii. 15 would resume and continue the main subject-matter from ch. xxxix. 15. In that case one stanza (the fifth in the chapter, *vv.* 15–20) would set forth the praises of God in Creation, Providence, and Revelation; while another (the sixth, *vv.* 21–25) would be more specially devoted to the subject of Creation. We note in the two concluding verses two *Chokhmah* sayings: the antithetic dualism in nature (similar to that formerly noticed in the moral world; cp. xxxiii. 14, 15), as well as the permanence of nature (xlii. 24); and secondly, the higher beneficial purpose of every thing in nature (*v.* 25).

1. *accept no person to sin thereby.*] Sin not therein out of false shame.

2. *Of the law of the most High.*] *I.e.* to observe its ordinances and commandments in any circumstances and before any persons.

and of judgment to justify the ungodly.] This clause has occasioned some difficulty. Baduellus thought "be not ashamed" might mean "be not moved by false shame." Grotius still more harshly supplies "obloqui sententiis eorum qui id agunt." Fritzsche would take the words literally, to justify the ungodly when he happens to be in the right; a very improbable sentiment. The MSS. and Versions give no help. We prefer adopting the emendation (of Luther?), τὸν εὐσεβῆ, "to justify the pious;" *i.e.* to give sentence in his favour, however unpopular such an action may be. Cp. Prov. xvii. 15. An interesting rendering (cited by Fritzsche) is "to punish the ungodly." Cicero tells us that ἐδικαιώθησαν was the euphemistic expression for "they have been executed," in Sicily.

3. *Of reckoning with thy partners.*] Versions and commentators are divided between this interpretation and "of talking with." The latter, although supported by Grotius ("quid impedit quominus quis aut sodales aut viae comites suavi sermone oblectet") and Fritzsche, seems too trifling for this place. "Reckoning with thy partners" might mean (as the Aeth. glosses) concerning the profits; but

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5 And of merchants' ‖ indifferent selling; of much correction of children; and to make the side of an evil servant to bleed.

‖ Or, *without profit.*

6 Sure keeping is good, where an evil wife is; and shut up, where many hands are.

7 Deliver all things in number and weight; and put all in writing that thou ‖ givest out, or receivest in.

‖ Or, *dealest for.*

8 Be not ashamed to ‖ inform the unwise and foolish, and the extreme aged ‖ that contendeth with those that are young: thus shalt thou be truly learned, and approved of all men living.

‖ Or, *rebuke.*

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‖ Or, *that is accused of fornication.*

9 The father waketh for the daughter, when no man knoweth; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated:

10 In her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in

what is reckoning with travellers? Further, על דבר (if the original of *περὶ λόγου*) could scarcely mean more than "concerning the matter of." We therefore suggest that in the Heb. על דבר חבר וארח, the last word was corrupt for ואח, and that the original meant "concerning the matter of a relative and a brother," *i.e.* be not ashamed to own brotherhood and connexion.

or of the gift of the heritage of friends.] Ordinarily interpreted as if the original had *ἑταίροις*, *i.e.* of giving legacies to friends, in spite of the disapproval of the heirs. Perhaps the phrase is metaphorical, the "heritage of friends" meaning those privileges to which friends have a natural claim. A few MSS. and Arm. read "others" for "friends."

4. *or of getting much or little.*] *I.e.* of acquiring wealth, whether in large quantities for fear of envy, or in small for fear of being thought mean (Grot.).

5. *of merchants' indifferent selling.*] Rather, **of the money gained by selling and merchants.** But Fritzsche is evidently right in substituting for the last word "and merchandise," supposing סחר of the original to have been wrongly pointed.

to make the side, &c.] See xxxiii. 24.

6. The suggestion of Gaab that *vv.* 6, 7 should be placed after *v.* 8 seems recommended on syntactic grounds; but it is not necessary for the sense. (See introd.)

Sure keeping.] Lit. **a seal.** The seal is probably to protect the goods ("vilissima utensilium anulo clausa," Tacitus, 'Annals,' ii. 2), rather than the woman.

shut up.] Viz. the stores; Copt. strangely, "thy hand."

where many hands are.] Aeth. "comers." Rather, "**servants.**" Compare the Latin *fures* for "slaves:" *exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.*

7. *Deliver all things.*] Lit. **whatever thou deliverest,** *i.e.* to the members of the household, "[let it be]."

8. *that contendeth with those that are young.*] *I.e.* in those contests which are only suitable for youth. The marginal reading is found in three MSS., and also in the Arm., Aeth., Copt., and S. H. versions. Compare xxv. 2 and the variant there.

9. The Syriac Version recommences here. The following passage repeats some of the matter of chaps. xxv., xxvi. Some fragments of the original are preserved in the Talmud (Sanh. 100 *b*).

The father waketh for the daughter when no man knoweth.] Lit. **a daughter is to her father a hidden sleeplessness.** But *ἀπόκρυφος* might be taken with *θυγάτηρ*, "a hidden daughter," *i.e.* a maiden (Grotius). Syr. "a daughter is very precious to (or heavy) upon her father." Both these renderings are mistranslations of the Hebrew (בת לאביה מטמונת שוא). The Talmud quotes (with slight alterations) *vv.* 9 and 10 as from Ben Sira: "A daughter is a delusive treasure to her father [the Heb. words as just quoted]: from fear he cannot sleep. When she is little, perhaps she may be seduced (?); when she is grown up, perhaps she will go astray [we translate not literally]; when she is marriageable [the difference between this and the previous age being six months, according to Jer. Yebam. 3 *a*], perhaps she will not be married; when she is married, perhaps she will not have children; when she is old, perhaps she will practise magic" (Sanh. 100 *b*, and with only slight differences in the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira').

lest she pass away the flower of her age.] Syr. "lest she be despised," in the sense of not attracting suitors. The meaning is: she may pass the best of her life without being married.

10. The antithesis would be improved by transposing clauses *b* and *c*.

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her father's house; and having an husband, lest she should misbehave herself; and when she is married, lest she should be barren.

11 [b] Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter, lest she make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies, and a byword in the city, and a reproach among the people, and make thee ashamed before the multitude.

12 Behold not every body's [c] beauty, and sit not in the midst of women.

13 For from garments cometh a moth, and [d] from women wickedness.

14 Better is the [1] churlishness of a man than a courteous woman, a woman, *I say*, which bringeth shame and reproach.

15 I will now remember the works of the Lord, and declare the things that I have seen: In the words of the Lord are his works.

16 The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things, and the work thereof *is* full of the glory of the Lord.

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[b] ch. 26. 10.

[c] ch. 25. 21.

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[d] Gen. 3. 6.

[1] Or, *wickedness.*

lest she should misbehave herself.] = תשטה, Syr. (Fritzsche).

11. *Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter.*] = xxvi. 10. The Syr. omits "shameless," which may have been interpolated from the parallel.

a reproach among the people.] Lit. **summoned by the people** (Arm.). Syr. "in the assembly of the people," probably correctly, בקהל having been misread מקהל.

The Syr. adds, "from the place where she dwells let her not go forth; and let her not go about the houses."

12. *Behold not every body's beauty.*] Rather, **look not upon any man in** (= on account of?) **beauty**; but ἐν καλλονῇ may be a mistranslation of בְּחֶמְדָּה, "with desire." The Syr. "shew not every man what is in thy heart," probably represents the same original differently pointed.

and sit not.] Lit. **sit not as counsellor.** The original would appear to have had (cf. Syr.) אל תמתיק סוד, "take not sweet counsel," in imitation of Ps. iv. 15.

13. *wickedness.*] Rather, "**the wickedness of a woman.**" So all MSS.; γυναικός is omitted by Ald., Arm., Aeth.: "of a man" is substituted by the Lat. The Syr. has: "for as a moth falls upon a garment, so doth jealousy upon a woman from the wickedness of her fellow," clearly endeavouring to explain a difficult text. It is possible that the Latin Version may have here preserved the truth: "from a woman proceeds the evil (or hurt) of her husband," אשה of the original being intended for אִישָׁהּ, but read by both Syr. and Greek as אִשָּׁה. The ancients believed in "spontaneous generation." The moth coming out of the garment is used by Menander (ed. Meineke, p. 198) as an illustration of the fact that "that which cometh out of the man defileth the man."

14. The misogyny of the author reaches its climax.

churlishness.] The marginal rendering is preferable. We have already seen reason for thinking that רע איש may have meant "a wicked man."

courteous.] Rather, **who doeth good.**

a woman which bringeth shame and reproach.] Although the Syriac fails us here, it seems nevertheless easy to detect a slight mistranslation. The context shews that some kind of argument *à fortiori* was intended; ἀγαθοποιός, מטיבה, of the first clause being opposed to מביאה in the second, the latter meaning "who doeth evil," as in Prov. xii. 4. The clause will then mean: **and a woman who doeth evil is a disgrace.**

15. *and declare the things that I have seen.*] A single experience not sufficing for all.

In the words of the Lord are his works.] *I.e.* by His word His works were created, as the Syr. and Aeth. gloss. The Syr. adds, "and all creatures do His pleasure;" the Copt. "and the praise of His judgments has come to pass (?)." It is not improbable that a clause may have been lost.

16. With *v.* 15 begins the second part of the chapter, on which see the remarks in the introduction.

The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things.] The Syr. divides the verbs between the two clauses: "like a sun that riseth over all, are the mercies of the Lord revealed upon all His works." It is, however, probable that the second clause was מָלְאוּ מַעֲשָׂיו חסדו, "His works are full of His mercy." The verse probably means that the whole range of objects on which the sun looks down are full of His glory, and is an explanation of the restriction "that I have seen" in *v.* 15.

and the work thereof is full of the glory of the Lord.] Rather, **and His work is full of His glory.**

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17 [c] The Lord hath not given power to the saints to declare all his marvellous works, which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might be established for his glory.

[c] ch. 43. 27.

18 He seeketh out the deep, and the heart, and considereth their crafty devices: for [a] the Lord knoweth all that may be known, and he beholdeth the signs of the world.

[a] Or, *the Highest.*

19 He declareth the things that are past, and for to come, and revealeth the steps of hidden things.

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20 [f] No thought escapeth him, neither any word is hidden from him.

[f] Job 42. 2. Isai. 29. 15.

21 He hath garnished the excellent works of his wisdom, and he is from everlasting to everlasting: unto him may nothing be added, neither can he be diminished, and he hath no need of any counsellor.

22 Oh how desirable are all his works! and that a man may see even to a spark.

17. *hath not given power.*] "Hoc praefatur ne putet a se expectandum ut res verbis aequet" (Grotius).

which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might be established for his glory.] The Syriac renders, "He has given courage to them that fear Him to stand before His glory." The verb represented by "firmly settled" and "given courage" would seem to have been הִגְבִּיר (Dan. ix. 27). The last clause is probably rightly rendered by the Syr. "to stand before His glory" (see Isa. vi.). So far beyond all description is that glory, that it cannot even be contemplated by the angels.

18. *the deep and the heart.*] The two most inscrutable things. Comp. ch. i. 3; Dan. ii. 22.

and considereth their crafty devices.] Probably תַּעֲלֻמוֹת (Job xi. 6), "secrets" (cf. Syr.), perhaps read with ר for ל by the Greek translator.

all that may be known.] "Every conscience," a few MSS., Copt., Aeth., Arm. Heb. כּוֹל of Eccles. x. 20.

and he beholdeth the signs of the world.] The expression might also be rendered "the sign of eternity." With the former interpretation it is explained of the portents of the world (De Wette, Aeth.); with the latter (Arm.) of the signs whence the future may be known (Fritzsche). Neither of these views is satisfactory. The Syr. (in v. 20) renders: "there are manifest before Him all that come into the world;" reading כל אוֹתה עוֹלָם for על אות העולם. We are inclined to believe that this emendation is correct.

19. *He declareth.*] Comp. Isa. xli. 22, &c. But it may be questioned whether the original should not have been pointed יֵדַע, "he knoweth," rather than יוֹדִיעַ.

and revealeth the steps of hidden things.] Perhaps "makes out the track," finds the clue to. The "hidden things" are not necessarily "the secrets of the Divine world-plan" (Fritzsche).

21. *He hath garnished the excellent works of his wisdom.*] See xvi. 27.

and he is from everlasting to everlasting.] The MSS. vary between "who is," "and while he is," "as he is." The first of these is supported by the versions, but cannot be right, since evidently the reference is to the uniformity and perpetuity of nature, not to the eternalness of God. Fritzsche therefore adopts ἕως for the Hebrew עוֹד, in which case the verse should have been rendered "and they are still." We believe that either the reading of S, ὡς ("he has ordered them as they are," *i.e.* in that arrangement in which they abide), must be adopted, or else καὶ ἔστι, "and they exist," must be read, ἕως being regarded as having been interpolated from v. 22, of which ὡς and ὅς were further corruptions.

unto him.] More probably **unto them.**

may nothing be.] Rather, **has nothing been.**

of any counsellor.] "Ad conservandam eam molem" (Grotius).

22. *Oh how desirable are all his works!*] מַה נֶּאֱוֹו.

and that a man may see even to a spark.] Both text and interpretation are uncertain. The reading rendered by the A. V. is that of C. S. and a few other MSS. The other reading, ὡς, gives practically no meaning. Baduellus explains the former as signifying that there is nothing, however small, not even a spark, which does not give evidence of the beauty of creation; since, adds Grotius, a spark produces light and heat, both of them "ad vitam et artes necessariae." Drusius suggests as an alternative, "yet all a man can see therefore is up to a spark," *i.e.* human knowledge of creation does not extend beyond a minimum. We can scarcely believe that

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23 All these things live and remain for ever for all uses, and they are all obedient.

ch. 33. 5. 24 ᵍ All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing imperfect.

25 One thing establisheth the good of another: and who shall be filled with beholding his glory?

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CHAPTER XLIII.

1 *The works of God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderful.* 29 *Yet God himself in his power and wisdom is above all.*

the original was rightly translated. A hint, however, of the true text is probably preserved in the alternative reading ὡς, introducing an exclamatory clause, parallel to the first; וכמה נצצים לראות, "and how sparkling (or "brilliant," Ezek. i. 7) are they to look upon." "Sparks" was a false punctuation of the second word; σπινθῆρες of MS. 106 is probably the true reading in the Greek.

23. Cp. xxxix. 17.

24. = xxxiii. 15.

imperfect.] Rather, **failing**. Heb. בטל (cp. Syr.), *otiosus*, in Rabbinic usage frequently in the sense of "idle," "void;" cp. Lat. *vacuus*.

25. *One thing establisheth the good of another.*] Syr. "this with this in pairs."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Before giving an outline of this chapter, we have to remark that we can only do so in regard to its present Greek form. In the Syr. the text ceases with *v.* 12 (indeed, the two previous verses also are wanting or defective). We will not offer any conjecture as to the reason of this remarkable omission. But we have no hesitation in expressing our belief that the present Greek text does *not* faithfully represent the Hebrew original, but has been modified in a Hellenistic sense by the younger Siracide. As a special instance of this we refer to the purely Hellenistic sentiment in *v.* 27 *b*, which is certainly a spurious addition.

In the Greek text the chapter continues the previous argument, and that in a manner and language which almost reaches the sublime. The theme is Creation: heaven, earth, and sea, as shewing forth the glory of their Maker. This, in five stanzas, to which a sixth is added in praise of the great Creator. Each of the first five stanzas refers to some department of God's works, and closes with a kind of eulogy (in stanza i. *v.* 5; in stanza ii. *v.* 10; in stanza iii. *v.* 12 *b*; in stanzas iv. and v., which are conjoined, *v.* 26). The last stanza (vi.) forms a great eulogy. In general we mark in the first five stanzas two divisions: things in heaven—the first three stanzas; and things on earth—stanzas iv. and v. A symbolism seems to attach to the number of the verses in each part. The first part consists of 5 + 5 + 2 verses—in all twelve (the symbolical number of Israel), and describes things in heaven. The second part consists of fourteen verses—ten (the number of the world) for earthly phenomena, and four verses for those in the sea, while the grand concluding eulogy (in stanza vi.) consists of seven verses, which is the covenant-number.

The first stanza, with its concluding eulogy, treats of the sun (*vv.* 1–5). The second stanza, with its eulogy (*vv.* 6–10), is devoted to moon and stars. Here we may note some remarkable Rabbinic parallels as set forth in Ber. R. (the Midrash on Gen.), par. vi. We mark especially the designation of the moon as "an indication of times"—the Jews calculating the year by the moon—and "the sign of feasts," the festal calendar being arranged according to the moon. Further, if, as we believe, the concluding words of *v.* 6 (σημεῖον αἰῶνος) should be translated "an everlasting sign" (*not* "sign of the world"), we have here another Rabbinic parallel, since calculation by the moon was regarded as a distinctive sign of and for Israel, whereas the sun served as the distinctive sign for the Gentile nations who calculated by it. Manifold and very curious is the application made of this notion in the Haggadah. Thus the obscurations of sun or moon were supposed to have each a special significance. Similarly, as the sun is in the sky only by day, but the moon by night and day, so the Gentiles had only part in this world, but Israel in this and the next; and again, as when the light of the sun sets that of the moon grows and spreads, so would it be in regard to the night of the Gentiles and the light of Israel. In fact, the constant renewal of the moon was an emblem of the constant renovation of Israel. Lastly, as regards the allusion in *v.* 8 to the attending "camps" of the stars (see note on that verse), we recall the Rabbinic legend, that because the moon had humbled herself to rule only by night God had appointed the stars to attend and accompany her, both when she rose and when she went down.

The third is a brief stanza about the rainbow (*vv.* 11, 12), and serves as transition from objects in heaven to phenomena affecting earth, which are referred to in stanza iv. (*vv.* 13–22), while the fifth and closely-allied stanza (*vv.* 23–26) is devoted to those pre-

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THE pride of the height, the clear firmament, the beauty of heaven, with his glorious shew;

2 The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising a marvellous ‖ instrument, the work of the most High:

‖ Or, *vessel.*

3 At noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof?

4 A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes.

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5 Great is the Lord that made it; and at his commandment ‖ it runneth hastily.

‖ Or, *he stayeth his course.*

6 [a] He made the moon also to serve in her season for a declaration of times, and a sign of the world.

[a] Gen. 1. 14, 16. Ps. 104. 19.

7 [b] From the moon is the sign of feasts, a light that decreaseth in her perfection.

[b] Exod. 12. 2.

sented by the sea. The concluding (sixth) stanza (ירד. 27–33) is, as already stated, a grand eulogy. As concluding the *Chokhmah* utterances, it appropriately closes with a reference to it (v. 33 *b*).

1. It would be difficult to improve on the Authorized Version here.

The pride of the height.] The three members of this verse are apparently to be regarded as co-ordinate, the whole sentence being either exclamatory, or explanatory of the "glory" of xlii. 25 *b*. Grotius and Fritzsche, however, make "the pride of the height" predicate and the rest of the verse subject. The Copt. renders: "the boast of the height of the purity of the firmament."

2. *The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising.*] Some object is wanted for "declaring," which Fritzsche re-translates מיספר. Grotius read ἐν ἐνδόξῳ for ἐν ἐξόδῳ, with Co., interpreting this, "telleth of the glorious one;" the Aeth. seems to have had some similar reading, which cannot be right. Perhaps the original for מספר had some derivative of ספר, meaning either "beautiful" or "shining," Arab. سفر and اسفر (used especially of the dawn to translate נגה by Jewish-Arabic commentators).

a marvellous instrument.] "A masterpiece."

3. *At noon.*] Lit. **at the noon thereof**, *i.e.* caused by it.

The second clause is from Ps. xix. 7.

4. *A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat.*] "Is" should be omitted. The sentence will then mean: **A man blowing a furnace in works of heat** [produces great heat]. But this sense is not satisfactory, for it is much more natural to compare the sun with the furnace than with the man who blows it. Syr. "more than the furnace which blows in the work of the smith;" and this, there is reason to believe, represents the original, except that "blows" should rather have been rendered "which is blown," "fanned" (מְנֻפָּח); and "the work of the smith" perhaps by "in the workshop (*officina*) of the smith." Καύματος for χαλκέως is probably due to καύματος in v. 3. Grotius wished to read ἐνεργὸς καύματος, "produces heat," which the Aeth. apparently translates.

breathing out fiery vapours.] Heb. perhaps יפיח, for which the Syr. would appear to have read פיחו, "his ashes."

5. *and at his commandment it runneth hastily.*] The other reading, "it stoppeth" (a few Greek MSS. and S. H.), is merely a transcriber's error.

6. *He made the moon also to serve in her season.*] The reading here translated is found only in 248, Co. The other MSS. read "and the moon in all things for her season," in which "in all things" has no obvious meaning. Syr.: "the moon, too, standeth for a time." From this it seems clear that Grabe rightly emended ἐν στάσει for ἐν πᾶσι, "the moon is at her station at her season," viz. at night (Grotius).

for a declaration of times.] The calendars of the ancient nations were lunar; compare the Greek phrase κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας. But the special reference here is to the Jewish calculation of time (see introd.).

and a sign of the world.] Compare xlii. 18. Rather, **an everlasting sign**. So also the Syr., S. H., Copt., Gutmann. This is the natural interpretation of the words. Fritzsche's explanation, "a sign of the future, whence the future may be known," cannot be adopted.

7. *the sign of feasts.*] *E.g.* the Passover.

a light that decreaseth in her perfection.] *I.e.* "after the full moon" (Fritzsche). The expression reminds us of Job xxvi. 10, עד תכלית אור עם חשך. We should expect a different phenomenon from that men-

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8 The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing, being an instrument of the armies above, shining in the firmament of heaven;

9 The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord.

10 At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches.

Gen. 9. 3.

11 [c] Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it; very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof.

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12 It compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the [d] hands of the most High have bended it.

[d] Isai. 40. 12, &c.

13 By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall apace, and sendeth swiftly the lightnings of his judgment.

[e] Deut. 28. 12. Job 38. 22. Ps. 135. 7. Jer. 10. 13. & 51. 16.

14 Through this [e] the treasures are opened: and clouds fly forth as fowls.

tioned in 8 *b* to be described here; and indeed the particular phenomenon which gave the sign of the feast, viz. the moon being *full*. If this was represented by the Aramaic גמר, both the Greek and Syriac renderings could be easily accounted for.

8. *The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing.*] The first clause should be in brackets, since the second clearly refers to the moon, not to the month. The verse is thought to have referred to the Hebrew יֶרַח and יָרֵחַ; the latter being the older and more poetical word for the "month," whereas חֹדֶשׁ was the ordinary word. The Greek *μὴν* and *μήνη* are comparable; Drusius observes that the same remark holds good of the Flemish and English words. It does not, however, apply to the Aramaic and Syriac languages; whence the verse has been used to prove that the Siracide wrote in Hebrew. [Nevertheless the above interpretation is not free from difficulty. The original of the verse, as the consensus of Gr. with Syr. shews, must have been either ירח הוא כישמו or חדש הוא כישמו, either of which would be an unnatural way of expressing the sentiment in the text; meaning properly "the month" or "the moon is like its name," in some particular to be further explained. If the original contained the latter of the two words suggested, it should probably have been pointed חָדֵשׁ, "He (or, as we say, she) is *new*, as his name (new moon, חֹדֶשׁ) implies." The last clause of the former verse will then have referred to the full moon, and this to the new moon, while the next clause of this verse refers to its divers phases.]

an instrument of the armies above.] Rather, **of the camps**. Fritzsche accepts the interpretation of Grotius, "a beacon," *i.e.* a general signal in accordance with which the armies direct their movements. Comp. here also the Jewish legend, referred to in the introd.

A full stop should be placed at the end of this verse. The next refers to the stars.

9. *in the highest places of the Lord.*] Some MSS. and Versions have: "in the highest places Lord."

10. *they will stand.*] Rather, **they stand.**

in their order.] Heb. כמשפטם, *rite.*

and never faint in their watches.] Better Greek would have been *καταλύσωσι τὰς φυλακάς*. Syr. "and change not in their courses." This makes it probable that the original was יעלפו (Isa. li. 20; misread by the Syr. יחלפו), with which the "courses" (מרוצתיהם; perhaps misread מצודתיהם) agree better than the "watches" of the Greek translator. The "courses" of the constellations are familiar.

The rest of this chapter is wanting in the Syriac Version.

11. *in the brightness thereof.*] Cp. Ezek. i. 28.

12. *have bended it.*] Perhaps **have stretched it**, the metaphor having changed.

13. *By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall apace.*] The sentence is inelegant if the subject be God (Grotius), but we cannot well supply "the sky" with Drusius. The Aeth. would seem to have read *χιών*, "the snow pours down;" Fritzsche's suggestion that the verbs were used intransitively in the original is, however, simpler. The mention of snow itself in this place is rather surprising.

the lightnings of his judgment.] Cp. Ps. xviii. 15, &c.

14. *Through this.*] Perhaps בן על, "for this purpose."

treasures.] The storehouses in which the biblical poets figuratively represent hail, snow, &c., as piled up; see especially Job xxxviii. 22.

fly forth as fowls.] Compare the phrase of Aeschylus, λευκόπτεροι νιφάδες.

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15 By his great power he maketh the clouds firm, and the hailstones are broken small.

16 At his sight the mountains are shaken, and at his will the south wind bloweth.

17 The noise of the thunder maketh the earth ‖ to tremble: so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind: as birds flying he scattereth the snow, and the falling down thereof is as the lighting of grasshoppers:

‖ Or, *to groan as a woman in her travail.*

18 The eye marvelleth at the beauty of the whiteness thereof, and the heart is astonished at the raining of it.

19 The hoarfrost also as salt he poureth on the earth, and being congealed, ‖ it lieth on the top of sharp stakes.

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‖ Or, *it is as the point of sharp stakes.*

20 When the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and clotheth the water as with a breastplate.

21 It devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.

22 A present remedy of all is a mist *coming speedily*: a dew coming ‖ after heat refresheth.

‖ Or, *upon the heat.*

15. On the one hand, the light and elastic particles of cloud are combined into heavy masses: and, on the other, solid blocks of ice are splintered into hailstones.

16, 17. These verses have become disarranged in most of the MSS.; the original order—17 *a*, 16 *a*, 16 *b*, 17 *b*—must be restored from MSS. 23, &c., S. H., and Copt. Accordingly we arrange them as follows:—

17 *a*. *The noise of the thunder maketh the earth to tremble.*] See margin.

16 *a*. *at his sight the mountains are shaken.*] Cp. Ps. l. 2, &c. If the original was הופיעו, it may have signified "at its flashing" (*i.e.* the lightning): cp. Job xxxvii. 15.

16 *b*. *and at his will the south wind bloweth.*] תֵּימָן, Ps. lxxviii. 26.

17 *b*, &c. *so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind.*] Perhaps the original order was גם צפון סופה וסערה, "so too the north wind, storm and whirlwind." The variation of expression in the text is an ornament of Greek rather than of Semitic poetry.

as birds flying.] Rather, "**alighting**;" *deponens ad sedendum*, Lat.

he scattereth.] Heb. זֹרֵק, perhaps here used intransitively, as in Hos. vii. 9. This will accord better with the simile.

lighting of grasshoppers.] More probably, "**of locusts**," as the ancient versions render it. For "lighting" we should perhaps substitute "**encamping**;" Heb. נח (Ex. x. 14). The point of comparison lies in their "covering the eye of the whole earth" (Ex. x. 5). The simile is a familiar one in Scripture.

18. *at the raining of it.*] "Solent enim viatoribus visum adimere" (Grotius). This is not more probable than Fritzsche's rendering, "at the moisture of it." Raining and snowing are often confused by the ancients (see Tafel on Pindar, 'Olymp.' p. 403), but here some quality of the snow which occasions fear is required. Perhaps the other sense of the word נישמו, "its body," *i.e.* nature (in Aramaic), was intended.

19. *it lieth on the top of sharp stakes.*] The marginal rendering must here be substituted. Aeth. "it splits like sharp crystal." For "stakes" we should also substitute **thorns**.

20. Comp. Prov. xxvii. 16, LXX. (Fritzsche).

upon every gathering together.] מִקְוֶה, Isaiah xxii. 11; the torrents would not freeze.

and clotheth the water.] Lit. **and the water puts on as it were a breastplate.** A jingle may have been intended between שריון and שרה if the latter (Aramaic) verb was used for "resteth." Θώραξ and *lorica* are frequently used of any "coating;" *loricatio* in Vitruvius is the plastering of a wall.

21. *It devoureth the mountains.*] "Auferendo virorem" (Grotius).

22. *A present remedy of all is a mist coming speedily.*] "Present" and "coming speedily" represent the same word. If the Hebrew was מרפא הכל מהרה, it should probably have been rendered "a mist quickly healeth all."

a dew coming after heat refresheth.] If the Greek be here correct, it is clear that a verse or clause must have been lost in which the heat was mentioned. This is practically the view of Gutmann and Fritzsche, who refer *v.* 21 to the effects of the hot wind. The language there used agrees well with the effects of the קדים or *καύσων*, elsewhere described; see Gen. xvi. 6 ("burnt by the east wind"), Ezek. xvii. 10, &c. Nevertheless, the phrase *ἀπαντῶσα ἀπὸ καύσωνος*, כנע מקדם, must almost necessarily have meant "coming from the east:" "dew" then means "rain,"

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23 By his counsel he appeaseth the deep, and planteth islands therein.

24 [f] They that sail on the sea tell of the danger thereof; and when we hear it with our ears, we marvel thereat.

25 [g] For therein be strange and wondrous works, variety of all kinds of beasts and whales created.

26 By him the end of them hath prosperous success, and [h] by his word all things consist.

27 We may speak much, and [i] yet come short: wherefore in sum, he is all.

28 How shall we be able to magnify him? for he is great above all his works.

29 [k] The Lord is terrible and very great, and marvellous in his power.

30 When ye glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as ye can; for even yet will he far exceed: and when ye exalt him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary; for ye can never go far enough.

31 [l] Who hath seen him, that he might tell us? and who can magnify him as he is?

[f] Ps. 107. 23, 24.
[g] Ps. 104. 25, 26.
[h] Col. 1. 17.
[i] ch. 42. 27.
[k] Ps. 96. 4. & 147. 5.
[l] Ps. 106. 2. John 1. 18. & 5. 37. & 6. 46.

and the description is continuous from *v.* 20. "Refresheth" should rather have been: **which refresheth.** The ancients believed that snow must be followed by rain within a definite period: see Herod. ii. 22; Aristoph. 'Vespae,' 260.

23. *he appeaseth the deep.*] "The deep subsideth," according to a few MSS.

and planteth islands therein.] This would seem to refer to the sudden emerging of islands, due to submarine motions; of which it is surprising that our author should have known. Grotius would have altered the text, so as to make it mean "et si qua est in mari insula, plantas profert;" plainly not a fortunate suggestion. The word צִיִּים is rendered "islands" by the Pesh. in Ps. lxxii. 9, and a similar rendering is given the word צִירִים by the LXX. of Isa. xlv. 16. The former word we believe to have been used in this place: "**and he planteth her with ships.**" This, both on account of the next verses and because the appearance of ships rather than that of islands on the sea is the natural consequence of a calm. The word *νήσους*, "islands," is here preserved only by some "interpolated" MSS., and the Lat. and S. H. versions. All the old MSS., with the Aeth. and Copt., shew the corruption Ἰησοῦς, "and Jesus planted her."

24. Cp. Ps. cvii.

the danger thereof.] It is not clear what the original can have been: "terror" was perhaps meant.

25. *whales created.*] The words must rather have meant "the [marvellous] creatures, whales." Compare the ordinary Greek idiom *χρῆμα θηρίου*, &c.

26. *By him the end of them hath prosperous success.*] The best authorities here have: **through him prosperity is the end thereof.** The interpretation of the clause will vary according as it is supposed to refer to the immediately preceding verses, or to those which follow (see the introd.). The former was the view of the Latin translator, *confirmatus est itineris finis* (reading *ὁδοῦ* for *αὐτοῦ*?); the latter, however, is more probable, if we compare the second clause. We would suggest that the clauses should be inverted, and that in the first *εὐοδοῖ* should be read for *εὐοδία*, with MS. 248: "By his word all things consist; and by it he maketh the extremity of them (= the totality, קְצוֹת) to prosper."

27. *and yet come short.*] Rather, **and we shall never attain thereto,** לא נשיג.

wherefore in sum, he is all.] Rather, **and the sum of the matter is: He is all.** This clause is evidently a spurious Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide (see the introd.).

28. *How shall we be able to magnify him?*] Lit. **In glorifying him how shall we succeed?**

he is great.] Lit. **the one who is great.** The original, however, הגדל מכל מעשיו, would probably mean "the greatest of all his works" (Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 313).

29. From Ps. xcvi. 4.

30. *When ye glorify.*] Rather, **Glorifying.**

exalt him as much as ye can.] It is probable that "him" was not the object of this clause, but "your powers" (מאדכם?) or "your voices."

be not weary; for ye can never go far enough.] Apparently a play on the words אַל תִּינָעוּ כִּי לֹא תַגִּיעוּ.

31. *Who hath seen him.*] The passage from St. John cited in the margin is in a very different context, and this question is here

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32 There are yet hid greater things than these be, for we have seen but a few of his works.

33 For the Lord hath made all things; and to the godly hath he given wisdom.

CHAPTER XLIV.

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1 *The praise of certain holy men:* 16 *of Enoch,* 17 *Noah,* 19 *Abraham,* 22 *Isaac,* 23 *and Jacob.*

LET us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us. The praise of the fathers.

unnatural, if not improper. Probably the original was מי ראה, "who hath seen," viz. the whole of his work.

32. Cp. xvi. 21.

33. *wisdom.*] *I.e.* only the few are privileged to obtain any insight into these things.

CHAPTER XLIV.

From praise of the Creator the writer proceeds to that of the most prominent and distinguished of His people. Yet here also the object is not merely, nor mainly, praise of the heroes of Jewish history, but rather praise of God in them and for them. The chapter naturally arranges itself in four stanzas. In the first (*vv.* 1–7) the writer indicates that his main object is to praise the God who had bestowed manifold and divers gifts upon men for the good of His people. The description of these varied gifts and administrations is here general, the object being to shew that they all came from God and all served for the public good. In the second stanza (*vv.* 8–15) he proceeds to shew that there was another class, by whom also God was praised and whom He had raised up, although they had not occupied public or prominent positions, and their name and fame had not been preserved. Yet they also had their reward and their memorial. The latter consisted in their own happiness and peace unto death, and after it in the children and the good name which they left behind them. Once more we notice here a melancholy absence of all idea of another life (see especially *v.* 14). The stanza might be thus summed up: Not all can be famous, but all may be good; and, if so, they will be useful, happy, enduring, and of blessed memory: useful in life and after death.

The third stanza (*vv.* 16–18) begins the praise of individuals by name. In the Greek text this embraces Enoch and Noah. But it deserves special notice that the verse about Enoch (*v.* 16) is omitted in the Syr. Version, which in this is followed by the Arabic. On examining the Greek text, we find that it bears traces of Jewish tradition. On comparing LXX. Gen. v. 24 with Ecclus. xlv. 16*a*, we observe that while in the main the words of the LXX. are retained, there are also notable alterations. The LXX. has [we italicise the words used in common in the LXX. and in Ecclus.]: "And Enoch *pleased* God [the Lord] *well, and* he was not found because [*these words are omitted in Ecclus.*] God *translated* him"—where Ecclus. has: "and he was translated." These alterations and omissions are very important, as they seem to avoid the biblical doctrine of Enoch's translation (to heaven) by God (Ecclus. omits "he was not found because," as well as the notice that *God* translated him). [We mark that Heb. xi. 5 reproduces the LXX.: see Delitzsch *ad loc.*] Nor is this modified by Ecclus. xlix. 14 (where the Alex. however reads, not ἀνελήφθη, as the Vat., but μετετέθη as in xliv. 16). Now it is quite true that the Rabbis, chiefly in connexion with the Christian controversy, not only controverted the ascension to heaven of Moses and Elijah (Sukk. 5 *a*), but that the Midrash (Ber. R. 25) maintains that Elijah had died [this expressly, and also implicitly by interpreting the לקח of Gen. v. 24 by the use of the same word in Ezek. xxiv. 16]. The Targum Onkelos boldly puts: "because God made him to die" [so the correct text, ed. Berliner]. At a later period the Targum Pseudo-Jon., however, not only taught Enoch's ascension to heaven, but represents him there as Metatron, the highest of Angels, while, on the other hand, the so-called Jer. Targ. again omits all this. This latter may be regarded as the Palestinian current of opinion. Perhaps little intrinsic value attaches to the allegorisms of Philo, who makes the translation of Enoch the symbol of a change from a worse and blameable to a better mode of life ('de Abrah.' § 3), or from the domination of the body to the rule of the soul, and at the same time also the forsaking of the many for the solitude of meditation ('de Praem. et Poen.' § 3—as regards solitude and meditation, 'de mutat. nom.' § 4).

It results that Philo (like the majority of the Rabbis) not only ignored (if not expressly denied) the ascension of Enoch, but that, like Ecclus. xliv. 16 *b*, he represented him as "an example of repentance"—as one who had changed from a worse to a better state. But this also accords with Rabbinic tradition. According to Ber. R. 25, he had been reckoned among sinners; was by turns wicked and pious; and God had said that if he continued in his piety, He would take him out of the world. Whatever, therefore, may be said about the ascension of Enoch (on which

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2 The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

3 Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

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4 Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions:

opinions varied at different times), Philo's idea about Enoch's repentance seems grounded on Jewish tradition. [It need scarcely be said that, with his peculiar views, Philo could not have believed in any real ascension of Enoch, any more than the Son of Sirach, who studiously ignores another life.] So far then from Ecclus. xlv. 16 being a spurious verse (as Fränkel supposes, 'Einfl. d. Palästin. Exeg.' p. 44, note *e*), it accords alike with Palestinian and Alexandrian notions, and there is not any reason why the older Siracide should not have written, and the younger Siracide translated, this verse—but quite the opposite. For its omission in the Syr. translation, we account on the ground that the verse would appear to the Christian translator inconsistent with Old but especially with New Testament teaching, and that it might deprive Christians of a powerful argument for the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ. That it was used by Christians in that sense, is expressly stated in the Jewish Midrash. [We cannot help suspecting that similar motives prompted what seems to us the more emphatic wording of *v.* 21 *b* in the Syr.] Lastly, we notice with pleasure in the reference to Noah the absence of the later repulsive Rabbinic legends.

The fourth stanza in ch. xliv. (*vv.* 19–23) treats of the Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here also we mark the absence of later Rabbinic legends. Again, it is instructive—or at least should be so—that, contrary to the confident assertions of a certain school of modern critics, Gen. xxii. 18 was understood by the younger Siracide (who presumably knew Hebrew) as by the LXX. to mean: "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed"—*and not* "with thy seed shall they bless themselves." Indeed, not improbably the younger Siracide here quoted from the LXX.

1. *that begat us.*] Rather, **in their generation**; in chronological order.

2. *The Lord hath wrought great glory by them.*] The last two words are not found in the best MSS. From the Syriac we learn that the original had נתן להם, which the Syr. pointed נְתַן, "let us give," the Greek נְתַן [אֹ]לָהֶם; but which should have been pointed נִתַּן, "was given."

through his great power from the beginning.] "His great power" in the Greek is dependent upon "hath wrought;" giving in this context no very satisfactory meaning. The Syr. has: "because all their greatness was above the generations of the world." From this it would appear that the original was גָּדְלוּ מִיְּדוֹת עֹלָם, "they were greater than the generations of the world;" *i.e.* they were eminent, conspicuous among them. The first word was misread גְּדֻלָּה from גֹּדֶל by both; the Syriac, "*all* [their greatness]," is an acknowledgment that the pronominal affix was in the singular.

3. First class of men of eminence.

Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms.] It is a little remarkable that the complement in all the other clauses in *vv.* 3, 4, is some personal quality of the individuals praised. Moreover the plural "kingdoms" is improper, since reference is made only to the kings of the united people, and then to those of Judah. The clause is omitted in the Syriac. Perhaps the author intended "by their counsels," using מלך in the Aramaic sense.

giving counsel by their understanding.] From the variations in the MSS., the original would appear to have had the imperfect.

and declaring prophecies.] Lit. **and having declared by prophecies.** The original had probably the perfect הִגִּידוּ (cf. Syr.), and meant "they gave information by their prophetic power." The Syr. renders: "they declared signs by their prophetic power." "Signs" reads like a mistranslation of אֹתִיוֹת, "coming events."

4. Second class: leaders and teachers.

Leaders of the people by their counsels.] Aeth. "kings of the earth in their expeditions."

and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people.] The Greek is here difficult and certainly corrupt. For γραμματείας we should emend γραμματεῖς, from the Aethiopic and Coptic versions; and so Fritzsche suggested. The same is apparently supported by the Syr. The original of this was either שטרי or שפטי, "judges of the people by their prudence." A possible version of the uncorrected text is that of Grotius, "and with wisdom [= possessed of wisdom] meet for the scribes of the people."

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5 Such as found out musical tunes, and recited ‖ verses in writing:

‖ Or, *ditties.*

6 Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations:

7 All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

8 There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

[a] Gen. 7. 22.

9 And some there be, which have no memorial; [a] who are perished, as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them.

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10 But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.

11 With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.

12 Their seed standeth fast, and their children ‖ for their sakes.

‖ Or, *after them.*

wise and eloquent in their instructions.] Lit. **in whose instruction were wise words.**

5. Third class: poets and composers.

found out musical tunes.] The word signifies perhaps no more than "producing" or "performing." The Syriac suggests that it was the inventors of the instruments to whom allusion was made.

and recited verses.] The difficult combination "recited in writing" seems to have led the Syrian to transfer "in writing" to the next clause. "Verses" apparently represents משלים; for "recited" the comparison of Greek and Syriac suggests that the original was אמרי. Fritzsche regards this as an allusion to the books of Job and Canticles.

6. *furnished with ability.*] Heb. perhaps סמוכי חיל (cp. Gen. xxvii. 37, דגן ותירש סמכתיו), "well supplied with goods." The reference might be to the Patriarchs (Bretschneider); more probably it is to the wealthy landowners, the Naboths and Araunahs, to whom incidental allusion is made.

in their habitations.] Compare Dan. iv. 1.

7. *and were the glory of their times.*] We have reason for believing (cp. Syr.) that the original of the first clause would have been translated literally, "all these — there was honour to them." The translator being unable to paraphrase the second clause as he had paraphrased the first, left it, somewhat carelessly, unaltered. He should have rendered it, "and had boasting (*i.e.* magnificence) in their days."

8, 9. Second stanza. Yet not all of these became celebrated in after-times, nor had they even their memorial preserved.

8. *that their praises might be reported.*] Lit. **that** [men] **might recount** [their] **praises.**

10. The difference is due to the use made by them severally of their privileges; the latter *sui memores alios fecere merendo.*

whose righteousness.] Lit. **righteousnesses**; *i.e.* righteous acts (Isa. lxiv. 5).

hath not been forgotten.] Grotius (wrongly), "apud Deum scilicet."

11–13. *With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, &c.*] There is some confusion in these verses, which with the help of the Syriac may be partly corrected. (*a.*) Syr. "With their seed remaineth their fortune." We follow Fritzsche in believing that "good" was a substantive in the original; this may have been טובה or טובם. (*b.*) The Syr. continues: "their root is to their children's children." He read therefore שרשם where the Greek read (perhaps) ירשה. If we combine these readings into ירשם, *i.e.* יִרְשׁוּם, "these will inherit them," ἔκγονα αὐτῶν will be intelligible: "and their children shall inherit them" (or "have inherited them"). (*c.*) The Syr. proceeds: "In their covenant remaineth their seed." This can be obtained from the Greek by shifting a stop. The covenant which God made with their fathers is extended by Him to the sons; and the covenant is called *theirs*, just as the "covenant of Abraham," &c. is spoken of. (*d.*) Gr. 12 *b*: "And their children **through them**;" Syr. "and their children's children in good works." It is easy here to detect two readings—בַּעֲבָרָם, "on their account," and בְּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם, "in works;" and we cannot hesitate to prefer the former. It is possible that in (*c.*) "by their covenant" would have been a better rendering. (*e*) v. 13: "Their seed shall remain for ever." Here we accept the emendation of the Syr. "their remembrance," זכרם for זרעם. We have heard enough in the previous clause of the advantages enjoyed by their descendants.

The Syriac omits v. 15 *b*, 16; the omission of this mention of Enoch is not a little remarkable, for it is the first time that he appears in the character of *prophet.* See the introduction.

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13 Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out.

14 Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

15 [b] The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will shew forth their praise.

16 [c] Enoch pleased the Lord, and was translated, being an example of repentance to all generations.

17 [d] Noah was found perfect and righteous; in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange [for the world;] therefore was he left as a remnant unto the earth, when the flood came.

18 An [e] everlasting covenant was made with him, that all flesh should perish no more by the flood.

19 Abraham was a [f] great father of many people: in glory was there none like unto him;

20 Who kept the law of the most High, and was in covenant with him: he established the covenant in [g] his flesh; and when he was [h] proved, he was found faithful.

21 Therefore he assured him by an [i] oath, that he would bless the nations in his seed, and that he would

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[b] ch. 39. 10.

[c] Gen. 5. 24. Heb. 49. 14. Hebr. 11. 5.

[d] Gen. 6. 9. & 7. 1. Hebr. 11. 7.

[e] Gen. 9. 11.

[f] Gen. 12. 2, 3. & 15. 5. & 17. 4.

[g] Gen. 17. 10, 11. & 21. 4.

[h] Gen. 22. 1.

[i] Gen. 22. 16, 17, 18. Gal. 3. 8.

16. *being an example of repentance.*] As fully stated in the introduction, Philo takes Enoch's *translation* as symbolic of his change to a better life; cf. Geiger, 'Urschrift,' p. 198. The versions all alter this sentiment (except Aeth.): Lat. *ut det gentibus poenitentiam:* Copt. "an example of wisdom" (διανοίας?); S. H. "to be an everlasting example" (with MS. 253). On the whole subject comp. the remarks in the introduction.

17. See the references.

he was taken in exchange [for the world].] Lit. **became a substitute**; the Syr. and Aeth. versions gloss as the A. V. He became a substitute in the sense that his preservation served instead of the preservation of the whole world. This is more natural than to render "he became the price of the salvation of the world," with Grotius and Fritzsche; giving a sentiment which is doubly inaccurate. Nevertheless, we shall find occasion at xlvi. 15 for supposing that the word חלף was used by our author in its Arabic sense of "to leave behind." He may have used a derivative here also in the sense of "remnant," as Barhebraeus suggests.

when the flood came.] The Vat. and some other authorities have (corruptly): "on this account the flood came."

18. *everlasting covenant.*] For the phrase comp. Ex. xxxi. 16.

no more.] Lit. **not**.

by the flood.] Rather, **by flood**.

19. *a great father, &c.*] The author would appear to have employed a *schema etymologicum*, אבי רב המון גוים. רב is omitted (perhaps rightly) by Syr. The true etymon is still obscure.

in glory was there none like unto him.] Lit. **not found**. Syr. "there was no stain set on his glory." This seems to point to two separate readings, לא נמצא במוהו and לא נתן כום. The latter expression occurs more than once in this book, and is likely to have been introduced here by the reminiscence of those other passages.

20. *and was.*] Lit. **became** = entered into (Syr.).

he established the covenant in his flesh.] The subject is probably still Abraham. ברית, as Grotius observes, is a technical term for "circumcision." But the probable occurrence of that word in the preceding clause and the jingle make it not unlikely that the Aramaic קים was here used: והקים קים. "Establish" means here to "ratify," the sign in his flesh being compared to the pillars on which treaties were engraved by the ancients.

and when he was proved.] See Gen. xxii. These "merits" of Abraham are largely insisted on in the Jewish ritual.

21. *he assured him by an oath.*] Rather, **made good to him**; and this is the Hebrew sense of הקים and קים. This expression might be justified on the ground that the promise of God is so sure as to be identical with its fulfilment. Nevertheless the regular use of the verb קים in Aramaic for "to swear" (see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Rabb.' coll. 1992, 3), together with the Syriac version here, make it probable that the author meant "swore him an oath." Compare *v.* 22.

that he would bless the nations in his seed.] The best authorities have the passive, "that all nations should be blessed." It is well known that many modern critics make the original mean "that all nations should bless themselves by," *i.e.* in their blessings cite the name of Abraham. See Edersheim's 'Prophecy and History,' &c., p. 55.

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multiply him as the dust of the earth, and exalt his seed as the stars, and cause them to inherit from sea to sea, and from the river unto the utmost part of the land.

[k] Gen. 26. 3, 4, 5.

22 [k] With Isaac did he establish likewise [for Abraham his father's sake] the blessing of all men, and the covenant,

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23 And made it rest upon the head of [l] Jacob. He acknowledged him in his blessing, and gave him an heritage, and divided his portions; among the twelve tribes did he part them.

[l] Gen. 27. 28. & 28. 14.

CHAPTER XLV.

1 *The praise of Moses, 6 of Aaron, 23 and of Phinees.*

as the dust of the earth.] See Gen. xv. 5; xxii. 17. Syr. and Aeth. "like the sand of the sea," perhaps correcting from the above passages.

exalt his seed as the stars.] The Aeth. substitutes "multiply." The Syr. renders: "that he would set his seed above all nations."

and cause them to inherit, &c.] (Gen. xv. 18; Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24; Josh. i. 4.) *I.e.* from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Euphrates to the Arabian deserts. These boundaries were attained during the most flourishing period of Israel. But the writer seems also to have had in mind Ps. lxxii. 8.

22. *did he establish.*] *I.e.* "swear," קִיֵּם; *v. supra.* There is no reason for the brackets in the A. V.

the blessing of all men and the covenant.] There is some confusion in these verses. The Syr. has: "and the blessing of all them that went before rests upon the head of Israel." The words "and made it rest" of the next verse seem to represent the Heb. יניח. This probably referred to Isaac and meant "he transmitted it." The addition in the Syriac would seem to be an interpretation of the first word of *v.* 23.

23. *And made it rest upon the head.*] The phrase is from Gen. xlix. 26; the author has also in mind Gen. xlviii. 14. As Jacob represents the unity of the people, the blessing is not conveyed to any single individual after him.

He acknowledged him in his blessing.] Syr. "whom he called my first-born Israel." It seems that ברכה and בְּכֹרָה, "birthright," have been confused; nor can we doubt that the Syriac in the main represents the true tradition. Transposition of letters is one of the most familiar sources of corruption in Semitic texts. The fact that the birthright was assigned to Jacob is too characteristic for our author to have passed over. ויכירהו בבכרה, or some similar phrase, corresponding with the legal expression in Deut. xxi. 17, כי את הבכר יכיר, "he must recognise the firstborn as such," was probably employed. The subject is probably Isaac, not God.

and gave him an heritage.] Lit. **in heritage.** Perhaps "he installed him in the heritage." The Aeth. shews a reading, "the inheritance itself;" the Syr., Lat., and one Greek MS., "the inheritance," either of which would be easier.

and divided his portions.] Fritzsche would make this refer to the land.

CHAPTER XLV.

A continuation of the previous chapter. The subjects of praise are Moses (*vv.* 1–5), Aaron (*vv.* 6–22), and Phinehas (*vv.* 23–25). The chapter concludes with a brief address to the high-priest then in office (*v.* 26). In the first stanza (*vv.* 1–5) we mark the (perhaps first) occurrence of what afterwards became a usual mode of expression: "his memory to blessing" (see note). It is not easy to decide whether at any rate *v.* 2 does not contain an allusion to some of the legends connected with the early history of Moses (for a popular summary of them, see B. Beer, 'Leben Moses' [posthumous and incomplete]). In stanza ii. (*vv.* 6–22) we notice a greatly disproportionate length and excessive abundance of detail, the more remarkable from its contrast with the comparative brevity of the encomium upon Moses, the great hero of Rabbinic conception and legend. This led writers in various ages to regard the author of this book as a priest (see General Introduction). To us it rather indicates that he wrote at a period when alike the civil and spiritual power was in the hands of the high-priest (the προστάτης τοῦ λαοῦ). The emphatic reference to the succession in the high-priesthood seems (as explained in the General Introd.) to indicate an allusion to contemporary events. According to Josephus, Simon I.—whom he designates as Simon the Just—was succeeded not by his son Onias (who was still a minor), but by his brother Eleazar, and afterwards by another brother, Manasseh. And it was only after the death of the latter that Onias II. became high-priest, being succeeded by his son, Simon II. (For the various dates see Gen. Introd. § II.) As stated in another place, we regard Ecclus. xlv. 25 as alluding to the long extrusion of

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AND he brought out of him a merciful man, which found favour in the sight of all flesh, even [a] Moses, beloved of God and men, whose memorial is blessed.

[a] Exod. 11. 3.

2 He made him like to the glorious saints, and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.

3 By his words he caused the wonders to cease, and he made him [b] glorious in the sight of kings, and gave him a commandment for his people, and [c] shewed him part of his glory.

[b] Exod. 7, 8, 9, 10, chapters.

4 [d] He sanctified him *in* his faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

5 He made him to hear his voice, and [e] brought him into the dark cloud, and [f] gave him commandments before his face, even the law of life and knowledge, that he might

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[c] Exod. 34. 6.

[d] Numb. 12. 3.

[e] Exod. 24. 18.

[f] Exod. 19. 7. Deut. 6. 1, 2.

Onias from the pontificate, due to intrigues of the actual occupants of the office with the Egyptian suzerains of Palestine. Similarly, we consider *v.* 26 as addressed to Onias II. The political rule of Judæa was in his hands (Jos. 'Ant.' xii. 4, 1), but to none of his successors could such language as in *v.* 26 have been addressed (see the General Introduction). On the bearing of all this upon the question of the date of the original composition of Ecclesiasticus, see the General Introduction. (For a brief summary of the history of that period, see 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' App. IV., vol. ii. pp. 668–670; and for a detailed account, Herzfeld's 'Gesch. des Volkes Israel.')

1. *And he brought out of him a merciful man.*] Syr., Lat., Copt., and Aeth. connect this with the last verse of the previous chapter, and put the verb in the plural. The phrase "and he brought out" is from Isa. lxv. 9.

whose memorial is blessed.] זברנו לברכה, an early case of this prayer, invariably attached (usually in the abbreviated form ז"ל) to the names of dead Israelites.

2. *like to the glorious saints.*] Lit. **to the glory of the saints**; "the angels" (Grotius, &c.); "the priests" (Fritzsche).

and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.] Lit. **in the fears of his enemies**: "enemies" appears to be a gloss, by the Syr. rendering "among the timid." The original (בפחדים?) meant "with terror," and is rightly represented by the Greek. This suggests doubts concerning the originality of ἁγίων in clause 1, to which the Syriac has nothing to correspond; while for "he likened" (וידמהו) it has "he raised" (וירממהו). "He raised him high with glory" was perhaps the original verse; the Syriac "with blessings" (for "with glory") seems to be an interpolation from the end of the last sentence.

3. *By his words he caused the wonders to cease.*] Lat. *monstra placavit;* a phrase taken very improperly from the Roman religion. Grotius refers the words to the wonders of the Egyptian magic; Fritzsche to the withdrawal of the plagues. The words are too brief for the former interpretation, while we should expect the performance of the miracles to be mentioned rather than the withdrawal of them. The original was probably הֵנִיחַ, which may mean either "he sent down" or "he caused to cease:" the translator not surprisingly adopted the wrong signification. The clause is omitted in the Syr. Copt. and Aeth., "he performed:" this may be either a liberty, or represent a reading ἐποίησε, which could have no claim to originality.

he made him glorious in the sight of kings.] Syr. "he made him to stand before the king." "To stand before the king" is a Hebrew phrase meaning "to be the king's minister" (Gesen., 'Thes.,' col. 1039*a* and 1111*b*); not quite an appropriate notion here, which the Greek translator may have intentionally avoided. The author's idea was probably more similar to that of Ps. cxix. 46 or Isa. lii. 15. Yet לִפְנֵי is occasionally used in the sense of *instar*, "like;" "and he established him as a king" would here be very suitable.

and gave him a commandment for his people.] The original, ויפקדהו על עמו (cp. Syr.), probably meant: "he set him over his people."

part of his glory.] Most of the versions obliterate the partitive genitive, which is here highly significant.

4. *He sanctified him.*] הקדישׁ; compare Jer. i. 5. "In" perhaps means "on account of" (Aeth.).

5. *He made him to hear.*] The privilege given him above "all flesh" (Deut. xxxiv. 10). The Syr. puts these words at the end of *v.* 3.

and gave him commandments before his face.] Probably ויתן לפניו, "and set before him." The *personal* conference is sufficiently insisted on in the previous clauses.

of life.] *I.e.* "which if a man do he shall live" (Ezek. xx. 11): compare Prov. vi. 23; *supra*, xvii. 11.

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teach Jacob his covenants, and Israel his judgments.

[g] Exod. 4. 14.

6 He [g] exalted Aaron, an holy man like unto him, even his brother, of the tribe of Levi.

[h] Exod. 28. 1, 2, 4.

7 An everlasting covenant he made with him, and [h] gave him the priesthood among the people; ‖he beautified him with comely ornaments, and clothed him with a robe of glory.

‖ Gr. *he blessed.*

8 He put upon him perfect glory; and strengthened him with ‖rich garments, with breeches, with a long robe, and the ephod.

‖ Gr. *vessels, or, instruments.*

9 And he compassed him with [i] pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a [k] sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people;

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[i] Exod. 28. 33.

[k] Exod. 28. 35.

10 With an holy garment, with gold, and blue silk, and purple, the work of the embroiderer, [l] with a breastplate of judgment, and with Urim and Thummim;

[l] Exod. 28. 15, 30.

11 With twisted scarlet, the work of the cunning workman, [m] with pre-

[m] Exod. 28. 17.

that he might teach, &c.] Cp. Ps. xxv. 14; and especially Ps. ciii. 7.

6. There is one word too much for the rhythm: "he exalted," "holy," "his brother" (cp. Ps. cvi. 16), are omitted by different versions. The last of these, which is omitted by the Syr., may perhaps be an interpolation. "The tribe is mentioned here, being in the case of Aaron of such importance" (Fritzsche).

7. *he made with him.*] See above, xliv. 21. Our author gives Aaron a higher place than the Pentateuch ascribes to him.

and gave him the priesthood among the people.] Syr. "he set him for the truth of his people." This variation is curious, because it suggests that our author made use here of a very decided Arabism, אמת עמו from אמה = Arab. *'immatun*, "priesthood," more familiar in its derivative *Imám* (used by the Jewish-Arabic commentators in the sense of "high-priest"). The natural punctuation would have been אֱמֶת, "truth;" and indeed the Greek translator must have been following some family tradition about the pronunciation of this word, if our conjecture be correct.

he beautified him with comely ornaments.] The marginal variant should have been "he called him happy." This the Lat. and Aeth. render "he beatified," while the Copt. *beneficio linguae* reproduces the Greek word. That there must be a misreading or mistranslation here seems clear, as is observed by Fritzsche, who supposes that יאשרהו was a corruption for יאזרהו, "he girt him." The Syr. renders: "and gave him." This points, we believe, to an original ישרנו, which might well have signified in the Aramaising dialect of the time יאשרנו, but actually meant ישרנו, "and he gave him," from the verb שור, used by Isa. lvii. 9 with a similar construction, of which תשורה, "a gift," is a derivative.

clothed him.] Lit. **girt him.** Syr. "he chose him with the sublimity of his glory." We recognise the two meanings of אדרת, "magnificence" and "robe;" if the Syr. "chose" is not corrupt, it probably represents a corruption, יבחר for יחגר. "Magnificence" is more suitable to this verse, since the *garments* are so fully described in what follows.

8. *He put upon him perfect glory.*] Syr. "garments of purple:" apparently the original had only תְּכֵלֶת, "purple," very ignorantly read תִּכְלֹת, "perfection," by the Greek translator.

and strengthened him with rich garments.] Lit. **with vessels of strength.** Fritzsche's ingenious suggestion that the Heb. had חֵזֶק, meaning "girt," is probably correct, though not confirmed by the Syr. The remainder of the verse seems correctly restored by the same critic, בכלי עז. עז has not unfrequently the meaning "magnificence."

It is not a little remarkable that the following list of garments is omitted by the Syriac translator. It seems natural to attribute this to a wish on the part of a Christian translator or emendator not to enlarge on the glories of the Jewish priesthood. But as we miss in it the rhythm of the rest of the chapter, it may be an interpolation.

9. The A. V., with S. H., seems rightly to connect χρυσοῖς with "the bells." On all these see the various Bibl. Encyclopaedias.

that as he went there might be a sound.] Rather, **to give forth a sound:** ἠχεῖν is transitive.

and a noise made.] Rather, **and to make a noise.**

in the temple.] An apparent (not a real) anachronism.

for a memorial.] Meaning "for a reminder."

10. *breastplate of judgment.*] Lit. **a platform of judgment.** The reason of this translation of the Heb. חשן is obscure.

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cious stones graven like seals, and set in gold, the work of the jeweller, with a writing engraved for a memorial, after the number of the tribes of Israel.

[n] Exod. 28. 36.

12 [n] He set a crown of gold upon the mitre, wherein was engraved Holiness, an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desires of the eyes, goodly and beautiful.

13 Before him there were none such, neither did ever any stranger put them on, but only his children and his children's children perpetually.

[o] Numb. 28. 3, 4.

14 [o] Their sacrifices shall be wholly consumed every day twice continually.

[p] Lev. 8.

15 [p] Moses consecrated him, and anointed him with holy oil: this was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant, and to his seed, so long as the heavens should remain, that they should minister unto him, and execute the office of the priesthood, and [q] bless the people in his name.

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[q] Numb. 6. 23, 24.

16 [r] He chose him out of all men living to offer sacrifices to the Lord, incense, and a sweet savour, for a memorial, to make reconciliation for his people.

[r] Numb. 17. 5. 1 Sam. 2. 28.

17 [s] He gave unto him his commandments, and authority in the statutes of judgments, that he should teach Jacob the testimonies, and inform Israel in his laws.

[s] Deut. 17. 10, 11. & 21. 5. & 33. 10. Mal. 2. 7.

18 [t] Strangers conspired together

[t] Numb. 16. 1.

12. *wherein was engraved Holiness.*] Ex. xxviii. 36 has: "holiness to the Lord," which Fritzsche thinks should be restored here. The last words of the sentence ("the desires of the eyes," &c.) may either refer to the garments as a whole, or to that last mentioned.

13. *any stranger.*] *I.e.* "of another tribe," as S. H. paraphrases it.

14. *Their sacrifices . . . wholly consumed.*] See Ex. xxix. 38, 39. As the chief part of the daily worship in the Temple, our author makes the daily sacrifices include all the others. (Comp. Dan. viii. 11–13; xi. 31; xii. 11.) The substantives from the verb ὁλοκαυτοῦν are common in the LXX.; the verb itself is very rare.

15. *Moses consecrated him.*] Lit. **filled his hand,** מלא ידו, from Ex. xxviii. 41; on the import of this expression, see the Commentaries. The Syr. renders: "placed his hand upon him;" a phrase that is used of the consecration of Joshua (Num. xxvii. 18), but not of Aaron. On the later use of the סמיכה in the designation to the Rabbinic office, see 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' ii. p. 382. We can scarcely fail to see here a trace of the Syrian's Christianity.

anointed him with holy oil.] Ex. xxix. 7. Did our author know of the anointing of Aaron *only?* On this question see Dillmann on Lev. viii. 12.

this was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant.] Rather, **this became for him an everlasting covenant.**

so long as the heavens.] כִּימֵי (Syr., Lat.) was a better reading than בימי (Gr.).

minister unto him.] לשרת לו; the Levites "ministered" to the priests.

and execute the office of the priesthood.] Ex. xxviii. 41, 43, &c. The Syr. omits these words.

and bless the people.] Num. vi. 23. Aaron *and his sons* are commanded to do this.

16. The position of this verse compared with the last clause of 14 is curious; however, accurate order is not a characteristic of our author.

out of all men living.] כל חי, Gen. iii. 20, = every man. In the passage cited the phrase is clearly intended as an idiom.

for a memorial.] *I.e.* "for a burnt offering:" see Lev. xxiv. 7, &c.

for his people.] "Thy people," most MSS. and Copt.; "all Israel," Syr.

17. *He gave unto him his commandments.*] The best MSS. (except S) give "He gave unto him in His commandments;" and this seems to be the original reading, although the Syr. favours the A. V. The author meant that God gave Aaron this authority (הַמִּשְׁלָ) by committing unto him the *thōrah.*

in the statutes of judgments.] Lit. **in the covenants of judgments:** *v. ad sup.* xxxviii. 43. The Syr. varies here as there.

The last clauses are omitted by the Syr. (See note on *v.* 8.)

inform.] Lit. **to illuminate,** = להאיר, which however is rare and late in this construction. See Ps. cxix. 135.

18. *Strangers conspired together.*] *I.e.* persons belonging to different families. In Num. xvii. 5 זר איש is explained to mean: "not of

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against him, and maligned him in the wilderness, even the men that were of Dathan's and Abiron's side, and the congregation of Core, with fury and wrath.

19 This the Lord saw, and it displeased him, and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed: he did wonders upon them, to consume them with the fiery flame.

[u] Numb. 17. 8.

20 [u] But he made Aaron more honourable, and gave him an heritage, [x] and divided unto him the firstfruits of the increase; especially he prepared bread in abundance:

[x] Numb. 18. 12, 13.

21 For they eat of the sacrifices of the Lord, which he gave unto him and his seed.

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[y] 1 Cor. 9. 13.

22 [z] Howbeit in the land of the people he had no inheritance, neither had he any portion among the people: for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance.

[z] Numb. 18. 20. Deut. 12. 12. & 18. 1, 2.

23 [a] The third in glory is Phinees the son of Eleazar, because he had zeal in the fear of the Lord, and stood up with good courage of heart when the people were turned back, and made reconciliation for Israel.

[a] Numb. 25. 11, 12, 13. 1 Mac. 2. 54.

the seed of Aaron." Fritzsche's conjecture that the author wrote זרים, "wicked men" (cp. Num. xvi. 26), is not confirmed by the Syr.

and maligned] = and envied, ויקנאו, of Ps. cvi. 16.

the men that were of Dathan's and Abiron's side.] Heb. אנשי (Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 85*b*), very happily rendered by this Greek idiom, which does not imply necessarily more than the people themselves.

and the congregation of Core.] Omitted in Ps. *l. c.* and in Deut. xi. 6.

with fury and wrath.] One of these words is sufficient for the rhythm, and only one is offered by Syr. and Lat. Cp. Num. xvi. 13 *sqq.*

19. *and it displeased him.*] Lit. **and he was not pleased.** Syr. "and he waxed wroth." The latter is so much the more natural expression that we might conjecture that the Hebrew was ויחר לו, corrupted in the Greek translator's text to וישר, "and it pleased him;" "not" being the translator's addition.

and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed.] The Syr. transposes this clause and the fourth.

he did wonders.] Perhaps בריאה ברא of Num. xvi. 30, of which the Syr. preserves a trace.

to consume them.] *I.e.* **consuming them** (Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 280 *d*).

20. *he made Aaron more honourable.*] Rather, **he gave him yet more glory,** *i.e.* yet more than that described above. The rebellion of Korah did not directly increase his glory, although it publicly manifested and attested his Divine appointment.

and gave him an heritage.] Cp. Num. xviii. 20.

divided unto him.] Rather, **apportioned to them.**

the firstfruits of the increase.] ראשית בכורים, Ex. xxiii. 19; Ezek. xliv. 30,—a phrase of uncertain analysis, on which see Dillmann *ad l. c.* Exod.

especially he prepared bread in abundance.] "Bread" of course means food in general. "He provided" is perhaps for ערך, misread by the Syrian ("order") עֶרֶךְ.

21. From Lev. vi. 9.

22. An explanation of what was meant by the inheritance of *v.* 20.

he had.] Rather, **he hath** or "shall have."

for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance.] Lit. (according to Vat.) **he himself is thy portion, inheritance.** There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this text. The author probably intended a poetical apostrophe, in order, partly, to avoid the ambiguity of the repeated pronoun ("for *He* is *his* portion"); and he further employed a poetical construction (prob. חלקך נחלה), "thy portion as far as inheritance goes," which the translator did not fully understand; cp. Wright, 'Arabic Grammar,' ii. § 44 *e*. The Syrian adds, "and his inheritance is the house of Israel."

23. *The third in glory.*] Syr. "has received treble glory."

because he had zeal in the fear of the Lord.] בקנאו ליהוה (cp. Num. xxv. 13); apparently, however, the translators wished to avoid the juxtaposition of the two words in the original.

and stood up with good courage of heart when the people were turned back.] The Vat. gives "caused to stand;" but "stood" is defended by Syr. and by עמד in Ps. cvi. 30. Τροπὴ represents the Heb. פֶּרֶץ, "breach," which the Syrian renders more faithfully

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24 Therefore was there a covenant of peace made with him, that he should be the chief of the sanctuary and of his people, and that he and his posterity should have the dignity of the priesthood for ever:

[b] 2 Sam. 7. 12, &c.

25 [b] According to the covenant made with David son of Jesse, of the tribe of Juda, that the inheritance of the king should be to his posterity alone: so the inheritance of Aaron should also be unto his seed.

26 God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever.

CHAPTER XLVI.

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1 *The praise of Joshua, 9 of Caleb, 13 of Samuel.*

JESUS [a] the son of Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in prophecies, who according to his name was made great for the saving of the elect of God, and taking vengeance of the enemies that rose up against them, that he might set Israel in their inheritance.

[a] Numb. 27. 18. Deut. 34. 9. Josh. 1. 2. & 12. 7.

2 How great glory gat he, when he did lift up his hands, and stretched out his sword against the cities!

3 Who before him so stood to it? for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him.

(here followed by S. H.). It means the plague which overtook the people.

and made reconciliation.] ויפלל in Ps. cvi. 31; the Syr. renders "and prayed."

24. *a covenant of peace.*] Num. xxv. 12: cp. Geiger, 'Urschrift,' p. 76.

that he should be the chief.] Not only in things pertaining to the sanctuary, but also the political chief of his people—with special reference to the circumstances of the time when the Siracide wrote (see the introd.).

of the sanctuary.] Lit. **of the holy things**, *sacra*. Fritzsche, "the holy ones," *i.e.* priests.

dignity of the priesthood] = the high-priesthood. The author would appear to have used an Aramaic derivative from a compound word (*e.g.* גְּדֻלַּת כֹּהֲנָה from כהן גדל).

25. *According to the covenant.*] The Syriac Version has: "even David the son of Jesse inherited alone the inheritance of kings; and the inheritance of Aaron is to him and his sons." The parallel is as follows: just as the royal succession was in the house of David from father to son, so was it appointed that the succession in the high-priestly office should be in the direct line. For the allusion in this to the history of the time and the succession of Onias II., see the introduction.

26. *God give you wisdom.*] Syr. "therefore bless God who has given you wisdom."

and that their glory may endure.] Rather, **and** [give] **their glory**. The original may have been misunderstood in some way.

CHAPTER XLVI.

This chapter treats of Joshua, Caleb, the Judges, and Samuel—in so many stanzas of unequal length. What is said concerning the Judges in *v.* 12 *a* is not inconsistent with the writer's ignoration of another life after death. For (1) the Greek rendering must be corrected by the Syr. (see note on *v.* 12); (2) the statement itself is modified in *v.* 12 *b*; (3) we have a significant expression in regard to Samuel in *v.* 19 *a*. More difficulty in this respect is presented by *v.* 20 *a*. We had best explain the seeming inconsistency by supposing either that the writer understood the prophesying after death in some peculiar manner; or, more probably, that he regarded those in Hades as unconscious indeed—not truly living—but not as absolutely annihilated.

1. *the son of Nave.*] Corrupt for "Nun" (Syr.). The same designation is used in the LXX.

was valiant in the wars.] Heb. גבור חיל (cf. Syr.), "a valiant hero."

the successor of Moses in prophecies.] The author perhaps referred to Joshua the promise of Deut. xviii. 18 (Fritzsche). Syr. "who was reserved (or "observed") to be like Moses," omitting the two following clauses.

according to his name.] *Jēshū'a* and *J'shū'āh* ("salvation").

2. *and stretched out his sword.*] So Alex.; Vat. "to decline." The reference is to Jos. viii. 18, 27, where Joshua stretches out his spear at the siege of Ai.

3. *so stood to it.*] The sentiment required seems rather what the Syriac has, "who was able to stand before him." Perhaps the word rendered "so" may have been intended to mean "then."

for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him.] This seems no adequate reason for the statement in the previous clause. The best

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4 [b] Did not the sun go back by his means? and was not one day as long as two?

[b] Josh. 10. 12, 13, 14.

5 He called upon the most high Lord, when the enemies pressed upon him on every side; and the great Lord heard him.

[c] Josh. 10. 11.

6 [c] And with hailstones of mighty power he made the battle to fall violently upon the nations, and in the descent [of Beth-horon] he destroyed them that resisted, that the nations might know all their strength, because he fought in the sight of the Lord, and he followed the Mighty One.

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[d] Numb. 14. 6. 1 Mac. 2. 55, 56.

7 [d] In the time of Moses also he did a work of mercy, he and Caleb the son of Jephunne, in that they withstood the congregation, and with-

interpretation is that of Fritzsche, who would make the words signify "the Lord brought them on," delivering state after state into the hands of the invader. We suppose that there is here a mistranslation. The Syriac renders: "for he did the wars of the Lord" (*i.e.* fought the battles of the Lord). This suggests an original כי את קרב יי׳ הוא קרב. The Greek (whether "wars," πολέμους, or "enemies," πολεμίους, be the right reading) missed the construction of the sentence; and, besides, failed to observe that the second קרב, "he fought," was a denominative from the first קרב, "war," and accordingly rendered it "brought near." It is not impossible that the sentence should have been introduced with "when" rather than "for." Compare, however, Jos. x. 18.

4. *go back.*] The author should have said "stand still." As, however, the Syr. represents this, the passage may have been interpolated from *infra*, xlviii. 23. The true reading is perhaps represented by MS. 155, ἐνεποδίσθη, "was hindered," followed by the Lat. It is in any case strange that he did not adopt the characteristic word quoted from the Book of Jashar.

by his means.] Lit. **in his hand** = through his instrumentality.

5. *when the enemies pressed upon him on every side.*] "When he pressed the enemies" would (in this Greek) be also a possible version. The scene referred to is apparently that of Josh. x. 8, but does not correspond accurately with the description here. The Syriac Version, "and he answered him and put power in his hand," represents perhaps the correction of someone to whom the same difficulty occurred.

heard him.] Rather, **answered them** (Vat.).

6. *And with hailstones.*] The Greek text omits "and," and connects the words "with hailstones" with the previous clause: "and answered them" (except perhaps A, S; see Nestle, 'Append.' p. 128). The hailstones were the answer.

he made the battle to fall violently upon the nations.] The Greek text must here be corrected from the Syr. and Lat.: "which he hurled upon the hostile nation." In this phrase we recognise the נוי איביו of Josh. x. 13.

and in the descent he destroyed them that resisted.] *I.e.* the descent of Beth-horon (Josh. x. 11).

that the nations might know all their strength.] Rather, according to the Vat. (with some other MSS.), **his strength**, *i.e.* Joshua's, or more probably God's. The Syr. has a remarkable reading: "all the accursed nations," עם חרמי. כל עמי חרמו, "the people on whom My curse has fallen," is a phrase used by Isaiah, and would here be appropriate.

because he fought in the sight of the Lord.] Lit. **that** [*or* because] **against** [*or* in the presence of] **God is his war.** We should render "that they are fighting against God;" the Syriac inverts the expression, "that God is fighting with them."

and he followed the Mighty One.] Rather, **for he followed also behind a mighty one**; גם הוא מלא אחרי אלהים: cp. Josh. xv. 8 (Fritzsche). This should be connected with the next verse.

7. *a work of mercy.*] The word in the original probably rather meant "piety."

in that they withstood the congregation.] All the best Greek MSS. have "**the enemy**," which Fritzsche understands of the inhabitants of Canaan, whom they professed themselves *willing* to fight. It would be less strained to interpret it, with earlier commentators, of the rebels among the congregation. "To oppose the enemy" in the sense of the evil spirit which suggested these murmurings would also be intelligible. The Syr. renders, "standing in the breach of the people," as *sup.* 23. This phrase, however, would not be suitable here, since Caleb and Joshua did not succeed in making reconciliation for the people, but only for themselves. The conduct referred to must certainly be that recorded in Numbers xiv. 6–10. Most probably we have to do with euphemisms. שנאיו של ישראל, "the enemies of Israel," is the euphemism

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held the people from sin, and appeased the wicked murmuring.

8 [e] And of six hundred thousand people on foot, they two were preserved to bring them into the heritage, even unto the land that floweth with milk and honey.

9 [f] The Lord gave strength also unto Caleb, which remained with him unto his old age: so that he entered upon the high places of the land, and his seed obtained it for an heritage:

10 That all the children of Israel might see that it is good to [g] follow the Lord.

11 And concerning the judges, every one by name, whose heart went not a whoring, nor departed from the Lord, let their memory be blessed.

12 Let their bones [h] flourish out of their place, and let the name of them that were honoured be continued upon their children.

13 [i] Samuel, the prophet of the

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[e] Numb. 26. 65. Deut. 1. 35, 36.

[f] Numb. 14. 38. Josh. 14. 11.

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[g] Josh. 14. 8, 9.

[h] ch. 49. 10.

[i] 1 Sam. 10. 1. & 16. 13.

for Israel used in the Rabbinic writings when any evil is spoken of the nation. "To withstand the congregation" would have been an offensive phrase if used as a ground of panegyric. The copy followed by the Syrian is equally euphemistic, but has taken a different line.

and appeased the wicked murmuring.] Syr. "and taking away the ill report from the land of promise." The difference between the versions is here one of conception of the situation, the Syr. having reference to Num. xiii. 27, the Greek to Num. xiv. 7. This, however, does not necessarily imply any difference in the original, in which we should expect at least one of the characteristic words הסה and דבה to be used. If the author employed the phrase דבת הארץ, the Greek "murmuring of wickedness" might conceivably (as to the latter word) come from an Aramaic gloss, ארע, which had crept into the text.

8. *people on foot.*] Numbers xi. 21.

to bring them.] *I.e.* "to be brought," since none of the others survived.

9. See Josh. xiv. 6, 11.

he entered upon the high places of the land.] Rather, **he rode upon.** "To ride upon the high places of the earth" occurs in Deut. xxxii. 13 and Isa. lviii. 14. Hebron is called "a hill" in Joshua *l. c.*

10. *that it is good to follow the Lord.*] Syr. "that he had fulfilled the Law of God." The phrase is from Josh. xiv. 8, 9, 14. The word טוב had fallen out of the Syrian's copy.

11. *the judges.*] The Syriac Version seems to attach this word to the former verse, "that he had fulfilled the Law of God and His judgments." Probably, however, for *w' dīnauhy* we should read *w' dayyōnauhy*.

every one by name.] *I.e.* severally. The author will not mention their names now, but bids the reader pray for their memory.

went not a whoring.] As was the case with Gideon. "Idolatry" of course is meant.

12. *flourish out of their place.*] Syr. "like lilies." The simplest way of reconciling these two versions will probably be to suppose that the original was כנרקסם, the change of which into ממקומם is not wholly unintelligible. We do not doubt that the Syriac is right; since "their place" will not give in this context any satisfactory meaning. Wishes that the graves of men might be green, which are so common in the Greek Anthology, scarcely seem to occur in the Bible. The wish, on the other hand, that their bones might flourish "like the narcissus," *i.e.* that their memory might survive and flourish, is very suitable to this passage.

and let the name of them that were honoured be continued upon their children.] The Greek words are difficult. A more literal rendering would be, "and let their name [remain] upon their children, being taken in exchange for their glorified persons;" possibly in this sense: may their children continue to treasure their names as some sort of substitute for their departed owners. The Syriac renders: "and let them leave their good name to their children and their glory to all the people." It would seem from this (1) that the word rendered ἀντικαταλλασσόμενον in the Greek was נחלף (so Fritzsche), which the Syrian translator rightly connected with the Arab. *Khalaf* in the sense of "to leave behind;" (2) that the last word was כְּבֹדָם, "their glory," parallel with "their name" in the first clause; (3) that for αὐτῶν (והם, "them"), the true reading was והעם, of which the third letter was omitted by a copyist's error. We render therefore: **their name is left behind with their children, and their glory for their people.** Their names, on the one hand, are a glory to their descendants; but, on the other, they are the pride of the people from whom they sprang. The effect of their particular achievements

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Lord, beloved of his Lord, established a kingdom, and anointed princes over his people.

14 By the law of the Lord he judged the congregation, and the Lord had respect unto Jacob.

[k] 1 Sam. 3. 19, 20.

15 [k] By his faithfulness he was found a true prophet, and by his word he was known to be faithful in vision.

16 He called upon the mighty Lord, when his enemies pressed upon him on every side, when he offered

[l] 1 Sam. 7. 9, 10.

[l] the sucking lamb.

17 And the Lord thundered from heaven, and with a great noise made his voice to be heard.

18 And he destroyed the rulers of the Tyrians, and all the princes of the Philistines.

19 And before his long sleep he made [m] protestations in the sight of the Lord and his anointed, I have not taken any man's goods, so much as a shoe: and no man did accuse him.

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[m] 1 Sam. 12. 3.

20 And after his death [n] he prophesied, and shewed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people.

[n] 1 Sam. 28. 18, 19.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1 *The praise of Nathan,* 2 *of David,* 12 *of Solomon his glory, and infirmities.* 23 *Of his end and punishment.*

AND after him rose up [a] Nathan to prophesy in the time of David.

[a] 2 Sam. 7. 2, 3. & 12. 1. 1 Chron. 17. 1.

2 As is the fat taken away from

may have long been lost and effaced, but their names are an heirloom which survives.

13. *his Lord.*] Syr. "his Creator," adding "him that was asked (lent) from the womb of his mother." This reference to the story of his birth is not inappropriate, and may have fallen out of the copy used by the Greek through homoeoteleuton, שמואל שמואל. But some other insertions in the Syr. of this verse render this doubtful.

14. *had respect unto Jacob.*] *I.e.* the Lat. *respexit*, "*visited* them."

15. *he was found a true prophet.*] Lit. was known for certain to be one.

and by his word.] So most MSS., for the Vat. reading πίστει, "in his faith." The Syr. fails us here.

16. *when he offered the sucking lamb.*] 1 Sam. vii. 9, 10.

18. *the Tyrians.*] Böttcher ('A. L.' 103) conjectured that the original meant "enemies," and was wrongly pointed by the translator. We regard this conjecture as improbable, because (1) the parallelism requires a proper name; (2) "captains of the enemies" is an improbable phrase; (3) the Syriac agrees with the Greek; (4) the Syriac suggests that the original was in the singular, צור. The writer had in mind Ps. lxxxvii. 6.

19. *before his long sleep.*] Syr. "at the time that he rested on his bed;" cp. Isa. lvii. 2. For the text, cp. Jerem. li. 39.

and [his] anointed.] The pronoun can only have been omitted by error in the best Greek copies.

so much as a shoe.] This is found in the LXX. of 1 Sam. xii. 13, in place of some difficult words in the Hebrew. Its occurrence here would be of critical importance for that passage, were it not that the Syr. here omits it. Probably, therefore, it is here an interpolation.

20. *and shewed the king his end.*] Syr. "his path:" the third instance which we have had of confusion between אחרית and ארח.

to blot out the wickedness of the people.] On the analogy of Ps. l. 10, this should mean "to atone for," "to obtain forgiveness for;" which is surely out of place. It would be possible to render the words (in Hebrew) "bidding him blot out the wickedness." But Samuel's words contain no such bidding. The interpretation which refers the words to the coming calamity is forced; moreover, the biblical narrative makes the sin of which it was the consequence Saul's exclusively. We suggest that the words had no place in the original text, but were a gloss בכפר עין דור, "in the village of Endor," referring to the scene of Samuel's posthumous prophecy, but rendered as above by the Greek translator. (The Syr. omits "people.")

CHAPTER XLVII.

After a brief allusion to Nathan—natural as following on the praises of Samuel—the writer, omitting Saul, passes first to David (*vv.* 2–11), and then to Solomon (*vv.* 12–22). Possibly *v.* 22 *a*, *b* may contain some dim reference to a hope of the restoration of the ten tribes. In any case the writer seems to expect a restitution of the Davidic kingdom. The closing stanza (*vv.* 23–25) is

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the peace offering, so was David chosen out of the children of Israel.

3 ‖ He played with [b] lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs.

4 [c] Slew he not a giant, when he was yet but young? and did he not take away reproach from the people, when he lifted up his hand with the stone in the sling, and beat down the boasting of Goliath?

5 For he called upon the most high Lord; and he gave him strength in his right hand to slay that mighty warrior, and set up the horn of his people.

6 So the people honoured him with [d] ten thousands, and praised him in the blessings of the Lord, in that he gave him a crown of glory.

7 For [e] he destroyed the enemies on every side, and ‖ brought to nought the Philistines his adversaries, and brake their horn in sunder unto this day.

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8 In all his works he praised the Holy One most high with words of glory; with his whole heart he sung songs, and loved him that made him.

9 [f] He set singers also before the altar, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs.

10 He beautified their feasts, and set in order the solemn times ‖ until the end, that they might praise his holy name, and that the temple might sound from morning.

11 [g] The Lord took away his sins, and exalted his horn for ever: he gave him a covenant of kings, and a throne ‖ of glory in Israel.

‖ Or, *He smote lions.*

[b] 1 Sam. 17. 34.

[c] 1 Sam. 17. 49, 50, 51.

[d] 1 Sam. 18. 7.

[e] 2 Sam. 5. 7. & 8. 1, &c.

‖ Or, *contemned.*

[f] 1 Chron. 16. 4.

‖ Or, *perfectly.*

[g] 2 Sam. 12. 13.

‖ Or, *of a kingdom.*

devoted to a reprobation of Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

2. The fat was burnt on the altar, the rest given to the priest.

taken away.] Rather, **separated**; perhaps הורם.

3. *He played.*] The other reading, "he struck" (see marg.), has little MS. support, but is supported by the Syriac.

5. *that mighty warrior.*] From 1 Sam. xvii. 33.

6. *So the people honoured him with ten thousands.*] Syr. "the women praised him." Hebrew, unlike the other Semitic languages, has no distinction of gender in the 3rd person of the perfect plural. The expression "honoured him with ten thousands" is curiously concise, if the reference be to 1 Sam. xviii. 7. The next clause, "and praised him in the blessings of the Lord," is omitted in the Syriac. It is possible that these two clauses are only different translations of the same, with a various reading בְּרָכוֹת for בְּרֻבוֹת. The former of them, "they praised him [with] blessings" (Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 279 *d*), may have been what the author intended.

in that he gave him.] Lit. **when a crown of glory was being won for him**; or (possibly) "carried by him" (Aeth.). The clause does not read naturally, but cannot be corrected from the Syriac "he fought little," which would be most inaccurate, and is also evidently corrupt.

7. *and brought to nought.*] Syr. "was avenged upon the Philistines;" Lat. *extirpavit.* The verb used in the Greek properly means "despised," but is occasionally employed in the LXX. to represent the Hebrew בּוּס, "to trample." It is more likely that the LXX. misunderstood the Greek than the Hebrew word.

8. *he praised.*] Lit. **he gave thanksgiving.** It seems probable that the words at the end of the clauses have been transposed, and that the author intended, "he gave glory . . . in words of thanksgiving." "Words of glory" is scarcely a Hebrew phrase; whereas "to give glory" and "a voice of thanksgiving" are common expressions.

9. This verse is interesting as shewing that our author was acquainted with the Book of Chronicles.

and daily sing praises in their songs.] This clause is omitted in all MSS. save 248 (and Co.). It is apparently due to a reminiscence of the Syriac verse, "every day continually he spake his praises before the altar; he gave mighty praises yearly."

10. *He beautified their feasts.*] Lit. **he put beauty in feasts.**

and set in order the solemn times.] Times of singing.

until the end.] Rather, **perfectly.**

the temple.] Rather, **the sanctuary.**

11. *took away his sins.*] See 2 Sam. xii. 13; and (perhaps) Ps. li. 9.

he gave him a covenant of kings.] The

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12 After him rose up a wise son, and for his sake he dwelt at large.

13 [h] Solomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was honoured; for God made all quiet round about him, that he might build an house in his name, and prepare his sanctuary for ever.

[h] 1 Kings 4. 21, 24, 25. & 5. 4, 5.

14 [i] How wise wast thou in thy youth, and, as a flood, filled with understanding!

[i] 1 Kings 4. 29, 30.

15 Thy soul covered the whole earth, and thou filledst it with dark parables.

16 [k] Thy name went far unto the islands; and for thy peace thou wast beloved.

[k] 1 Kings 4. 34. & 10. 1.

17 [l] The countries marvelled at thee for thy songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.

[l] 1 Kings 4. 31, 32.

18 By the name of the Lord God, which is called the Lord God of Israel, thou didst [m] gather gold as tin, and didst multiply silver as lead.

[m] 1 Kings 10. 22, 27.

19 [n] Thou didst bow thy loins unto women, and ‖ by thy body thou wast brought into subjection.

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[n] 1 Kings 11. 1, &c.

‖ Or, *in.*

20 Thou didst stain thy honour, and pollute thy seed: so that thou broughtest wrath upon thy children, and wast grieved for thy folly.

21 [o] So the kingdom was divided, and out of Ephraim ruled a rebellious kingdom.

[o] 1 Kings 12. 15, 16, 17, 20.

22 [p] But the Lord will never leave off his mercy, neither shall any of his works perish, neither will he abolish the posterity of his elect, and the seed of him that loveth him he will not take away: wherefore he gave a remnant unto Jacob, and out of him a root unto David.

[p] 2 Sam. 7. 15. Ps. 89. 33.

23 Thus rested Solomon with his fathers, [q] and of his seed he left behind him Roboam, even the foolishness of the people, and one that had no understanding, who [r] turned away the people through his counsel.

[q] 1 Kings 11. 43.

[r] 1 Kings 12. 10, 11, 13. 14.

verse seems to refer to the *covenant* that the throne should be in his house for ever; see Ps. lxxxix. 29. "A covenant of kings," however, is a curious phrase. But 248, Co., Lat., and perhaps Syr., read *βασιλείας*, "a charter of royalty."

12. *at large.*] Syr. "in quiet." The Heb. was probably ברוחה.

13. *made quiet.*] For this phrase, see Deut. xii. 10, &c.

that he might build.] *I.e.* have time to build. Compare also 1 Chron. xxviii. 3.

14. For the simile, see *sup.* xxiv. 25.

15. *covered.*] The image of the river (the Nile?) is kept up (Fritzsche).

16. *far unto the islands.*] Cp. the comm. on Isa. xxiv. 15.

for thy peace.] This clause seems somewhat unnatural in the context. Syr. "and they wait[ed] for thy report" = ומחכים לשמעך. Possibly ומחבים לשלמך was a corruption of this, or there may have been a word-play on the name of Solomon.

18. *By the name of the Lord God.*] The prosperity of Israel in the time of Solomon is attributed to his piety, and especially to the agency of the Lord.

as lead.] Syr. "as dust," connecting עפרת with עפר.

19. *thou wast brought into subjection.*] Lit. **and hadst authority exercised over thee.**

20. *and wast grieved for thy folly.*] Vat. "I am grieved." The Syriac has: "that they should groan upon their beds."

21. *So the kingdom.*] Lit. **that the kingdom should be**; with confusion of purpose and consequence.

22. *take away.*] Rather, **annihilate.**

any of his works.] The Syriac: "of his words."

23. *the foolishness of the people.*] This phrase has caused great difficulty to commentators, although the epithet "foolishness of the people" might perhaps stand for "the most foolish of the people" (Grot.), or "the author of the foolishness of the people." Fritzsche most ingeniously conjectures that we should read מזרע עמון, "from the seed of Ammon," referring to the lineage of Rehoboam's mother; and that "foolishness" should be turned into "a fool." We do not doubt, however, that the Syriac rendering, "multiplying folly," is on the whole right, though the original text is hard to reconstruct.

who turned away.] *I.e.* **caused them to revolt.** Syr. "who led the people by his counsel;" perhaps we should emend ;ܒܕ for ;ܕܒܕ "who scattered" or "divided."

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[s] 1 Kings 12. 28, 30.

[t] 2 Kings 17. 6, 18.

There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who [s]caused Israel to sin, and shewed Ephraim the way of sin:

24 And their sins were multiplied exceedingly, that [t]they were driven out of the land.

25 For they sought out all wickedness, till the vengeance came upon them.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1 *The praise of Elias,* 12 *of Eliseus,* 17 *and of Ezekias.*

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THEN stood up [a]Elias the prophet as fire, and his word burned like a lamp.

[a] 1 Kings 17. 1.

2 [b]He brought a sore famine upon them, and by his zeal he diminished their number.

[b] Jam. 5. 17.

There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat.] In the Greek this is the object of "left" in the first part of the verse. Syr. "let there be no remembrance to Jeroboam."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The subject of the first stanza (*vv.* 1–11) is Elijah; that of the second (*vv.* 12–16), Elisha. In stanza ii. *v.* 16 forms a natural transition to the mention of the pious rulers. Accordingly, king Hezekiah, with whom the prophet Isaiah is joined, forms the subject of the third stanza (*vv.* 17–24). The combination of prophets with kings (Nathan with David, xlvii. 1; Isaiah with Hezekiah), as well as the emphatic notice of the prophets (Samuel, Elijah, Elisha), shew that the author intended a review of the history of Israel from its religious aspect—although, at the same time, he may in his own mind also have classed the prophets with the representatives of *Chokhmah*.

As regards the theological standpoint of the writer, this chapter is of great interest and importance. We mark in it several points, as they successively emerge. (1) Verse 5 *b* seems to give further confirmation to the opinion previously expressed (see introduction to ch. xlvi.) that the writer regarded the departed in Hades not as annihilated, although not in a state of consciousness nor of real life. (2) While we mark in *vv.* 10–12 the absence of any mention of or reference to a personal Messiah, there cannot be any doubt that the writer expected a Messianic kingdom, according to the Jewish conception of it. Its negative aspect in the punishment and destruction of the heathen was already set forth in ch. xxxv. 18, 19, and in the prayer, xxxvi. 1–17, where we should also notice the anticipated fulfilment of prophecy (*v.* 15) in the restoration of Israel and the exaltation of Zion, on which see also xxxvii. 25 *b*. This positive aspect of "the kingdom" was further emphasised in the reference to Abraham in ch. xliv. 21, and to Isaac (*v.* 22); in that to David in ch. xlvii. 11, and even in the allusions contained in *v.* 22. These hopes are now fully expressed in ch. xlviii. 10, 11. (3) We gather from xlviii. 10, 11, that the writer identified the advent of this happy period with the return of Elijah—sharing in this the ordinary Jewish views. (4) For the understanding of *vv.* 10, 11 we must call special attention to the Syriac translation, as not only restoring in some important particulars the correct text (as in the Hebrew original), but as affording to our mind clear evidence that the Syriac translation was made by a Christian hand. We further notice (5) that in *v.* 13 the Syriac evidently rightly omits the second clause; and lastly (6) that the writer not only fully admits the miraculous in the scriptural record of Israel (as in Samuel, Elijah, Elisha), but also the reality of prophecy as in the case of Isaiah in *vv.* 22–24. As regards the latter verses, there are notable differences in the Syr. Version. For, first, the Syr. has in *v.* 22 *c*, *d*, "as had commanded him Isaiah the prophet, the most glorious of the prophets." Secondly, *v.* 24 in the Syr. does not necessarily convey, as in the Greek, that Isaiah prophesied of "the last things." The Syr. version is as follows: "And in the spirit of might [probably according to Hebrew usage = "the Spirit of God"] he saw [prophesied] new things and comforted the mourners of Zion. And so long as he was in the world he saw [prophesied] signs and wonders when they were not existent [before they took place]." Comparing the Greek with the Syriac version (the Arab. is very corrupt), we ask ourselves whether the Syr. does not here represent the true Hebrew original and the Greek a later alteration?

Looking back on the large belief in the supernatural on the part of the writer, his ignoration of another life seems certainly—to say the least—logically an inconsistency. But it is just the kind of inconsistency at which we do not wonder, which indeed we almost expect, on the part of such a religious philosopher as our author.

1. *as fire.*] Cp. Isa. xxx. 28. The author refers to the fierce and uncompromising character of this prophet's messages.

a lamp.] Rather, **a torch**. Cp. Zech. xii. 6.

2. *by his zeal.*] With reference to 1 Kings xix. 10.

he diminished their number.] Syr. "he split them." If the Greek translation be correct,

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3 By the word of the Lord he ‖shut up the heaven, [c]and also three times brought down fire.

‖ Or, *made heaven to hold up.*

4 O Elias, how wast thou honoured in thy wondrous deeds! and who may glory like unto thee!

[c] 1 Kings 18. 38. 2 Kings 1. 10, 12.

5 [d]Who didst raise up a dead man from death, and his soul from the ‖place of the dead, by the word of the most High:

[d] 1 Kings 17. 21, 22.

‖ Or, *grave.*

6 [e]Who broughtest kings to destruction, and honourable men from their ‖bed:

[e] 2 Kings 1. 16.

‖ Or, *seat.*

7 Who heardest the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, [f]and in Horeb the judgment of vengeance:

[f] 1 Kings 19. 8, &c.

8 [g]Who anointedst kings to take revenge, and prophets to succeed after ‖him:

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[g] 1 Kings 19. 15, 16.

9 [h]Who wast taken up in a whirlwind of fire, and in a chariot of fiery horses:

‖ Or, *thee.*

[h] 2 Kings 2. 11.

10 Who wast ‖ordained [i]for reproofs in their times, to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment, before it brake forth into fury, and to turn the heart of the father unto the son, and to ‖restore the tribes of Jacob.

‖ Or, *written of.*

[i] Mal. 4. 5, 6. Luke 1. 17.

‖ Or, *establish.*

11 Blessed are they that saw thee, and ‖slept in love; for we shall surely live.

‖ Or, *were adorned with love.*

the author refers to the "seven thousand" who were left (1 Kings xix. 18).

3. *he shut up the heaven.*] **He held back** would be more literal than the marginal alternative.

and also.] Lit. **and so**; *i.e.* and likewise.

4. For the apostrophe, compare *supra*, xlvii. 14.

6. *Who broughtest kings to destruction.*] Cp. 1 Kings xxi. 20; also xix. 16.

from their bed.] The phrase naturally reminds us of 2 Kings i. 16, where Ahaziah is represented as on a sick-bed. Yet it is remarkable if the "bringing down" of a sick man to the grave is regarded by the writer as a remarkable feat of prophetic power. Probably our author used ערש in its familiar Arabic sense of "throne." אלערש is technically "the throne of God."

7. *Who heardest the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai.*] The Syr. has a strange corruption, "in his temptation;" נסיונו for סיני. "The Lord" is omitted by the best MSS. "Rebuke" meant rather "reasoning," תוכחת.

the judgment of vengeance.] 1 Kings xix. 17, 18.

8. *to take revenge.*] Heb. לנקום. This is clearly stated as the purpose of the anointing of the kings in 1 Kings xix. 16–18. The author may well take notice of the dignity of the prophetic office here exercised.

10. *Who wast ordained for reproofs in their times.*] More lit. **who wast written** (specified) **in reproofs for times**, which Fritzsche ingeniously interprets, "who wast specified in the prophecy of Malachi to come at a certain time;" *i.e.* at the time of the restoration. [The Syriac Version has here only: "who is destined to come before the day of the Lord cometh."] In Hos. v. 9 יום תוכחה means "day of judgment," and we imagine that the author must have intended some phrase like this. This might be obtained by reading ἐλεγμός and εἰς καιρόν with inferior MSS.; הכתוב לעת תוכחה, "he that is written for [= to appear at] the time of judgment."

to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment.] According to the better reading, **to pacify wrath before rage**, *i.e.* before it burns (Fritzsche). The Lat. has "to pacify the wrath of the Lord." Compare Ps. ii. *ad fin.* The author is interpreting the last words of Malachi.

to restore.] From Isa. xlix. 6. The Syriac. "to preach to," betrays a Christian hand.

11. *Blessed are they that saw thee, and slept in love.*] The best Greek copies have "were adorned in love;" but as this can give no reasonable meaning in the context, we prefer the reading of the inferior MSS. "Slept in love" must, however, mean "slept contented," feeling that their best wish had been granted them; and this "in contentment" is probably only a gloss, though a singularly happy and appropriate one. This brings us to the text of the Syriac, "happy is he that shall have seen thee and die," אישרי ראיך ומת; *i.e.* "happy is he that shall see thee before he die."

for we shall surely live.] A difficult phrase, interpreted by the Vet. Lat. "we only live this life;" by Grotius and Fritzsche, "yet we shall surely remain alive," *i.e.* we shall surely live to see that day. Fritzsche finds in this passage evidence that the author looked forward to a speedy restitution, and imagined that he would live to see it. It seems to us unlikely that so cautious a writer would express his confidence so positively. We believe

12 [k]Elias it was, who was covered with a whirlwind: and Eliseus was filled with his spirit: whilst he lived, [l]he was not moved *with the presence* of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection.

13 ‖ No word could overcome him; [m]and after his death his body prophesied.

14 He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous.

15 For all this the people repented not, neither departed they from their sins, [n]till they were spoiled and carried out of their land, and were scattered through all the earth: yet there remained a small people, and a ruler in the house of David:

16 Of whom some did that which was pleasing *to God*, and some multiplied sins.

17 [o]Ezekias fortified his city, and [p]brought in water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters.

18 In his time [q]Sennacherib came up, and sent Rabsaces, and lifted up

B. C. cir. 200.

[k] 2 Kings 2. 11, 15.
[l] 2 Kings 3. 14.
‖ Or, *Nothing.*
[m] 2 Kings 13. 21.

B. C. cir. 200.

[n] 2 Kings 18. 11, 12.

[o] 2 Chron. 32. 5.
[p] 2 Kings 20. 20.

[q] 2 Kings 18. 13, 17. Isai. 36. 1.

that the true text is preserved by the Syr.: "yet he shall not die; he shall surely live." The author recalls his former words "and die."

12. *was covered with a whirlwind.*] The expression is a strange one. Schleussner (iii. p. 50) would emend ἐπετάσθη for ἐσκεπάσθη (from a quotation of Jerome), "flew up;" and this seems confirmed by the Aeth. (ערג), though the freedom of that translator renders him untrustworthy. The Syriac renders: "Elias was gathered to heaven in storehouses;" the Hebrew of this was probably בסופה נאסף, "was gathered (or taken up) by a whirlwind." The Syriac translator was deceived by the intentional assonance, and the Aramaising orthography several times noticed gave him the right to read the former word באספה (see Nehem. xii. 25). The Aethiopic connects this clause with the preceding by inserting "*for the sake of* Elias who was," &c.

was filled with his spirit.] Syr. "and received double prophecy; and many temptations (read 'signs') and wonders spoke his mouth."

whilst he lived, &c.] The reference is to 2 Kings iii. 13, and vi. 16.

13. *No word could overcome him.*] This may mean either that no difficulty was too great for him, or that no secret was hid from him (Syr.). Probably there is special reference to the cleansing of Naaman, and therefore the first interpretation is to be preferred.

and after his death his body prophesied.] Lit. **when he was at rest.** The Syr. omits this clause; and its meaning is doubtful. The only possible reference is apparently to 2 Kings xiii. 21. But against this interpretation is (1) the certainty of the reference of 14 *b* to that fact, (2) the strangeness of the expression "prophesied." It has been suggested that the clause is spurious. If it were genuine, 14 *b* could only refer to Elisha's interview on his death-bed with the king; for in the case of such a worker of miracles the author would have no occasion to refer to the same act twice. But the language of the clause plainly renders any such reference impossible. Fritzsche's conjecture on this point is very improbable.

14. **wondrous were his works.**] Syr. "he raised the dead to life;" perhaps an incorrect gloss (see above).

15. *till they were spoiled and carried.*] Omit the last two words as an addition of the A. V. Fritzsche's ingenious conjecture that נשבו and נישסו have been confused, and that the true reading signified "**were carried away captive**" is confirmed by the Syr.

The author thus closes the history of the great and good men of Israel.

yet there remained a small people.] Compare Isa. vi. 11.

and a ruler in the house of David.] The Syr. renders this verse: "and Judah was left alone a small domain for the house of David." It is likely that the Syrian rightly translated the word שלטן, "dominion," and that the original meant either "the realm of the house of David," or "as subjects for the house of David."

16. *that which was pleasing to God.*] The MSS. omit the last two words.

17. *water.*] The best MSS. strangely give τὸν Γώγ, "Gog," ingeniously interpreted by Geiger ('Z. D. M. G.' xii. 542) as a corruption for ἀγωγόν, "a conduit;" a conjecture confirmed by S^2. Fritzsche suggests a corruption of "Gihon." "Water" is the rendering of the Syr., Lat., Aeth., S. H. (marg.), and the reading of many MSS. The corruption must have originated in a Greek MS. The Hebrew word was probably תעלה.

wells.] Rather, **reservoirs.**

18. *and sent Rabsaces.*] The best MSS. add "and he marched." As the Syr. and

B. C. cir. 200.

his hand against Sion, and boasted proudly.

19 Then trembled their hearts and hands, and they were in pain, as women in travail.

2 Kings 19. 15, 20.

20 [r] But they called upon the Lord which is merciful, and stretched out their hands toward him: and immediately the Holy One heard them out of heaven, and delivered them by the ‖ ministry of Esay.

‖ Or, *hand.*

2 Kings 19. 35. Isai. 37. 36. Tobit 1. 18. 1 Mac. 7. 41. 2 Mac. 8. 19.

21 [s] He smote the host of the Assyrians, and his angel destroyed them.

2 Kings 18. 3.

22 [t] For Ezekias had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, as Esay the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him.

B. C. cir. 200.

23 [u] In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king's life.

[u] 2 Kings 20. 10, 11. Isai. 38. 8.

24 He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion.

25 He shewed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1 *The praise of Josias,* 4 *of David and Ezekias,* 6 *of Jeremy,* 8 *of Ezekiel,* 11 *Zorobabel,* 12 *Jesus the son of Josedec,* 13 *of Necmias, Enoch, Sem, Seth, and Adam.*

THE remembrance of [a] Josias is like the composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the

[a] 2 Kings 22. 1. 2 Chron. 34. 1.

Lat. versions omit this, and it is unnecessary if not perplexing in this context, it must be regarded as a dittography of καὶ ἐπῆρεν.

lifted up his hand.] This is the reading of the worse MSS., but doubtless correct. For the expression, compare 2 Sam. xx. 21.

19. Omitted in the Syr.

22. *was strong in.*] Rather, **abode by,** החזיק (Fritzsche). On the Syriac of clauses *c* and *d*, see the introd.

23. *In his time.*] Syr. "by his hands," reading בידיו (for ביומיו), which is probably right; compare, however, *sup.* xlvi. 4. The Syriac reading also makes the transition to Isaiah less abrupt.

24. *what should come to pass at the last.*] חדשות, "new things" (Isa. xlii. 9), like the Lat. *novissima*, seems from the Syr. to have been in the original. On the Syr. rendering of this verse, see the introd.

them that mourned in Sion.] From Isa. lxi. 2, 3.

25. *or ever they came.*] Isa. xlii. 9.

CHAPTER XLIX.

This chapter consists of four stanzas. The subject of the first (*vv.* 1–3) is pious king Josiah, on whom, as a bright example of piety in very dark days, the writer dilates with peculiar tenderness. In the second stanza (*vv.* 4–10) the mention of the three pious kings—David, Hezekiah, and Josiah—leads him, by way of contrast, to speak of the wicked kings who had brought such unutterable misery on Israel. In accordance with our author's method of combining kings (or reigns) with prophets, the reference to these kings brings up the names of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as well as the twelve prophets. The two former are described in accordance with the scriptural presentation of the leading features in their prophetic activity. We mark that, as afterwards Philo, our author gives special prominence to Jeremiah. The arrangement of his prophecies into those of judgment and consolation (*v.* 7 *c*, *d*) is in accordance with Jewish views. In *v.* 9 the subject is not Ezekiel but God, whose vision by Ezekiel had been described in *v.* 8 (see note on *v.* 9). In regard to *v.* 10 *b*, see the note.

The third stanza (*vv.* 11–13) refers to the activity of the post-exilian Jewish heroes: Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah. Ezra is not mentioned. The review of Israel's history closes, not inaptly, in the fourth stanza (*vv.* 14–16) with a retrospect upon the fathers of Israel's history: Enoch, Shem, Seth, and Adam. It will be observed that they are enumerated in the inverse order of their succession. They are selected as the worthies to whom Israel's covenant-history would be traced up. In regard to Adam, however, it is not clear whether *v.* 16 *b* does not refer mainly to his priority in time, as the first human being, the father of the whole race.

1. *Josias.*] See the passages cited in the margin.

like.] Lit. **serves for.** With the expression compare Cant. i. 2.

the composition of the perfume.] See Ex. xxv. 6, xxxi. 10. The translator adopts the LXX. version of the Hebrew words, in which קטרת is perhaps derived from a wrong root, meaning properly "burning," "fumigation."

B. C. cir. 200.

apothecary: it is sweet as honey in all mouths, and as musick at a banquet of wine.

‖ Or, *prospered.*
[b] 2 Kings 23. 4, &c. 2 Chron. 34. 3, 33.
[c] 2 Kings 23. 3, 25.

2 He ‖behaved himself uprightly in the conversion of the people, [b]and took away the abominations of iniquity.

3 [c]He directed his heart unto the Lord, and in the time of the ungodly he established the worship of God.

4 All, except David and Ezekias and Josias, were defective: for they forsook the law of the most High, *even* the kings of Juda failed.

[d] 2 Chron. 36. 17.
‖ Or, *horn.*

5 [d]Therefore he gave their ‖power unto others, and their glory to a strange nation.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [e]They burnt the chosen city of the sanctuary, and made the streets desolate, ‖[f]according to the prophecy of Jeremias.

[e] 2 Kings 25. 9. 2 Chron. 36. 19.
‖ Or, *by the hand of Jeremy.*
[f] Jer. 37. 8.

7 For they [g]entreated him evil, who nevertheless was a prophet, [h]sanctified in his mother's womb, that he might root out, and afflict, and destroy; and that he might build up also, and plant.

[g] Jer. 38. 6.
[h] Jer. 1. 5, 10.

8 [i]It was Ezekiel who saw the glorious vision, which was shewed him upon the chariot of the cherubims.

[i] Ezek. 1. 3, 4, 15.
[k] Ezek. 13. 11. & 38. 9, 16, 22.

9 For he [k]made mention of the enemies under *the figure of* the rain, and ‖directed them that went right.

‖ Or, *did good.*

that is made.] The Greek text refers "made" to the remembrance; the English translation follows a necessary correction.

as musick, &c.] For the author's estimate of this, see *sup.* xxxii. 5, 6.

The reference in clause 1 is not, however, necessarily to the incense of the sanctuary, but the meaning may be that of pleasure and refreshment, such as is conveyed to all the senses by perfume, honey, and music. And so it was a Jewish saying that "three things calm the mind of man, and they are these: sound [voice, music], sight, and smell [perfume]" (Ber. 57 *b*).

2. *He behaved himself uprightly.*] The original probably meant "he succeeded." The Syr. renders: "he was hidden from temptations." This perhaps represents no different reading, but a false connexion of the derivative of שוב employed by the author with שבה, "to carry captive;" which led to this glossing of the word "succeeded." The verse indicates why his "remembrance" was so precious. On the activity of Josias, comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 24.

3. *he established the worship of God.*] Lit. **he strengthened.**

4. The verse begins the second stanza. The author, one imagines, might also have mentioned at least Jehoshaphat and Asa; but (as Fritzsche remarks) the worship in the "high places" continued in their time.

failed.] *I.e.* **came to ruin.** Or, perhaps, rather, **they deserted their post of duty.**

5. *he gave.*] The Greek MSS. have all **they gave**, and this is rendered certain by the Syr. The author either refers to those foreign alliances which the prophets so severely condemned, or makes them responsible for the result to which their actions led. Indeed, the two would be combined in the view of the writer. He would chiefly have in mind the calling in of the Assyrian power by Ahaz, with all its disastrous consequences to Judah and Israel; comp. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

6. *They.*] The strange nation.

the streets.] Syr. "the ruins thereof." חרבות and רחבות were various readings. Doubtless the Greek reading is to be preferred.

according to the prophecy.] Lit. "by the hands." We must read with the Syr. בימי, "in the days" of Jeremiah. The same variation was noticed at xlviii. 23.

7. Comp. the corresponding passages in Jeremiah, which can scarcely leave a doubt that the younger Siracide had the LXX. version of Jeremiah before him. The reference is to the twofold commission of Jeremiah: to destroy and to build.

8. *the glorious vision.*] Rather, **the vision of the glory** = הכבוד. The reference is to the visions described in Ezek. i., viii., and x.

which was shewed him.] Rather, **which he shewed him.**

9. *For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of the rain.*] Lit. **in rain.** "Rain" is referred by the commentators to the ὑετὸς κατακλύζων, "flooding rain," with which in Ezek. xiii. 11 (LXX.) the false prophets are threatened. But the whole verse is so difficult and unsatisfactory that it cannot be supposed to represent the original faithfully. The Aeth. renders: "and he mentioned the enemy with wrath," anticipating Fritzsche's conjecture that the Hebrew זעם, "wrath," was corrupted into זרם, "flooding rain," in the translator's copy. The Syr., "and even concerning Job he

B. C. cir. 200.

10 And of the twelve prophets let the memorial be blessed, and [l] let their bones flourish again out of their place: for they comforted Jacob, and delivered them by assured hope.

[l] ch. 46. 12.

11 How shall we magnify [m] Zorobabel? even he was as a signet on the right hand:

[m] Ezra 3. 2. Hag. 2. 23.

12 So was [n] Jesus the son of Josedec: who in their time builded the house, and set up an holy temple to the Lord, which was prepared for everlasting glory.

B. C. cir. 200.

[n] Ezra 3. 2. Hag. 1. 12. & 2. 2. Zech. 3. 1.

13 And among the elect was Neemias, whose renown is great, [o] who raised up for us the walls that were

[o] Neh. 7. 1.

said," clearly reading אִיּוֹב for אוֹיֵב, as Arnaldus and Geiger observed. Accepting this correction ("Job" for "the enemy"), both these scholars imagine the reference to be to Ezekiel's mention of Job (xiv. 14). But it is improbable that so unimportant a fact would be alluded to here, although Ezekiel's mention of Job might have reminded our author of him. We would propose translating: **For He** [God] **remembered** [made remembrance of = זָכַר, so rendered in the LXX., especially frequently in the Psalms; see particularly Ps. ix. 12 (Heb. 13) and Ps. lxxiv. 22 (LXX.: Ps. lxxiii.)] **the enemy in storm.** We suggest that the Greek translator misread בִּישָׁעִירִם, "in rain-shower" (Deut. xxxii. 2, which the LXX. render by ὄμβρος as in our verse), instead of בִּיסַעֲרָה, "in storm"—or else "He remembered the enemy in wrath," if he misread זֹרֵם for זֹעֵם. Either of these corrections would make clause 1 correspond with clause 2, which would not be the case if we were to correct "enemy" into "Job," the introduction of that name being also unsuited to the context.

and directed them that went right.] Lit., according to the better reading, **to do good to them,** &c. Geiger ('Z. D. M. G.' xii. 572) emended the whole verse as follows: גַּם אֶת אִיּוֹב זָכַר בְּסַעֲרָה לִגְמֹל דַּרְכֵי יְשָׁרִים, "Job, too, he remembered in the whirlwind to repay his righteous dealing." To the twofold commission of Jeremiah (*v.* 7), which the writer conceives to be further confirmed by the visions of Ezekiel (*v.* 8), corresponds the twofold activity of God: towards His enemies and to those that "go right."

10. *let the memorial be blessed.*] This clause is found only in MS. 248.

let their bones flourish again.] The Syriac here supports the Greek. The repetition of these words from ch. xlvi. 12 (see the connexion there) deprives them of the meaning which some might attach to them as referring to the resurrection of the body.

for they comforted.] On the supposition that these two clauses are here in their right place, we must adopt this reading, which is supported by the Syr. and the Vet. Lat., though not found in the best MSS., which give the singular. The latter would necessitate a reference to God (*v.* 9), and also the transposition (Fritzsche) of the last two lines of *v.* 10 to *v.* 9. In that case *v.* 10 would consist of only the first three lines in the A. V. On the whole we prefer this re-arrangement for the reason about to be mentioned.

and delivered them by assured hope.] Lit. **by (in) assurance of hope.** Whether we retain this and the previous line in their present position, or, as we prefer, add them to *v.* 9, the subject must be "God." The Syr., which adopts the plural number ("they comforted") consistently with the reference to the prophets, alters the last line as follows: "and promised them that they should be delivered."

11. Here begins stanza iii. The omission of Ezra is somewhat remarkable. It is scarcely accounted for by the circumstance that only the rebuilding of the Temple and city were in the mind of the writer (Fritzsche). Did he feel out of sympathy either with the person or the special activity of Ezra in regard to the Law?

a signet.] The author adheres to his custom of employing characteristic phrases. In our view the writer does not intend to refer to the signet as an ornament, but to indicate that in and by Zerubbabel the previous promises of God to Israel were sealed.

12. *Jesus the son of Josedec.*] See Zech. iii. 1–9.

who in their time.] The addition seems needless, and, as we might expect, the Syriac is different; "by their exhortation," Polyglot; "in their poverty," Lagarde: the former is supported by the Arab., which, however, is corrupt. It is probable that the author wrote "with their hands," בִּידֵיהֶם, which was corrupted into בִּימֵיהֶם, as so often in these chapters.

builded the house, and set up an holy temple.] Syr. "set up an altar and built a holy temple." This rendering avoids the tautology.

prepared.] A reference to Haggai's well-known prophecy; though the Siracide had no conception of the manner in which it would be fulfilled in the coming of the Messiah.

B. C. cir. 200.

fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again.

14 But upon the earth was no man created like [p]Enoch; for he was taken from the earth.

15 Neither was there a man born like unto [q]Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people, whose bones were regarded of the Lord.

16 [r]Sem and Seth were in great honour among men, and so was Adam above every living thing in the creation.

B. C. cir. 200.

[p] Gen. 5. 24. ch. 44. 16. Hebr. 11. 5.
[q] Gen. 41. 43. & 42. 6. & 45. 8. & 50. 25. Exod. 13. 19.
[r] Gen. 5. 3, 32. & 11. 10.

CHAPTER L.

1 *Of Simon the son of Onias.* 22 *How the people were taught to praise God, and pray.* 27 *The conclusion.*

SIMON the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life re-

13. *And among the elect was.*] The better reading is, **and may the memory of Nehemias be great.** Compare Jos. 'Ant.' xi. 5, 8, where it is recorded that Nehemiah called priests and Levites from the country into the thinly populated city, and built them houses at his own expense (Fritzsche).

our ruins.] Lit. **our ground-plots.** The original was probably, however, חרבות, "ruins."

14. The author having come to the end of the national history in the last stanza takes a retrospect of the "fathers" of Israel's covenant-history. It was perhaps in order to indicate this that their names are introduced in the reverse order of their chronological succession. If Enoch was rightly omitted by the Syr. in xliv. 16, the introduction of his name here will be more intelligible.

was no man.] Syr. "few;" doubtless an intentional alteration, perhaps from a Christian hand.

15. *a governor.*] Rather, **a leader;** the reference is to Gen. xlix. 26, נזיר אחיו.

a stay of the people.] This and the previous clause are omitted by Syr.

whose bones were regarded of the Lord.] "Of the Lord" must be omitted. Aeth. "his bones found mercy." Lat. *et post mortem prophetaverunt*, an interpolation from xlviii. 13. Syr. "and his body was gathered in peace;" whence it appears that the reference is to the careful conveyance of the body of Joseph from Egypt (see Ex. xiii. 19; Jer. xxiv. 32). Possibly the author used the word נקברו, "were buried," of which the second and third letters had become transposed in the Greek translator's text; the word בקר ("to look to," "to care for") is occasionally rendered ἐπισκέπτεσθαι in the LXX. The Syriac adds the words "in peace." It is possible that that word itself (בשלם) represents a corruption of "in Shechem" (בשכם).

16. *were in great honour among men, &c.*] Syr. "Seth, Shem, and Enos were created among men; and over all these is the glory of Adam." It has been suggested that the Hebrew original may have consisted of a combination of the first clause of the Greek with the second of the Syriac. Some word which either bore the two meanings, "create" and "glorify," or while signifying the latter was similar in form to a word meaning the former, must have been employed in both clauses. Shem and Seth represent the ancestors of the pious part of the postdiluvian and antediluvian world respectively. The "Enos" of the Syrian is probably nothing more than a dittography of באנוש, "among men."

CHAPTER L.

This chapter describes the services of the Temple in the time of Simon I., whose character and administration are highly extolled, and whose appearance in the various functions of his high-priestly office are also set forth under a variety of figures. It closes with a grand eulogy, perhaps in imitation of those at the end of each of the five books in the Psalter. This is followed by what we regard as a spurious later addition, alike in the Hebrew original and the Greek Version (see note on *vv.* 25, 26). The book concludes with the name of the writer and a general commendation of that which formed the subject of the whole work.

The chapter seems arranged into six stanzas:—Stanza i., *vv.* 1–4: praise of Simon I. as high-priest and ruler (see the General Introduction). Stanza ii.: the high-priest on the Day of Atonement, *vv.* 5–10. Stanza iii.: the high-priest in the ordinary functions of his office, *vv.* 11–20. Stanza iv.: grand eulogy, *vv.* 22–24. [Stanza v.: later insertion, *vv.* 25, 26.] Stanza vi.: general conclusion, *vv.* 27–29. Thus the chapter would consist of four verses (stanza i.), six verses (stanza ii.), ten verses (4 + 6, stanza iii.), four verses (stanza iv.), and, omitting the interpolated stanza v., three verses (stanza vi.).

1. *Simon the high priest, the son of Onias.*] Syr. "son of Nathaniah," a name with an easier etymon than "Onias." In the list of the high-priests of that period we have no fewer than three of the name of Onias (four, if we include Menelaus; five, if we add the Onias who founded the temple at Leontopolis) in

B. C. cir. 200.

paired the house again, and in his days fortified the temple:

2 And by him was built from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the temple:

[a] 1 Kings 7. 23.

3 In his days the [a]cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass: B. C. cir. 200.

4 He took care of the temple that it should not fall, and fortified the city against besieging:

5 How was he honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of [‖]the sanctuary! ‖ Gr. *the house of the veil.*

Egypt. As regards the question which Simon is referred to in this verse—whether the first or the second of that name—we refer to the General Introduction, § II. The Syr. adds, "greatest of his brethren and crown of his people was." And some such phrase seems required to give the sentence a commencement; it may have been omitted in the Greek copy by design or by neglect—probably the former.

repaired the house.] Gr. *ὑπέρραψεν*, well rendered in Latin by Kessler, "sartam tectam praestitit;" Heb. רִפָּא (Fritzsche). On the subject of these repairs we must once more refer to the General Introduction, § II.

fortified the temple.] Rather, **strengthened** or "rebuilt;" see the references in Ges. 'Thes.' *s. v.* חָזַק.

2. *And by him was built, &c.*] This verse is obscure, and precise historical details are wanting (see General Introduction, § II.). The author apparently refers to a high surrounding wall built round the Temple; many of the words are to be found in the description of the palace at Persepolis given by Diodorus xvii. 71. The second clause may be translated "a lofty structure, a surrounding wall for the Temple." Ἀνάλημμα—in the LXX. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5 for "Millo"—is employed to designate any massive structure; see Wesseling *ad l. c.*, Diod., Suidas *s. v.*, with the references in Bernhardy's edition. The first clause is rendered more difficult by the phrase *ὕψος διπλῆς*; which should mean, "by him was founded (= built) to the height of a double;" "a double," *διπλῆ*, signifying some measure of length. In any case *ὕψος*, so close to *ὑψηλόν*, would suggest that the text was either corrupt or mistranslated. Perhaps the former was the case, and the original had חוֹמוֹת, signifying a "double wall" (compare *l. c.* Diod.), which the Syrian (whose text, however, is deficient) misread קוֹמוֹת, "height." For various suggestions on this locality, see Fritzsche.

3. The A. V. here follows an emended text. The Greek literally rendered would be: **in his days was diminished a receptacle of waters, brass** [or, with some MSS., "a lake"], **in circumference like that of a sea.** It is clear that this "diminished" cannot represent the original correctly; nor are the attempts that have been made to correct the Greek text successful. Fritzsche, whose criticisms on the attempts of his predecessors are here as elsewhere painfully sharp, reads *ἐλατομήθη*, "was cut out of stone;" a correction far inferior to that of Herzfeld ('Gesch. Israels,' ii. 195), *ἠλατώθη*. The Syriac Version, though it only preserves two words of the verse, enables us to correct the error with certainty. It renders "he dug a well," shewing that חסר, "diminished," in the Greek copy was an error for חפר, "dug." But this also shews us that in the second clause *λάκκος*, "a lake," must be substituted for *χαλκός*, "brass," of the best MSS.; a substitution in accordance with the canon that a more difficult reading is to be adopted in preference to one easier. The whole verse should then be rendered, **in his days was dug out a receptacle of waters, a reservoir in circumference like a sea.** There seems here an allusion to some public work, probably with a view to render a longer defence of Jerusalem possible.

4. *He took care of the temple.*] The A. V. follows an emendation; all the best authorities have: **who took thought for his people.**

that it should not fall.] Rather, **against ruin.**

against besieging.] The author would seem to mean "to stand a siege in," *i.e.* so that it could stand a siege. Ἐμπολιορκεῖσθαι would have been the correct Greek rather than *ἐμπολιορκῆσαι*. The mistake may be due either to the translator or to his copyists.

5. Stanza ii. The description of the high-priest during the most solemn function of his office: on the Day of Atonement.

in the midst of the people.] Ewald took the words to mean "during the circuit of the people," *i.e.* "on the solemn feast-day when the people walked in solemn procession round the sanctuary." But this is impossible, since there was no such circuit on the Day of Atonement. Syr. "when he departed out of the temple;" whence Bretschneider corrected the Greek *ναοῦ* for *λαοῦ*.

in his coming out of the sanctuary.] Rather, **when he came out from the house of**

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6 He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full:

7 As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds:

8 And as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies by the rivers of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense tree in the time of summer:

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9 As fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones:

10 And as a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.

11 When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the

the veil, *i.e.* from behind the Veil—from the Holiest of all. As the high-priest only entered the Holiest of all on the Day of Atonement, the reference must be to his "glorious" appearance on that day. For details of the services of that day, we refer to 'The Temple and its Services,' ch. xvi. The appearance of the high-priest is described in the following verses under eleven figures.

6. *as the morning star.*] Compare Isa. xiv. 12.

in the midst of a cloud.] Syr. "between clouds."

the moon at the full.] Lit. **full in days**. Syr. "in the days of Nisan;" a remarkable reading, which, if right, would seem to refer to the Paschal moon—but, if so, incorrectly. On the other hand, the autumn full moon—the harvest-moon—would be a much more suitable figure. It, as well as some of the subsequent figures, gains in significance when we remember that on the Day of Atonement the high-priest wore "linen garments" ('Temple and its Services,' pp. 266, &c.).

7. *As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High.*] Syr. "upon a palace" (Heb. היכל? or אפדן?). The author is referring to gilt rooves.

in clouds of glory.] Syr. omits "of glory."

8. *as the flower of roses in the spring of the year.*] The expression "spring of the year" is the same as in xxiv. 23. Syr. "like the ears of the field;" an equally natural simile in our author's mind: see on xl. 22.

as the branches of the frankincense tree.] The meaning of the expression βλαστοὶ λιβάνου has been questioned. That represented by the A. V. is adopted by Fritzsche; and the reference to midsummer is explained by him (after Hug) from the observation of Theophrastus ('Hist. Plant.' ix. 1, 6), that the tree is tapped "under the Dog-star and in the hottest days." It has been suggested that the mention of frankincense in the next clause renders this interpretation improbable; and that we should translate "the shoots of Lebanon," עצי לבנון. This might indeed be referred to the fragrant herbs which grew there (so Herzfeld, *l. c.*; compare Cant. iv. 11), but it is more probably to be interpreted of the cedars, whose magnificent growth affords the material for so many biblical similes; since rich and luxurious vegetation rather than fragrance is the characteristic of all the plants mentioned in *v.* 10. On the other hand, however, aromatic plants alone are mentioned in one verse, and the mention of "branches of the frankincense tree" would form an apt transition to "the incense" in the next verse.

in the time of summer.] Probably "in harvest time," בימי קציר; cp. Syr. here, and LXX. of Prov. xxvi. 1. This corresponds with the date of the Fast.

9. *As fire and incense.*] The figure of hendiadys is not common in the Semitic languages. We prefer, therefore, the reading of the Syr., אשׁי לבנה, "offerings of incense"—conjectured independently by Fritzsche.

as a vessel of beaten gold.] Compare the similes in xxxii. 5, 6.

10. *a fair olive tree.*] "Fair" is found only in 248, Co.

budding forth fruit.] Rather, **bringing forth**. Syr. "whose branches are mighty," perhaps thinking of פארה for פריה.

as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.] The cypress is φύσει ὑψηλόν (Theophrastus, 'Caus. Plant.' III. vii. 4). The tree spoken of, however, seems to have been the עין שכן, or oleaster (cp. Syr.). The expression "which groweth up to the clouds" is so strange that even without the Syriac we might have guessed that the author had used the word עב, which bears the twofold meaning of "cloud" and "foliage," and that the latter was the sense which the author intended to convey. Theophrastus ('Hist. Plant.' I. viii. 3 and III. vi. 2) observes on the regularity of the boughs of this tree. To this feature our author probably alludes, but the original is difficult to reconstruct out of ὑψουμένη and ܡܫܡܫ.

11. Second stanza.

When he put on the robe of honour.] The

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B. C. cir. 200. perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable.

12 When he took the portions out of the priests' hands, he himself stood by the hearth of the altar, compassed with his brethren round about, as a young cedar in Libanus; and as palm trees compassed they him round about.

13 So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel.

14 And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty,

[b] Deut. 32. 14. ch. 39. 26. 15 He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of [b] the blood of the grape, he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweetsmelling savour unto the most high King of all.

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16 Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and [c] sounded the ‖ silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High.

[c] Numb. 10. 8, 10.

‖ Or, *trumpets beaten forth with the hammer.*

17 Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High.

18 The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody.

19 And the people besought the Lord, the most High, by prayer before him that is merciful, till the

distinctive vestments of the high-priest (see 'The Temple and its Services,' p. 72). Although during the ordinary part of the services on the Day of Atonement the high-priest wore his usual vestments—"the robe of honour," or, as it is called, "the golden vestments"—yet it seems more likely that the reference now is to the ordinary, or to the Sabbatic, or other festive functions of the high-priest. This, partly because it is not likely that these functions would remain wholly unnoticed, partly because we should scarcely expect that after the full description of the appearance on the Day of Atonement the writer would go back to it again. The wearing of the "golden vestments" during part of the Day of Atonement seems alluded to in the figure of *v.* 9. In connexion with this it here deserves notice that the services of that day were concluded by the high-priest in his "golden vestments" ('Temple and its Services,' pp. 285, 286). Indeed, a comparison of the figures in *vv.* 5–10 will shew that they correspond with the rubric regarding the vestments to be worn by the high-priest in the various functions of that solemn day.

he made the garment of holiness honourable.] Rather, **he made the surrounding** [the *ambitus*] **of the sanctuary glorious.** "The surrounding of the sanctuary" is the Court of the Priests where "the holy altar," *i.e.* the altar of burnt-offering, stood. For the rendering of *ἁγίασμα* by "sanctuary," comp. Ecclus. xlvii. 10, 13; xxxvi. 15; xlix. 6. The high-priest might officiate on any day and in any of the priestly functions.

12. *the portions.*] Syr. "of flesh." The sacrifice was cut up in pieces according to certain rules, and salted before being laid on the altar. For the various rubrics, comp. 'The Temple and its Services,' pp. 90, 100, 135, 141.

compassed with his brethren round about.] On the number of priests who carried up the various sacrifices, comp. *u. s.* p. 90.

as a young cedar in Libanus.] Omitted by Syr.; perhaps it has come in from *v.* 8.

13. For the detailed explanation of the order of service as here described we must refer to the account of these services, *u. s.* ch. viii.

14. *And finishing the service at the altar.*] Lit. **and performing completion on the altars**; Syriac, "until he had finished serving the altar." The latter would seem to represent the better reading; מְשֹׁרֶת was read by the Greek translator מְשֻׁרֶת, and עד כלה taken by him for an adverbial phrase (probably we should read *εἰς συντέλειαν* for *καὶ σ.*).

that he might adorn the offering.] Rather, **while adorning** or **performing**.

15. *the cup.*] Heb. קִשּׂוֹת, not used in singular. The "drink-offering" was poured on the base of the altar: comp. 'The Temple and its Services,' p. 142.

16. *silver.*] The marginal rendering is more literal. Immediately after the "drink-offering," the Temple-music began (*u. s.* pp. 142–144). On the musical part of the service, comp. *u. s.* pp. 52–57.

19. "The Psalm of the day was always sung in three sections. At the close of each

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B. C. cir. 200. solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished his service.

20 Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in his name.

21 And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High.

Ps. 72. 22 Now therefore [d]bless ye the God of all, which only doeth wondrous things every where, which exalteth our days from the womb, and dealeth with us according to his mercy. B. C. cir. 200.

23 He grant us joyfulness of heart, and that peace may be in our days in Israel for ever:

24 That he would confirm his mercy with us, and deliver us at his time!

25 There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation:

26 They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem.

the priests drew three blasts from their silver trumpets, and the people bowed down and worshipped" (*u. s.* p. 143).

20. On the priestly benediction and the response of the people, see *u. s.* p. 141. In the Temple of Herod the priestly blessing was given before the meat- and drink-offering and the Psalmody.

21. Although this verse seems naturally to connect itself with that which precedes, the structure of the chapter (see introduction) requires it to be connected with the hymn which follows.

22–24. Although put in the mouth of the people, this is rather ideal than real, and the hymn of thanksgiving must be regarded as the original composition of the Siracide rather than as forming part of the services in the Temple. Its catholic character, as distinguished from narrow Jewish views (*v.* 22 *a*, *b*); its expression of a wider gratitude (*v.* 22 *c*, *d*); its healthy tone (*v.* 23), and its pathetic utterance of hope (*v.* 24), entitle it to a place among the loftiest of uninspired hymns. As noticed in the General Introduction, it has been reproduced in the well-known German hymn of Rinckart (about 1648): *Nun danket alle Gott*—with special appropriateness to the circumstances of the time of its composition—the close of the Thirty Years' War. (For its translation into English, see 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' No. 379.) The Syriac version of the hymn is as follows:

"And let the people of the earth praise the Lord,
Who doeth famous things on earth,
And created the sons of man from out the womb of their mother,
And ruleth them according to His will,
To give unto them wisdom of heart;
And let there be peace between them;
And let mercy be established with Simon:
[or: And let it be established with Simon the Just (see General Introduction, p. 6)]
And with his seed, as the days of heaven."

It will be observed that while the Syriac rendering is in the first five lines more universal in its tone than the Greek, being probably modified by the Syriac translator, the last three lines seem more accurately to express what one would expect to have been in the mind of the original Hebrew writer.

25, 26. *There be two manner of nations, &c.*] It has been suggested that these two verses have the appearance of being a riddle, containing the author's name or an indication of the date at which the book was completed. Upon the whole their insertion in this place—after the concluding eulogy of *vv.* 22–24 and before the customary close in *vv.* 28, 29—seems so strange and incongruous that we are disposed to regard them as the later addition of a scribe, and as dating from near the time of Herod. This on account of the covert allusion to Edom, which, as the birthplace of the family of Herod, the Idumæan, was held in such general hatred at that time. For the reference to "the mountain of Samaria" must have been intended to cover some other allusion, the Samaritans being referred to in the last clause of the verse. The Hebrew original had no doubt "in mount Seir," referring to Edom. This is preserved in the Syr. גבל (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 8—while in the Samar. version of the Pentateuch *Seir* is rendered by גבלה). Similarly, the Vet. Lat. translates: *in monte Seir*. By the expression "Philistines," we conjecture that the foreign—Grecian—settlers in Palestine (*advenæ*) are meant, especially those who inhabited the older Philistine and Phœnician cities by the sea-coast. The

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27 Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem hath written in this book the instruction of understanding and knowledge, who out of his heart poured forth wisdom.

28 Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things; and he that layeth them up in his heart shall become wise.

29 For if he do them, he shall be strong to all things: for the light of the Lord leadeth him, who giveth wisdom to the godly. Blessed be the Lord for ever. Amen, Amen.

CHAPTER LI.

A Prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach.

I WILL thank thee, O Lord and King, and praise thee, O God my Saviour: I do give praise unto thy name:

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2 For thou art my defender and helper, and hast preserved my body from destruction, and from the snare of the slanderous tongue, and from the lips that forge lies, and hast been mine helper against mine adversaries:

3 And hast delivered me, according to the multitude of thy mercies and greatness of thy name, from ‖ the teeth of them that were ready to devour me, and out of the hands of such as sought after my life, and from the manifold afflictions which I had;

‖ Gr. *the gnashing of the teeth.*

4 From the choking of fire on every side, and from the midst of the fire which I kindled not;

words "they that dwell among" are taken from H, 248, Co., but are not in any of the principal MSS., which have only "the Philistines."

CHAPTER LI.

Viewed generally, this chapter consists of three parts: Part I., *vv.* 1–12; Part II., *vv.* 13–27; Part III., *vv.* 28–30. The first two parts consist of several stanzas. Part I. has two stanzas, each of five verses (*vv.* 1–5; 6–10), and closes with a stanza of two verses (*vv.* 11, 12). Part II. has three stanzas, each of five verses (*vv.* 13–17; 18–22; 23–27). Part III., which may be regarded as the general conclusion, consists of one stanza of three verses. Not only the different parts of this chapter, but the stanzas of which each part consists, are well marked by the difference of the subject in each of them. Perhaps this is least clear in Part I. But here also we notice that from the record of strictly personal events in stanza i. (*vv.* 1–5) the writer passes in the second stanza (*vv.* 6–10) to a more general religious consideration of them and a statement of his own spiritual experience, which in the third stanza rises into thanksgiving (*vv.* 11, 12). This forms an apt conclusion of Part I. In Part II. the writer once more gives in the first stanza (*vv.* 13–17) what may be called a more personal account of his inner life as regards Wisdom, and again passes in the second stanza (*vv.* 18–22) to a more general statement in regard to it. Lastly, stanza iii. is an admonition addressed to all, and based on the writer's personal experience of Wisdom. This prepares for Part III., which contains a general commendation of the pursuit of wisdom and piety.

As regards critical points we note that this chapter is wanting in the S. H. Version, and in one or two MSS. Fritzsche would place it before *v.* 27 of the last chapter, without any adequate ground. Bickell endeavours to prove that it was an alphabetical psalm. In any case, from its personal character, the author was justified in making it an appendix to his book, within which it would have been entirely out of place. The Syriac Version has many strange variations (as in the preceding chapters), all of which do not require to find a place here.

1. *I will thank thee, &c.*] Cp. the commencement of Ps. cxxxviii. The Aeth. inverts clauses 1 and 2. On the circumstances of danger which beset the author, see the General Introduction, pp. 4, 8, 13.

2. *For thou art.*] Rather, **hast been** on a particular occasion.

from the snare of the slanderous tongue.] For the circumstances in Ben Sira's personal history which explain this verse, comp. the General Introduction, pp. 4, 8.

mine adversaries.] Lit. **those who stood beside me**—naturally in a hostile sense, "waiting to destroy me."

3. *and greatness of thy name.*] Lit. **and of thy name.** The text, if right, exhibits a remarkable zeugma. Aeth. "and on account of thy name." Some MSS. (with the Lat.) solve the difficulty by omitting the copula; and this Fritzsche adopts after Drusius. The original is likely to have been כרב חסדי שמך, "according to the multitude of the

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5 From the depth of the belly of hell, from an unclean tongue, and from lying words.

6 By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue my soul drew near even unto death, my life was near to the hell beneath.

7 They compassed me on every side, and there was no man to help me: I looked for the succour of men, but there was none.

8 Then thought I upon thy mercy, O Lord, and upon thy acts of old, how thou deliverest such as wait for thee, and savest them out of the hands of the enemies.

9 Then lifted I up my supplication from the earth, and prayed for deliverance from death.

10 I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord, that he would not leave me in the days of my trouble, and in the time of the proud, when there was no help. B. C. cir. 200.

11 I will praise thy name continually, and will sing praise with thanksgiving; ‖and so my prayer was heard: ‖ Or, *because my prayer.*

12 For thou savedst me from destruction, and deliveredst me from the evil time: therefore will I give thanks, and praise thee, and bless thy name, O Lord.

13 When I was yet young, or ever I ‖went abroad, I desired wisdom openly in my prayer. ‖ Or, *went astray.*

14 I prayed for her before the temple, and will seek her out even to the end.

15 Even from the flower till the

mercies of Thy Name," when the ו was corrupted into ו. The reason for the periphrase must have been rhythmical.

4. *which I kindled not.*] *I.e.* trouble which I had brought on by no folly of my own. It is likely, however, that there is a mistranslation, and that the original meant "so that I was not burnt."

5. *the belly of hell.*] Or, rather, **Hades**—so also in *v.* 6. The phrase is from Jonah's hymn (ii. 3, בטן שאול), to which this chapter contains several allusions. The meaning is that he was guiltless.

unclean tongue.] Comp. Isa. vi. 5, "of unclean lips," which, however, is rather different.

6. *By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue.*] The text of the best MSS. is here corrupt and must be corrected. The inferior MSS. read διαβολῆς for διαβολή. The text means: **from a false accusation to the king, from the accusation of an unrighteous tongue.** The A. V. follows a correction, διαβολῇ. Copt. "from the calumny of the tongue of violence of the king." This clause, however, really forms part of the preceding verse, to which it should be joined. With the next clause begins the second stanza, which is connected with the first by the resumption of the reference to Hades.

my soul drew near, &c.] Similar complaints are frequent in the Psalms.

7. *They compassed me.*] Syr. "I turned behind."

8. *out of the hands of the enemies.*] The better MSS. have: **hands of the Gentiles.** This would also fit in better with the peculiar circumstances of danger in which the writer was placed.

10. *the Lord, the Father of my Lord.*] "Christi ut apud Davidem Ps. cx. 1" (Grotius). This, however, is impossible in such a book as this. The Syriac shews us that the original text signified: "unto the Lord, my father, O Lord."

in the time of the proud, when there was no help.] The construction is difficult; the best critics seem, however, agreed about the meaning.

11. Concluding stanza of Part I.

and so (rather, *yea*) *my prayer was heard.*] Apodosis of *v.* 10. The whole cast of this stanza is entirely in accord with the spirit of the Old Testament. Whatever Israel lost in its degenerate times, it was not the dignity of suffering.

13. The verse begins Part II. Here Bickell makes the alphabetical portion begin.

or ever I went abroad.] The commentators are divided between this meaning and that suggested in the margin. For the author's travels, see xxxiv. 11. Yet "to wander" need mean no more than "to leave the nest."

openly.] Perhaps "loudly."

14. *before the temple.*] Cp. Ps. v. 8; cxxxviii. 2. The posture of the suppliant is that of looking towards the sanctuary.

and will seek her out.] A holy resolution to persevere in what he had from the first

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grape was ripe hath my heart delighted in her: my foot went the right way, from my youth up sought I after her.

16 I bowed down mine ear a little, and received her, and gat much learning.

17 I profited therein, *therefore* will I ascribe the glory unto him that giveth me wisdom.

18 For I purposed to do after her, and earnestly I followed that which is good; so shall I not be confounded.

19 My soul hath wrestled with her, and in my doings I was exact: I stretched forth my hands to the heaven above, and bewailed my ignorances of her.

‖ Or, *I got understanding.*

20 ‖I directed my soul unto her, and I found her in pureness: I have had my heart joined with her from the beginning, therefore shall I not be forsaken.

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21 My ‖heart was troubled in seeking her: therefore have I gotten a good possession.

‖ Or, *bowels.*

22 The Lord hath given me a tongue for my reward, and I will praise him therewith.

23 Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in the house of learning.

24 Wherefore are ye slow, and what say ye of these things, seeing your souls are very thirsty?

25 I opened my mouth, and said, [a] Buy her for yourselves without money.

[a] Isai. 55. 1.

26 Put your neck under the yoke, and let your soul receive instruction: [b] she is hard at hand to find.

[b] Deut. 30. 14.

sought, and in which experience had confirmed the wisdom and goodness of his choice.

15. *Even from the flower* **till the ripening grape.**] The writer has in mind Isa. xviii. 5. If the reading adopted by the A. V. be right, the author is referring to his own lifetime, "from earliest youth to manhood." The simile is a common one in the classical poets. Horace's *immitis uvae* and Pindar's γενύσι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν will occur to many readers. Most MSS., however, have ὡς, "as," for ἕως, "till," giving a difficult verse, which might be explained with Fritzsche: "from her [Wisdom's] flower, as from the ripening grape," &c.

16. *and gat* **myself,** *&c.*] Compare the phrase in the Prologue.

17. *I profited.*] Rather, **I made progress.** Syr. "her yoke became a glory to me." Perhaps עֻלָּהּ has been confused with עלה.

18. This verse begins a new stanza.

19. *hath wrestled with her.*] Syr. "clung to her." Can there be any reference here to the wrestling of Jacob? But the word is not the same as that used in Gen. xxxii. 21.

and in my doings I was exact.] The best MSS. have "and in the doing of hunger," which is evidently impossible. The reading of the A. V. is found in a few MSS. Possibly we should accept Fritzsche's correction, ποιήσει νόμου, "doing of the law:" comp. xix. 18.

20. The order of the clauses in the T. R. is as follows: "I directed my soul," "I have had," "I found her." It is clear that the order of the A. V. is correct, which is supported by A and S.

I have had my heart joined.] Lit. **I gained heart,** *i.e.* I acquired wisdom, קניתי לב (as the Syr. shews).

with her.] The T. R. has "with them." The Syr. omits the phrase.

21. *My heart.*] The marginal reading is that of all the best authorities, doubtless altered for decency's sake. Syr. "my entrails burned like an oven."

23. This verse begins a new stanza. The Orientals feel no modesty in praising their own works. In an Arabic letter shewn the commentator, the author of a poem in honour of Mohammad writes: "Have you not heard what the author of it says of it?—'Blessed are all they that read it; lost are all they that cast it aside.'" At the same time the praise in this verse may be intended rather for what formed the subject of the work than for the writer's mode of presenting it.

24. *and what say ye of these things.*] These words are omitted by the best MSS., and are shewn to be spurious by the Syr. In reality they represent a gloss τί λήγετε upon the διότι ὑστερεῖτε, "why are ye slow," of the text.

25. A recommendation willingly to submit themselves. The expression "yoke" for "obligation" is common in Jewish writings:

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[c] ch. 6. 19.

27 [c]Behold with your eyes, how that I have had but little labour, and have gotten unto me much rest.

28 Get learning with a great sum of money, and get much gold by her.

29 Let your soul rejoice in his mercy, and be not ashamed of his praise.

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30 Work your work betimes, [d]and in his time he will give you your reward.

[d] Rom. 2. 6, 7.

comp. Ab. iii. 5; Ber. iii. 2 (especially the latter).

26. Syr. adds, "and he that giveth his soul will find her."

27. The labour was brief, the rest great and lasting. We prefer referring the sentence to the author's experience as regards his submission to wisdom and piety than to the labour of composing his book and the satisfaction ensuing from it.

rest.] The Syr. omits the word. Perhaps מַנָּחָה, "a present," should have been read rather than מְנוּחָה, "rest."

28. Concluding part. The Syr. renders this verse: "Hear my teaching though little, and ye shall gain silver and gold by me."

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BARUCH.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Contents and Division.

The Book of Baruch, as it stands in the Authorized Version, consists of several parts distinctly marked:—

Chap. i. 1–14. Historical Preface, describing the origin of the book.

Chap. i. 15—iii. 8. Israel's Confession and Prayer in the time of captivity.

Chap. iii. 9—iv. 4. Israel admonished to return to the Fountain of Wisdom.

Chap. iv. 5—v. 9. Encouragement and promise of a happy deliverance.

The Epistle of Jeremy, which appears in the A.V. as Baruch chap. vi., is a distinct work, which it will be better to consider in a separate Introduction.

The first step towards determining the relation of these several parts to each other, and to the whole, is to state briefly the contents of each, before attempting to examine them critically.

Chap. i. 1–14. The Historical Preface. (*a*) Origin of the Book in Babylon (i. 1–9). (*b*) Message sent with the Book to Jerusalem (i. 10–14).

(*a*) This is the Book which Baruch wrote in Babylon, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and read in the ears of King Jechonias and all the captives who dwelt by the river Sud. "Whereupon they wept, fasted, and prayed before the Lord;" and, having collected money, sent it to Jerusalem with the book (*v.* 14), and with the silver vessels brought from the Temple, which Zedekiah had made after Jechonias had been carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar (1–9).

(*b*) With the money and the book was sent this message: "Spend the money in sacrifices, pray for Nebuchadnezzar and his son Balthasar, that we may live long and happily under their shadow, and that God may forgive us our sins, and turn his anger from us. Read this book of confession and prayer in the Temple upon the solemn Feasts" (10–14).

Chap. i. 15—iii. 8. Israel's Confession and Prayer. (*a*) Confession of sins (i. 15—ii. 10). (*b*) Prayer for forgiveness and deliverance (ii. 11—iii. 8).

(*a*) The Lord is righteous, but we and our fathers have sinned against Him since the day that He brought them out of the land of Egypt (i. 15–19). The judgments therefore which God foretold by Moses and the Prophets have justly fallen upon us; yet, notwithstanding all God's terrible chastisements, we have not repented and turned to Him (i. 20—ii. 10).

(*b*) And now, Lord, remembering Thy mercy to our fathers in Egypt, we acknowledge our sins, and pray Thee to "deliver us for thine own sake," that our

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afflicted souls may live to praise Thee (11–18). We plead not any righteousness of our fathers, or of our kings. Thy prophets warned us to submit to the king of Babylon, but we hearkened not to the warnings which Thou hast now made good upon our fathers, upon us, and on Thy holy House (19–26). Yet in all this Thou hast dealt mercifully with us, according to Thy word by Moses, that, after being made few in number and scattered among the heathen, Thy people should remember themselves and turn unto Thee, and be brought back to the land promised to their forefathers, and be joined to Thee in an everlasting covenant, and be no more cast out of the land (27–35).

We cry to Thee in anguish: hear us in Thy great mercy: hear the prayers of Thy people, and remember not their iniquities: for now Thou hast put Thy fear in our hearts, and we praise Thee this day in the midst of our captivity (iii. 1–8).

Chap. iii. 9—iv. 4. ADMONITION TO RETURN TO THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM. Why art thou in captivity, Israel? Because thou hast forsaken the Fountain of Wisdom. Where Wisdom is, there is life and peace (9–14). But who has found the place of Wisdom? Not the rulers of the earth, nor those whose hearts were set upon riches; neither they, nor their children after them, nor the wise of all nations, nor the giants of old time have found Wisdom. None hath found her in all the wide world, in the sky, or beyond the sea; none but the All-Wise, the Maker of the world and all that is therein, whom the light and the stars obey (15–34). This is our God, and He hath given wisdom unto Israel in the Law that endureth for ever. Happy art thou, O Israel, if thou wilt walk in that light (iv. 1–4).

Chap. iv. 5—v. 9. ENCOURAGEMENT, AND PROMISE OF A HAPPY RETURN. Let Israel take courage. The remnant shall not perish, though they have provoked God to jealousy by idolatry, and have grieved Jerusalem their mother (5–8).

Sion appeals to her neighbours for pity, because her children have departed from God's law, and been carried into captivity by a strange and terrible nation (9–16). Turning now to her children, she cries, How can *I* help you? He that hath sent these evils on you will deliver you. Go your way; and while I in sackcloth cry unto the Eternal, cry ye also to Him for deliverance. For He has given me a joyful hope that ye shall return with gladness. Therefore bear His chastisement patiently, and ye shall see the destruction of your enemies. Seek Him with tenfold earnestness, and He will save you (17–29).

Jerusalem herself now receives a message of comfort. Woe to thy enemies! Woe to the city where thy children are in bondage! She shall be desolate, burned with fire, a habitation of demons.

See thy children gathered to thee again. Put on again thy glorious apparel. God giveth thee a new name. Arise! Stand upon the height, and see every valley exalted, every mountain brought low, that thy children may be brought back to thee in the light of the glory of God (iv. 30—v. 9).

Looking back over this summary of the contents, we see clearly that there is *no essential connexion* between the first portion i. 1—iii. 8, consisting of the Prayer and its historical preface, and the second part iii. 9—v., containing the Praise of Wisdom and the Promise of speedy deliverance.

Accordingly, in considering the questions of Authorship, of the Time and Place of Composition, and of the Original Language, we cannot admit any argument which rests on the supposed unity of the Book, but must examine the two parts separately, before attempting to discover how they came to be connected.

§ II. THE REPUTED AUTHOR.

We do not propose in this section to discuss the authenticity of the book, but only to review the historical and traditional notices of Baruch, the reputed author.

The book which bears the name "Baruch" ("Blessed") professes to contain "the words of the book which Baruch the son of Neriah . . . wrote in Babylon

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in the fifth year" after "the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire."

The Baruch here meant is unquestionably the companion of the prophet Jeremiah, described by Josephus as "being of a very illustrious family, and eminently learned in his native tongue." ('Ant.' x. ix. § 1.) He is first mentioned in Jer. xxxii. 12, as "the son of Neriah;" and was thus the brother of "Seraiah, the son of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah," who went to Babylon with Zedekiah, king of Judah, taking with him the book in which Jeremiah had written "all the evil that should come upon Babylon" (Jer. li. 59, 60).

The ancestry of Baruch is traced back for three generations before his grandfather Maaseiah in Baruch i. 1, an historical notice the truth of which is generally admitted.

In Jeremiah xxxvi. Baruch appears as the prophet's faithful friend, who wrote in the roll of a book, and read first to the people assembled in the outer court of the Temple on a public Fast-day, in December 605 B.C., and then in the ears of the princes of Judah, all the words in which Jeremiah gave warning of the coming destruction. Of Baruch we do not hear again until after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 588 B.C.; but from the statement of Josephus, in the passage already quoted, that Jeremiah, when set free from chains at Ramah (Jer. xl. 1–6), entreated Nebuzaradan to release Baruch also, we may infer that he had shared his master's captivity.

After the murder of Gedaliah and the flight of Ishmael (Jer. xli.), the prophet delivered to "the remnant of Judah" a warning from God not to seek refuge in Egypt, but to remain quietly in their own land (xlii.). The advice was rejected, and Baruch was accused of urging Jeremiah to deliver the people into the hands of the Chaldeans (xliii. 3); and both the prophet and his faithful companion were compelled by "the captains of the host" to go with them into Egypt, where they dwelt at Tahpanhes (*v.* 7), a town of Lower Egypt on the eastern border, near Pelusium, called by Herodotus Daphnae, and identified by Sir Gardner Wilkinson with Tel-Defenneh ('Dict. of the Bible').

There Jeremiah uttered his prophecies of the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (xliii. 8–13 and xlvi., xlvii.), and his remonstrance against the idolatry of his countrymen in Egypt (xliv.). The fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, though not recorded in the historical books of the Old Testament, is attested by Josephus, who says that Nebuchadnezzar slew the king of Egypt, and set up another in his place, and again made captive the Jews who were in Egypt, and led them away to Babylon ('Ant.' x. 9, § 7).

According to a Jewish tradition (*Seder olam rabba*, c. 26) Jeremiah and Baruch were both carried away to Babylon at this time, and a trace of this same tradition is seen in the Greek superscription of Ps. cxxxvii., which the Vatican Codex attributes to Jeremiah (Τῷ Δαυὶδ Ἱερεμίου).

Another tradition, mentioned by S. Jerome ('adv. Jovin.' ii. 9), states that Jeremiah and Baruch both died in Egypt, the former being stoned by the Jews at Tahpanhes, for his stern rebuke of their apostasies. This is usually regarded as the most trustworthy account: but, according to another rabbinical tradition, Baruch left Egypt after his master's death, and himself died in Babylon twelve years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

In concluding this notice of the reputed Author of the Book, we may draw attention to an interesting view of the personal character of Baruch in Jer. xlv. The chapter expressly refers to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when Baruch wrote the words of Jeremiah in a book, and read them in the ears of the princes (Jer. xxxvi.). Baruch himself was deeply affected by the message which he had to deliver: "Thou didst say, Woe is me now! for the Lord hath added grief to my sorrow; I fainted in my sighing (R.V. I am weary with my groaning), and I find no rest."

But the word of the Lord must be fulfilled: "That which I have planted I will pluck up, even this whole land." Let Baruch therefore form no vain hopes, nor seek great things for himself, but be content to know that wherever he may go his life shall be protected.

The nature of this prophecy explains its position: being purely personal and

private, it is not inserted in the course of the history after Jer. xxxvi., but appended, with other isolated prophecies, at a later period, probably after the death of Jeremiah, to his final remonstrance against the idolatry of his countrymen in Egypt.

§ III. The alleged Place and Time of Writing.

According to the account given in Baruch i. 1–14, the book was written by Baruch, the son of Neriah, "in Babylon, in the fifth year, and in the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire."

The first question is, To what capture of Jerusalem does this statement refer?

(1.) In the year B.C. 606, Nebuchadnezzar "came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years" (2 Kings xxiv. 1): "then he turned and rebelled against him. And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, ... and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by his servants the prophets" (*v.* 2). On this occasion, according to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6, Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim "in fetters, to carry him to Babylon," but this intention seems to have been frustrated by the death of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 6; Jer. xxii. 18, 19): "Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7).

Jehoiachin, who succeeded, reigned only three months, and then was carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, with great treasure, and with the princes and all the men of might. These events took place B.C. 599–597; but though Jerusalem was besieged and taken more than once, there is no mention of its being burnt with fire at this time.

(2.) In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, B.C. 588, the king having been previously carried away captive to Babylon, "came Nebuzaradan . . . unto Jerusalem, and he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire" (2 Kings xxv. 9). The same event is described in similar language in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19, it being expressly mentioned that "they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire."

It is beyond all reasonable doubt that this latter destruction of Jerusalem is the event referred to in the words of Baruch i. 2, "what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire:" and in the fifth year after that event, *i.e.* in 583 B.C., Baruch is said to have written the book and read it in the ears of Jehoiachin. (Compare note on i. 2.)

The objections urged against the historical truth of this statement are numerous, the most important being drawn from the representations in i. 1–14: but our course will be cleared if we deal first with arguments drawn from other portions of the book.

Thus, in the sections iii. 9—iv. 4 and iv. 5—v. 9, there are expressions which betray a later date than the fifth year after the burning of Jerusalem in 588 B.C. In iii. 10 a late period of the Captivity is implied in the words "thou art waxen old in a strange country:" and in iv. 22, 24, 25, the assurance that the promised deliverance is near at hand is emphatically repeated.

It is not enough to answer, as Reusch does on iv. 22, that "the seventy years of the exile are but a short time in comparison with the 'everlasting joy' which follows thereon (iv. 29; v. 1: compare Isa. liv. 7, 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee).'" In fact, the continuance of the Exile for seventy years was foretold, not as a short but as a long time, in direct contradiction to the false prophet who promised deliverance within two full years (Jer. xxviii. 3, 11; xxix. 5–10).

With regard to Isa. liv. 7, 8, the prophet appears to set himself in imagination beyond the close of the Captivity, whereas Baruch is supposed to write not long after its commencement. In looking back upon the Exile *as past*, it was quite natural to regard it as of short duration: but the hope of speedy deliverance in Baruch iv. 22–25, though put into the mouth of Sion at the time of her children's departure, is in fact only suited

to a late period of the Captivity, and is directly contrary to the expectation expressed in i. 12, "We shall serve them many days."

The true answer is that the objection is decisive as to the later date of these sections, but does not affect the previous section, i. 1—iii. 8, which is perfectly distinct.

Returning to the introductory section, i. 1–14, we have to consider the objection that it "contains historical errors which are inconceivable in a contemporary, but may fairly be imputed to a later writer."

The general charge, thus stated by Fritzsche and adopted by most Protestant commentators, is based upon alleged misrepresentations of—(A) the personal history of Baruch; (B) the circumstances of the captives in Babylon; (C) the condition of Jerusalem.

A. The presence of Baruch in Babylon in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem (1) has no other evidence, and (2) is improbable, because Baruch attached himself constantly to the person of Jeremiah, and *he* was at that time still alive (Fritzsche: so also Lange).

(1.) As regards the want of evidence to confirm the statement that Baruch was in Babylon (i. 1), it might be fairly answered that there is no evidence against it, and therefore no inference to be drawn either way. The scriptural history, as we have seen, is silent concerning the latter years of Jeremiah and Baruch after their arrival at Tahpanhes.

Either of the traditions above mentioned, that they were both carried away by the Chaldeans from Egypt to Babylon, or that Baruch after his master's death joined the Jewish exiles in Babylon and died there twelve years after the destruction of Jerusalem, is in itself as probable as the other tradition, that both remained in Egypt and died there.

(2.) The confident assumption that Jeremiah was still alive in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem is not supported by any particle of evidence. On the other hand, the tradition that both died in Egypt states also that Jeremiah was stoned by his countrymen: if this were so, the occasion was probably his rebuke of their idolatry, which seems to have occurred soon after his arrival at Tahpanhes (Jer. xliii. 8—xliv.); and probability is thus given to the view that Baruch survived him. We conclude that, beyond the statement of i. 1, 2, there is no evidence either for or against Baruch's visit to Babylon, and no improbability in it. Certainly we cannot admit Fritzsche's positive assertion: "There is, therefore, an error in i. 1, 2."

B. (1.) "According to i. 3, King Jehoiachin was present at the reading; but at that time he was still in prison" (Fritzsche).

This objection rests solely upon an extremely literal, and probably exaggerated, view of the statement in 2 Kings xxv. 27, concerning the release of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach many years later. It is not probable that the king or his fellow-captives were kept for thirty-seven years in such close confinement as to be forbidden to meet together to listen to the reading of a book by one of their number.

(2.) "In i. 11 the son of Nebuchadnezzar is called Balthasar."

Balthasar, *i.e.* Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1), was the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to the custom of the writers of the Old Testament, might be called his son, as in Dan. v. 2, 11, 18, Nebuchadnezzar is called the "father" of Belshazzar, being in fact his grandfather. Our author, taking the expression too literally, makes Belshazzar heir to the throne during the life of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31), was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, on whose death (556 B.C.) his infant son, Laborosoarchod, was murdered by the usurper Nabonadius (Labynetus). This last having married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar (Nitocris), associated his eldest son, Belshazzar, with himself as co-regent, thus restoring the line of Nebuchadnezzar. Nabonadius, when defeated by Cyrus, fled to Borsippa, while Belshazzar was shut up in Babylon and there perished, B.C. 538. The touching prayer of Nabonadius for Belshazzar —"my eldest son, the offspring of my heart,"—in one of the cuneiform inscriptions, is given in the 'Speaker's Com-

mentary' on Dan. v. 1, where the history of the period is admirably discussed.

C. *State of Jerusalem.*—(1.) It is argued that the state of Jerusalem in the fifth year after its destruction by the Chaldeans could not have been such as is assumed in the request of the exiles that their money might be spent in sacrifices (i. 10), and the book read in the house of the Lord upon the feasts and solemn days.

Reusch answers that of the people who had not been carried away some would naturally gather again round Jerusalem (compare Jer. xl. 12), having among them some priests who had either been left behind by the Chaldeans or had escaped and hidden themselves: that though Temple and Altar had both been destroyed, they might have raised an Altar among the ruins, and resumed their sacrifices and observance of the Feasts, as well as the circumstances would permit. This explanation is in fact justified by the statement in Jer. xli. 5, that there came Jews "from Shechem, and Shiloh, and Samaria, with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord."

Thus the ruins of the Temple (as the chief modern interpreters agree) are still called by Jeremiah himself "the house of the Lord;" and if offerings are brought in less than three months after its destruction, much more may have been done in five years towards a partial restoration of the accustomed worship.

(2.) "It is not true that Joachim was at that time the High Priest."

In this objection there are two points to be examined: (*a*) The title ascribed to Joachim, the son of Hilkiah; (*b*) The date.

(*a*) "**The priest**" (ὁ ἱερεύς, i. 7) very frequently means "the High Priest," this latter title (הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל) being rare in the Pentateuch, and the corresponding ἀρχιερεύς still rarer. On the other hand, ἀρχιερεύς has become frequent in the Apocryphal books, while ὁ ἱερεύς is, apparently, only once in them applied to the High Priest (1 Macc. xv. 1, 2).

In Jeremiah (xx. 1; xxi. 1; xxix. 20, 21; xxxvii. 3; lii. 21) we find "**the priest**" (ὁ ἱερεύς) used as a distinctive title of persons who were not the High Priests, as "Pashur the son of Immer, the priest, who was also chief governor in the house of the Lord" (xx. 1–6) in the time of King Jehoiachim, and "Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah, the priest" (xxi. 1; xxxvii. 3) in the time of Zedekiah. To this Zephaniah a letter was sent by Shemaiah from Babylon, in which he said, "The Lord hath made thee priest in the stead of Jehoiada the priest, that ye should be officers in the house of the Lord" (xxix. 26).

The office in which Zephaniah succeeded Jehoiada was that of "second priest," or "Sagan," as we learn expressly from Jer. lii. 24: "The captain of the guard (Nebuzaradan) took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest," and brought them to Riblah, where they were put to death, B.C. 587, and Seraiah was succeeded as High Priest by his son Jehozadak, who was carried away captive to Babylon (1 Chr. vi. 14).

Thus the contemporary usage of the title by Jeremiah, and the absence of the name of Joachim from the list of High Priests in 1 Chr. vi. 13, 14, combine to shew that Joachim is called "**the priest,**" as being the successor of Zephaniah in the office of "second priest" and "governor of the house of the Lord."

(*b*) As to the date Kneucker (p. 208) argues that "the author of the (alleged) interpretation (i. 4–9) has no doubt mistaken the time at which Joachim son of Hilkiah attained the office of 'second priest,' when he puts him in office in the fifth year after the capture of Jehoiachim, *i.e.* B.C. 595: for he was much earlier."

But "the fifth year" is not B.C. 595, but, as we have shewn, B.C. 583, and even with this later date there is no such mistake as is alleged.

Hilkiah is mentioned as High Priest in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 4), *i.e.* about 620 B.C. His son might therefore well be the "second priest" in 583 B.C., about thirty-seven years later; and in that office he would have the care of the treasury, more especially in the absence of the High Priest in Babylon.

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(3.) Another alleged error is the statement that "vessels of the house of the Lord" were at that time brought back, "namely silver vessels" which Zedekiah had made (i. 8).

The golden vessels provided by Solomon (1 Kings vii. 48–50; 2 Chr. iv. 19–22) are said to have been "cut in pieces" (2 Kings xxiv. 13), or, according to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, when he brought Jehoiachin "to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the Lord."

On this occasion (599 B.C.) there is no mention of silver vessels. But at the end of Zedekiah's reign, when Nebuzaradan "burnt the house of the Lord," we read (2 Kings xxv. 9, 15) that "the fire-pans, and the bowls, and such things as were of gold, in gold, and of silver, in silver, the captain of the guard took away."

This express mention of silver vessels at the end of Zedekiah's reign, and the absence of any such mention on the previous occasion, seem to give probability to our author's statement (i. 8) that they had been made by Zedekiah to replace the golden vessels which had been destroyed and carried away at the beginning of his reign: just as, when Shishak carried away the golden shields which Solomon had made, Rehoboam made shields of brass to replace them (2 Chr. xii. 10). "It is true," says Reusch, "that in Kings and Chronicles (where the narrative of the reign of Zedekias is very defective) this is not expressly stated, but it is in itself very probable that Zedekias, the successor of Jehoiachin, caused those golden vessels, such at least as were indispensable to the Temple service, to be replaced by new, cheaper, silver ones.

"These new silver vessels, together with the others which had been left behind in 599 B.C., were carried away to Babylon in 588 B.C., after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 13 ff.), and were (as we learn from Baruch) restored at this time,—being either redeemed by the exiles or restored by Nebuchadnezzar out of compassion to the penitent Jews; while the other silver and the golden vessels remained in Babylon till the time of Cyrus."

There is nothing improbable in this explanation, and the allegation of error, resting only on an argument *e silentio*, is by no means proved.

The following is, according to Reusch (p. 47), the most *probable combination of events* partly stated, partly assumed, in the Book of Baruch.

"In the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in 583 B.C., Baruch was in Babylon, and read his book to Jechoniah and an assembly of the Jewish exiles.

"This assembly made a collection of money, and sent the produce to Jerusalem.

"In the letter which accompanied it, the Jews at Jerusalem were exhorted to present offerings for Nebuchadnezzar and for the exiles, and to read Baruch's book (sent with the letter) on Feast-days." Baruch himself was the bearer: he was going back to Jerusalem to restore some of the vessels of the Temple which had been carried off at the time of its destruction; namely, silver vessels made by Zedekiah to replace the original golden vessels carried off by Nebuchadnezzar at the capture of the city in the time of Jehoiachin, B.C. 599.

"In this there is nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Baruch himself composed this short historical preface to his book, though it is also possible that some one else may have added it afterwards."

This defence is ingenious, but not adequate. We may acknowledge our belief that the tendency of modern criticism has been to exaggerate the supposed evidence of spuriousness drawn from the historical statements of the book. If, however, these statements were entirely free from any great inaccuracy, it would not necessarily follow that Baruch was the author, but only that the real author was well informed concerning the events of which he writes. On the other hand, the serious error of representing Belshazzar as contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar (see above, B 2) is fatal to the theory of Baruch's authorship, and betrays an ignorance which can only be imputed to one who lived long after the death of Belshazzar and the return of the exiles.

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§ IV. Relation to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.

One of the commonest and strongest arguments against the genuineness of the Book of Baruch is based upon its want of originality and its close dependence upon earlier books. There is much truth in the objection, at least as applied to the earlier portion (i. 1—iii. 9); but there is also much exaggeration and inaccuracy in the expressions used.

Eichhorn, as quoted by Reusch, p. 66, calls the book "a mere rhapsody out of various ancient Hebrew scriptures, especially Daniel and Nehemiah." Keerl, also quoted by Reusch, writes still more strongly: "Every Prophet of the Old Testament brings new as well as old out of his treasure. The worthy Baruch contents himself with transcribing the older prophecies. In comparing the contents of his book, there comes over one a feeling as if some incompetent scribbler had wished to do an exercise in the language and style of the Prophets; it reminds one of the rhetorical practice of a feeble schoolboy, who composes an opusculum out of all sorts of passages."

Fritzsche, with more justice, speaking of the first part only, calls it "a cento from earlier writings, in which Jeremiah, Daniel, Nehemiah, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah are so strongly used, that this necessarily carries us on into a later time which had lost all productive prophetical power."

We do not find, even in the first part, any proof of dependence on Nehemiah; but the use made of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in the first section, and of Isaiah in the second, is such as goes far to justify the conclusion which Fritzsche has drawn.

The similarity between Baruch i. 15–ii. 17 and Daniel ix. 7–19 is too evident to be denied, and too close to be accidental. The two passages are so much alike, not merely in single phrases and sentences, but in the whole course of thought, that no one can help assuming a connexion between them. But while fully admitting this connexion, Reusch tries to maintain the genuineness of Baruch by suggesting that he, and not Daniel, is the original author. In support of his opinion he appeals to the frequent resemblance to passages of Jeremiah, and argues that the prayer, composed by Baruch, may have come into general use among the Jews in captivity, to whose circumstances and feelings it is very suitable, and thus its language was adopted by Daniel in his prayers, as also in "the Prayer of the Three Children in the Furnace."

This argument, if well founded, would be more effectual in destroying the genuineness of Daniel than in establishing that of Baruch.

A more impartial judgment on the relation between Baruch and Daniel is expressed by critics like Fritzsche and Kneucker, who deny the authenticity of both alike. They "can afford to see," as Dr. Pusey says of Fritzsche, "that the Book of Daniel was used" in Baruch, on account of the late date assigned to the latter.

Dr. Pusey's own judgment is too valuable to be omitted: "The great prayer of Daniel is made the basis of the early portion of the prayer in Baruch. . . . The agreement is not in formulæ, but in whole verses, and that in the same order. Nor can there be any doubt, that Daniel is the original, which is filled up and expanded in Baruch. The prayer of Daniel is one whole, whose inspired thoughts, like those in the Psalms, have formed the devotions of 2300 years, ever gushing forth in renewed fulness. . . .

". . . The prayer in Baruch, on the contrary, is a mosaic formed of jewels from Daniel, Nehemiah (?), and Jeremiah, blended together, yet not forming one distinct whole." ('Lectures on Daniel,' p. 362.)

§ V. Original Language.

Three different opinions have been held concerning the original language of the book: (*a*) that the Greek text is throughout original; (*b*) that it is throughout a translation from Hebrew; (*c*) that the part i. 1—iii. 8 was originally written in Hebrew, and iii. 9—v. 9 in Greek.

It will be desirable to consider the language of these two parts separately, it being universally admitted that they do not contain equally strong evidence of a Hebrew original.

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In i. 14 the author, writing in the name of the Exiles, directs that his book shall be read publicly in the Temple at Jerusalem. This of course *implies* that the book to be so read was written in Hebrew, and the evidence would be conclusive if the Introduction (i. 1–14) were the genuine work of Baruch: even a later author may have intended his prayer to be used in public worship, and we are "hardly justified in assuming this direction to be a mere fiction" (Fritzsche). The real evidence, however, lies in the language of the Greek text itself, and in its relation to the Hebrew Scriptures and Septuagint.

It may be admitted that a translation from Hebrew might possibly be written in so pure a style as not to be distinguishable from an original work in Greek; or, on the other hand, a book written in Greek by a Jew, accustomed to think and write in Hebrew, might bear the appearance of a translation from Hebrew.

The question is therefore put on a right basis by Fritzsche when he says that even strong Hebraisms may indicate only that the writer was a Jew, not necessarily a translator; "but the question is as to the nature of those Hebraisms and of the whole work. Where a man's thoughts and words run back at once into Hebrew, where we find what is absolutely contradictory to the genius of Greek not distinguished from the context, and can discover only faint colouring of genuine Greek, while on the other hand considerable knowledge of Greek accidence and, in a measure, of syntax is shewn,—there the writing must be a translation, because otherwise this very knowledge must have had a more decided influence, and the appearances can only be explained by the restraint which hampers the writer. And this principle is applicable here: the section i. 1–iii. 8 contains not only individual examples of strong Hebraism, but is almost one entire Hebraism, and reads like another translation in the Septuagint" (p. 71).

We proceed to notice the special instances alleged in proof of a Hebrew original.

(*a*) The constant use of καί (Heb. ו) at the beginning of a sentence, when in ordinary Greek some other conjunction would be used.

(*b*) The relative followed by a demonstrative, as in Hebrew (אֲשֶׁר).

ii. 4, οὗ (διέσπειρεν) . . . ἐκεῖ. The same construction occurs also in ii. 13, 29; iii. 8. All these passages are derived directly or indirectly from Deut. xxx. 3, where the LXX. have the same close imitation of the Hebrew.

ii. 26, οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ. This is taken from Dan. ix. 18, exactly as in the LXX.

(*c*) i. 15, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη. The same phrase is repeated in i. 20; ii. 6, 11, 26, in all of which places it is in quotations from canonical books, and agrees with the rendering of the LXX.

The instances given above are generally accepted as proofs of a Hebrew original (Fritzsche, Reusch, Lange, Kneucker). If their evidence is somewhat weakened by their occurrence in citations from the Hebrew Scriptures and their close agreement with the Septuagint, it is on the other hand worthy of notice that the later section of Baruch is almost, if not entirely, free from these forms of Hebraism.

In i. 10, περὶ ἁμαρτίας, meaning "sin offerings," is a phrase which may have become familiar in Hellenistic Greek from its use by the LXX.; and in ii. 25 the strange use of ἀποστολή for "pestilence" is closely connected with Jer. xxxii. 36.

More decisive evidence of translation from Hebrew is found in the following passages, and discussed in the notes on them:—

i. 10, μαναά, said to be used in translations only, not in any original Hellenistic writing.

ii. 18, ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος can, as it seems, only be explained as representing some Hebrew word which has been misread or misunderstood.

On ii. 29, βόμβησις, and iii. 4, τεθνηκότων, see the Additional Notes.

In these and other passages we may recognise the truth of Fritzsche's remark that, in this first section, "the very literal translation allows the exact Hebrew to gleam through."

A further proof of the existence of a Hebrew original is found in the fact

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mentioned by Schürer ('Geschichte d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,' p. 724), that in the Milan MS. of the Hexaplar Syriac there is a marginal note at i. 17 and ii. 3, "This is not found in the Hebrew."

In the second part (iii. 9—v. 9) Kneucker gives a long list of Hebraisms, most of which are so thoroughly naturalised in Hellenistic Greek, that they prove nothing concerning a Hebrew original:—

iii. 11. προσελογίσθης μετὰ τῶν εἰς ᾅδου, a citation from Ps. lxxxviii. 4.
iii. 24. οἶκος θεοῦ for "heaven:" see note on ii. 16.
iii. 31. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ γινώσκων.
iii. 33. ὁ ἀποστέλλων τὸ φὼς καὶ πορεύεται.
iii. 35. λογισθήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν. Is not this good Greek?
iv. 5. λαός μου.
iv. 18, 21. ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν.
iv. 20. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις μου.
iv. 26, v. 5. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν. See Matt. viii. 11.
v. 3. τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν πάσῃ. See Luke xvii. 24.
v. 4. καλεῖσθαι, in the sense "to be:" "thy name shall be called."

Such examples are far too weak to prove a Hebrew original, and cannot be compared to the instances collected from the first part.

The following are more deserving of consideration, though far from convincing:—

iii. 17. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τέλος. Compare Nah. ii. 9; iii. 3, 9; Isa. ii. 7, ix. 7; Eccl. xii. 12.
iii. 18. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξεύρησις. Compare Job v. 9; Ps. cxlv. 3; Prov. xxv. 3; Eccl. viii. 16; Isa. xl. 28.
iv. 22. τοῦ αἰωνίου σωτῆρος. See the note.
v. 6. ὡς θρόνον βασιλείας. See the note.

The insufficiency of the evidence derived from these Hebraisms in the second part is admitted even by the advocates of a Hebrew original. They acknowledge also that the Greek style differs from the language of the earlier chapters, being purer, more flowing, more choice in particular words and phrases.

The contents also are more original, and "in the appreciation and treatment of older prophetic and didactic passages (the author) shews a certain independence and versatility, and here and there we cannot deny to him a certain poetic force and vivid representation. Compare, *e.g.*, iii. 15, 24, 32; iv. 5, 23, 30, 36" (Kneucker).

On the whole, we may safely conclude that the evidence of translation is almost irresistible in the first part, while in the second there is more probability in favour of the Greek as original. In Dr. Pusey's judgment the latter part bears "no marks of a translation" ('Lectures on Daniel,' p. 361)

§ VI. Probable Date.

The marked difference between the two portions of the book, both in style and contents, casts much doubt upon the unity of authorship, and makes it not improbable that the two parts were composed by different authors at different times: but when, or by whom, we have not the means of deciding.

Ewald assigns an early date to the first section of the book,—"written during the last period of the Persian rule, as the communities in and around Jerusalem were becoming more restless and disaffected towards the existing rule, and, on the other hand, the communities in the East were fearing, and perhaps had actually experienced therefrom, great injury both to themselves and the cause of the true religion generally." ('Prophets of the Old Testament,' v. 109.)

This early date is declared by Kneucker (p. 55) to be "absolutely impossible," without any reason except that it is opposed to his theory of the late date of Daniel. Fritzsche, apparently for the same reason, assigns the composition to the late Maccabean period; while Kneucker himself is unable to reconcile the contents and purposes of the book with the circumstances of the Jews in any period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70.

The earlier date assigned to this first portion of the book by Ewald appears much more probable: the arguments in favour of it are very forcibly stated by Ewald in 'The History of Israel,' v. p. 207 (Engl. Tr.), and again in the work quoted above.

In regard to the second section (iii. 9–v. 9), Ewald's judgment, that "in point of age, subject, and purpose, as

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well as art and execution, it was originally a different piece," will hardly be questioned by any one who is not interested in maintaining that the whole book is the genuine work of Baruch.

The uncertainty as to the original language of this section increases the difficulty of assigning it to any definite period. Dr. Pusey, speaking of the latter portion, says, "that mostly original and beautiful section was probably written not so long after the close of the Canon. It is written amid hopes of a speedy restoration, but in a calm atmosphere of trust, in the consciousness of no troubles beyond those which were the results of the Captivity, and with no anticipation of the distresses of the Maccabean period. It was, then, doubtless written before Antiochus Epiphanes." If, however, the Greek text is the original, the comparatively late date of the composition is rendered probable by its dependence upon the Septuagint, in such expressions as ἐνωτίσασθε (iii. 9), τί ὅτι (iii. 10), τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν πάσῃ (v. 3); and especially in the words εὐπρέπεια δόξης (v. 1), and εἰς ὁμαλισμόν (v. 7), on which see the notes.

Schürer (p. 724) sees a decisive proof of very late date in the remarkable similarity between Baruch v. and Psalm of Solomon xi. The Psalms of Solomon were not written till after the death of Pompey (B.C. 48), that event being graphically described in Ps. ii. 30, 31. But there is no sufficient evidence that our author borrowed from this late Psalter. From a careful examination of the similar passages, it seems more probable that both borrowed independently from the Septuagint.

§ VII. Text.

For the purpose of this Commentary it will be sufficient to mention briefly a few of the chief authorities to which we may have occasion to refer in discussing the more important variations of the Greek text.

I. The Textus Receptus is contained in the edition of the Septuagint published at Rome in 1587 by authority of Pope Sixtus V., and based upon the famous Vatican Codex (B). The text of the Roman edition was several times republished by Tischendorf, and a sixth edition by Nestle in 1880, with prolegomena, emendations, and the various readings of the oldest uncial MSS.

II. The Vatican Codex (B) of the 14th century, edited by Vercellone and Cozza ('Bibliorum Sacrorum graecus codex Vaticanus,' Romae, 1868–1875, tom. i.–v.). The Book of Baruch is in the fourth volume.

III. Codex Alexandrinus (A), of the 5th century, in the British Museum, edited by Grabe (Oxon. 1707–1720) and by Baber (1812–1828), is the basis of the edition of the Septuagint published by Field (Oxon. 1859), at the cost of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The Codex has been recently published in a photographic fac-simile. A full account of it is given by Tischendorf in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Septuagint (pp. lii.–lxii.).

Of the value of the text of this famous uncial Fritzsche (p. vi.) gives the following estimate:—"Greater attention has been given to the Codex Alexandrinus only in order to shew that it is greatly overvalued; and notwithstanding its antiquity, it ought, with its made-up text, to be used only with great caution."

In the great critical edition of the Septuagint by Holmes and Parsons (Ox. 1798–1827), the variations of twenty-five manuscripts are compared with the Vatican Text of the Book of Baruch. After comparing these variations in thirty-one passages, Kneucker (p. 97) thus states his conclusion:—"Although the original text of the Greek Version is found in no one MS. entirely pure, yet it may be recognised and restored with certainty everywhere, except in some four passages [ii. 10, 18, 29, 31], from the Vatican Codex with help of other manuscripts, of which *five* are sufficient for the purpose,—namely, III. (Alex.), XII. (Marchalianus), 22, 233, 239."

XII. Codex Marchalianus (Vat. 2125), an uncial of the 6th or 7th century, but of no great critical value.

233 (Vat. 2067), a cursive of the 12th century.

239 (Bologna 641) is dated 1046 A.C.

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These three MSS. contain both Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy.

22 (British Museum), a cursive of the 11th or 12th century, contains Baruch.

This MS. and 233 are said to "belong, according to a recent discovery of Paul de Lagarde and Mr. Field, to the recension of the martyr Lucian made in the 3rd (?) century" (Lange, p. 61). The recension here meant seems to be the revised version of the Septuagint made by Lucian in the 4th century: see 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' LUCIANUS (12).

Fritzsche (p. 174) gives the following classification of the MSS. collated by Holmes and Parsons for the Book of Baruch:—

"(1) To the first class belong 22*, 48, 51, 231, 62, 96. These agree closely throughout, and often stand alone, but then always give arbitrary changes; *e.g.* in i. 9 they give, in agreement with the Syriac, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας, an interpolation from Jer. xxiv. 1 (Sept.).

"In general agreement with these are also 36, 49, 26, 198 (reaching to ii. 19), and 229.

"(2) The second class consists of the Codex Alexandrinus, 33, 70, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 228, *233, *239. In this class, however, particular divergences are more frequent. Thus Alex. stands oftener alone, and here, as elsewhere, it is shewn that its text is an amended one, which existed elsewhere in a purer form.

"Lastly, *XII., 23 [Venetus, an uncial marked by Holmes and Parsons as a cursive], and 106 are of a very mixed nature, agreeing sometimes with the first class, sometimes with the second."

The Received Text is acknowledged to be an essentially good one: the two classes into which Fritzsche divides the MSS. represent two revisions of it, not strictly independent, yet often preserving the original reading, especially when their chief witnesses agree.

The Codex Sinaiticus (Friderico-Augustanus) and the famous Codex Ephraem Syri rescriptus (C) do not contain Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremy. For these books Tischendorf compares the Roman Text with the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. only, making no use of Versions or Fathers (Proleg. p. xxii.).

Versions. — The ancient versions, Latin (2), Syriac (2), Arabic, Æthiopic, Coptic, Armenian, are all made from the Greek.

The Latin Version adopted in the Vulgate (*Vetus Lat. a*) is part of the so-called Itala, in use before the time of Jerome, who did not include either Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremy in his revision.

It is an extremely literal, even servile, rendering of the Greek: Fritzsche does not hesitate to call it also "a patois full of provincialisms and grammatical blunders." Kneucker, who gives a detailed account of the readings of this version (pp. 141–151), concludes that "The old Itala, for the Book of Baruch, has followed a Greek text which is not contained entire in any of the known Greek Codices, which are also altogether of later origin,—a mixed text, which may be traced most frequently (apart from the Vatican Codex II.) in the MSS. 62, 36, III. (Alex.), 48, 231."

The second Latin Version (*Vet. Lat. b*), first published at Rome by Tommasi, 1688, was re-edited by Sabatier ('Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae'), and thought by him to represent the earliest form of the *Itala*, but is described by Fritzsche as a less literal and more latinised reproduction of *Vet. Lat. a*, collated with a Greek text.

A full account of the Syriac and other ancient versions is given by Kneucker.

The English Authorized Version agrees generally with the Vatican Text; where this differs materially from the Alexandrine, or from the Latin, the readings of these latter will be noticed in the Commentary, but minute textual criticism is not embraced in the plan of this work.

§ VIII. PLACE IN CANON.

St. Jerome expressly states that neither the Book of Baruch nor the Epistle of Jeremy had any place in the Hebrew Canon; nor is any portion of either work extant in Hebrew.

On the other hand, it is stated in the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' v. xx., that the Jews, "even now on the tenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, when they assemble together, read the Lamentations of Jere-

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miah" (iv. 20), "and Baruch, in whom it is written, This is our God, &c." (Bar. iii. 36). This statement may possibly have arisen from the direction in i. 14.

In the Greek Bible both works are placed among the writings of Jeremiah; and in the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS., as also in the Roman edition, they stand in the following order: (1) Jeremiah, (2) Baruch, (3) Lamentations, (4) Epistle of Jeremy.

In the Latin Bible as revised by St. Jerome, Baruch and the Epistle are both omitted for the reason above stated, nor have they any place in the oldest known MS. of the Vulgate, the Codex Amiatinus.

In the Clementine, and other editions of the Vulgate, "the Prophecy of Baruch," including the Epistle of Jeremy as chap. vi., is placed after Lamentations.

At the Council of Trent it was recognised, among the other deutero-canonical books, as part of the Old Testament Canon ('Conc. Trid.' S. 4, *decr. de can. Script.*, cited by Reusch).

In the English Bible, at the time of the Reformation, it was removed to the place where we now find it among the Apocrypha.

Appendix: The Titles of God in Baruch.

It is interesting to notice the use of different titles of God in different parts of the book.

In the First Section, i. 1—iii. 8:—

(*a*) Κύριος and its cases without the article stand alone more than twenty times, and with the article twice (ii. 9, 17).

(*b*) Κύριος θεὸς ἡμῶν about five times (i. 18, 19, 22; ii. 5; iii. 8).

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν (Ἰσραήλ, αὐτῶν) about ten times (i. 10, 13, 21; ii. 11, 12, 15, 19, 27, 31; iii. 6).

ὁ Κύριος θεὸς ἡμῶν (i. 13, 15; ii. 6).

(*c*) Κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ (iii. 1, 3).

In the Second Section, iii. 9—v. 9:—

(*a*) Κύριος apparently does not occur at all, but only θεός, or ὁ θεός, as far as iv. 7.

(*b*) In iv. 8 αἰώνιος first occurs in the combination θεὸν αἰώνιον. Compare Isa. xl. 28.

(*c*) In iv. 10, 14, 20, 22 (first part), 24, 35, and v. 2, ὁ αἰώνιος seems to take the place of Κύριος as representing the sacred name Jehovah.

Also in the latter part of iv. 22 (παρὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου σωτῆρος ὑμῶν) it probably has the same sense, "The Eternal your Saviour," corresponding to "The Lord (Jehovah) your Saviour" in Isa. xlix. 26; lx. 16.

(*d*) Ὁ ἅγιος, "The Holy One," is not found in the First Section; but in iv. 22, 37 and in v. 5 it stands alone, as in Isa. xl. 25 and Hab. iii. 3. In the canonical books it is commonly found in combination with other words, *e.g.* "the Holy One of Israel."

This remarkable difference between the two parts of the book in the words used to represent the sacred name Jehovah seems strongly to confirm the other evidence that the two parts had different authors or translators.

For the general argument and main substance of this note on the titles of God, and for very valuable criticism on other parts of this commentary on Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy, I am indebted to the Rev. P. H. Mason, B.D., Tutor, President, and Hebrew Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge.

E. H. G.

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BARUCH.

CHAPTER I.

1 Baruch wrote a book in Babylon. 5 The Jews there wept at the reading of it. 7 They send money and the book to the brethren at Jerusalem.

AND these are the words of the book, which [a] Baruch the son of Nerias, the son of Maasias, the son of Sedecias, the son of Asadias, the son of Chelcias, wrote in Babylon, 2 In the fifth year, and in the [a] Jer. 36. 4.

CHAPTER I.

1–14. HISTORICAL PREFACE.

On the contents of these verses see the Introduction, § 1.

1. *And these are the words.*] Compare Jer. xxix. 1, "Now these are the words of the letter," &c. The conjunction implies that the Book of Baruch is to be connected with the writings of Jeremiah, which it follows immediately in the ancient MSS. (See the Introduction, § viii.)

the son of Nerias, the son of Maasias.] Compare Jer. xxxii. 12. The same descent is ascribed in Jer. li. 59 to Seraiah, Baruch's brother, who was the chief chamberlain of Zedekiah, and went with him to Babylon. This Maasias, or Mahseyah (Heb. מַחְסֵיָה), is not to be confounded with the Maaseiah (Heb. מַעֲשֵׂיָה) who is mentioned in Jer. xxxv. 4 and in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 as "governor of the city" in the time of Josiah, nor with the Maaseiah in Jer. xxix. 21.

Sedecias.] The name is the same as Zedekiah, but the person here meant is not to be identified (as in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art. "Sedecias") with the false prophet in Jer. xxix. 21, 22: see the preceding note.

Asadias.] The name, not the person, is the same as in 1 Chron. iii. 20, "Hasadiah." The Syriac Version gives "Saraia," from a mistake between two similar letters.

Chelcias.] The same name, in the Hebrew form, was borne by Hilkiah, the father of Eliakim, "who was over the household" of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 18, 26; Isa. xxii. 20, xxxvi. 3); by Hilkiah, the High Priest in the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 4); and by Jeremiah's father, one "of the priests that were in Anathoth" (Jer. i. 1).

The Old Latin (b) adds after the name of Chelcias "of the tribe of Simeon;" but we have no proof of this statement in the genealogies, only a bare possibility being implied in the fact noticed in 2 Chr. xv. 9, that some of the tribe of Simeon joined themselves to Judah and Benjamin in the reign of Asa.

In the work known as 'The rest of the words of Baruch' Jeremiah is called a priest, and Baruch a Levite.

"The strange Rabbinic tradition (Carpzov. 'Introd. in lib. Vet. Test. Jerem.') that eight of the persons most conspicuous in the religious history of this period (Jeremiah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Hilkiah, Hanameel, Huldah, Shallum) were all descended from the harlot Rahab, may possibly have been a distortion of the fact that they were connected, in some way or other, as members of a family" ('Dictionary of the Bible,' art. "Jeremiah").

in Babylon.] On the question whether Baruch was ever in Babylon, see Introduction, § iii. p. 245.

2. *In the fifth year.*] The date from which this "fifth year" is to be reckoned must, of course, be gathered from the context, and accordingly can be no other than the time when "the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire," *i.e.* 588 B.C.

The proposal to refer the date to the fifth year of the exile of Jehoiachin, B.C. 595, is quite arbitrary, and only serves to make a difficulty where none really exists.

in the seventh day of the month.] According to 2 Kings xxv. 8, Nebuzaradan came "*unto*" Jerusalem in the fifth month, "on the seventh day of the month:" according to Jer. lii. 12, he came "*into*" Jerusalem in the fifth month, "in the tenth day of the month." The *burning* of the city, which followed, is not limited by either of these passages, nor by Baruch, to one particular day; there is therefore no necessary discrepancy.

It is *possible* (as Kneucker suggests) that the original reading in Baruch was—"in the fifth year, in the fifth month, and in the seventh day of the month;" and that the second clause being so similar to the first was accidentally omitted, as in Ezekiel xxxii. 17

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seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire.

3 And Baruch did read the words of this book in the hearing of Jechonias the son of ‖Joachim king of Juda, and in the ears of all the people that came to hear the book,

4 And in the hearing of the nobles, and of the king's sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and of all the people, from the lowest unto the highest, even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud.

5 Whereupon they wept, fasted, ‖and prayed before the Lord.

6 They made also a collection of money according to every man's power:

7 And they sent it to Jerusalem unto ‖Joachim the high priest, the son of Chelcias, son of Salom, and to

‖ Or, *and vowed vows.*

‖ Or, *Joacim.*

compared with xxxii. 1. But that the conjecture, though possible, is not necessary, is shewn in the next note.

what time as.] Literally, "**at the season in which.**" The same phrase is used by the LXX. in Deut. xvi. 6, where it is stated expressly that the Passover is to be sacrificed "at even, at the going down of the sun," but the month and day of the month are only defined by the words "at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt." So here, *the day* of the month is expressly stated, but the month itself, and the year, are both defined by reference to "the season in which the Chaldeans burnt Jerusalem with fire." "The remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem must have been especially vivid at this season, and therefore their hearts peculiarly susceptible to admonition" (Tirinus).

3. *in the hearing.*] Literally, "in the **ears**," as in Jer. xxxvi. 6, 10, 13, 14, and frequently.

Jechonias the son of Joachim.] *I.e.* Jehoiachin son of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 6, 15; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20).

that came to hear the book.] Literally, "that came to the book." The tense indicates a repeated coming, as if the book were read "day by day," as in Neh. viii. 18.

The idea that "the book of the law" is meant, and that in this gathering of the people by the river-side we see the origin of the Jewish synagogue, has no foundation in this passage, where "the book" (τὴν βίβλον, cf. Jer. xxix. 1) is evidently the same as in the beginning of the verse (τὸ βιβλίον). Both the Greek words are used to translate the same Hebrew word (סֵפֶר) in Jer. xxix. 1; xxx. 2; xxxii. 10–12. "The book of the law" could not, in this context, have been described simply as "the book," without some addition.

4. *the nobles.*] "**the mighty men**" (τῶν δυνατῶν), as in *v.* 9.

the king's sons.] "the **kings'** sons," according to the better reading of the Vatican Codex, *i.e.* the princes of the house of David, not sons of Jehoiachin. See the note on Jer. xxii. 30, "Write ye this man childless," and compare the expression "our kings" in *v.* 16.

the elders.] These are mentioned (with the priests and the prophets) in Jer. xxix. 1 as "the residue of the elders which were carried away captive."

from the lowest unto the highest.] "from the **least even** unto the **greatest**," as in Jer. xlii. 1, or "**both small and great**," as in 2 Kings xxiii. 2, where the same words are used by the LXX., meaning "both young and old."

the river Sud.] Of this river nothing is known except from this passage. We may infer that it was not far from Babylon, but beyond this the endless conjectures concerning its position are of little use.

5. *Whereupon, &c.*] "**And** they wept **and** fasted." Compare 2 Sam. i. 12.

Instead of the contents of the book being given here, as we might have expected, the effects of the reading are first stated.

and prayed.] The rendering in the margin, "vowed vows," represents the reading of the Alexandrine and other MSS., which may have been suggested by the mention of offerings in what follows (*vv.* 6, 10).

6. *according to every man's power.*] Literally, "according as each man's hand was able;" an evident Hebraism. Compare Deut. xvi. 10 (Sept.) and 17: "every man shall give as he is able;" marg. "according to the gift of his hand."

7. *sent it.*] The "it" should be in Italics, being rightly supplied, as is seen from *v.* 10. Ewald's rendering "sent *him*," i.e. Baruch, is less natural.

Joachim the high priest, the son of Chelcias, son of Salom.] Read, "Joachim **the priest, son of Hilkiah**, son of **Shallum**." Joachim is not here called the High Priest, but simply "**the priest**" (ὁ ἱερεύς), being thus distinguished from the general body of priests, probably because he was (like Pashur, Jer. xx. 1, and Zephaniah, Jer. xxix. 25, 26) the "chief

the priests, and to all the people which were found with him at Jerusalem,

8 At the same time when he received [b] the vessels of the house of the Lord, that were carried out of the temple, to return them into the land of Juda, the tenth day of *the month* Sivan, *namely*, silver vessels, which Sedecias the son of Josias king of Juda had made,

9 After that Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried away Jechonias, and the princes, and the ‖captives, and the mighty men, and the people of the land, from Jerusalem, and brought them unto Babylon.

10 And they said, Behold, we have sent you money to buy you burnt offerings, and sin offerings, and incense, and prepare ye ‖manna, and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;

[b] 2 Kings 24. 13. 2 Chron. 36. 10.

‖ Or, *prisoners.*

‖ Gr. corruptly for *mincha*, that is, *a meat offering.*

governor in the house of the Lord," and therefore the proper person to receive the money. Compare Ezra viii. 29, 33; and see more on this point in the Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

which were found with him.] Compare 1 Sam. xiii. 15, "and Saul numbered the people *that were* present (marg. "found," LXX. *τὸν εὑρεθέντα*) with him."

8. *At the same time when he received.*] Omit the words "at the same time," which are not expressed in the Greek, nor required in the English. The person meant is evidently *not* Joachim, for he is described as being already at Jerusalem, but the chief person previously mentioned, namely Baruch, who being at Babylon (is said to have) received the vessels in order "to return them into the land of Juda."

the temple.] The sanctuary, or Holy Place (*ὁ ναός*), distinguished from "the house," as a whole, and from "the oracle" or Holy of Holies: see 1 Kings vi. 3, 5.

to return them.] The Greek word (*ἀποστρέψαι*), not very commonly used in this sense "to restore," seems to be taken from Jer. xxviii. 3, where Hananiah falsely prophesies that within two years God would "bring again" all the vessels of the Lord's house that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away, and also bring back Jehoiachin and all the captives. Compare Jer. xxix. 10 and Baruch i. 12. No restoration of the vessels is elsewhere recorded before the time of Cyrus.

the tenth day of the month Sivan.] The Vat. Codex has Σειουάλ, which is probably an error for Σειουάν, the name of "the third month, that is the month Sivan" (Esther viii. 9), corresponding nearly to June. The words seem to be misplaced here, and Hitzig thinks their proper place is in *v.* 14. If retained here, they define more closely the time when Baruch is said to have "received the vessels." Reusch supposes that his intended departure was delayed some weeks; and the assembly, which is to be regarded as immediately preceding it, took place "on the seventh day of the fifth month."

silver vessels.] On the historical worth of the statement concerning these vessels, see the Introduction, § iii. p. 247.

9. The whole verse is taken from 2 Kings xxiv. 14 and Jer. xxiv. 1, with some remarkable variations.

the princes.] These are not princes of the royal blood, but the chief officers of the court (*ἄρχοντας*, שָׂרִים).

the captives.] See the Additional Note.

the mighty men.] Greek, *δυνατούς*. These might be either, as in 2 Kings xxiv. 14, "the mighty men of valour" (*τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἰσχύι*), or more generally, as in 2 Kings xxiv. 15, "the mighty of the land" (*τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς τῆς γῆς*), *i.e.* the rich and powerful, the same class who in *v.* 4 are called "the nobles" (*τῶν δυνατῶν*).

This latter sense is the more probable, as corresponding more nearly to the Septuagint version of Jer. xxiv. 1 (*τοὺς πλουσίους*, "the rich").

and the people of the land.] These, in contrast to "the mighty men" above mentioned, can only be the common people in general: many of these were carried away into captivity; for, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 14, "none remained save the poorest sort of the people of the land."

10–14. A message sent from the captives in Babylon to Jerusalem, with the gold and the Book of Baruch.

10. *sent you money to buy you burnt offerings.*] Read, "sent **unto** you money, **and buy ye for the money** burnt offerings."

sin offerings.] Literally, "for sin" (*περὶ ἁμαρτίας*), as in Isa. liii. 10; Ps. xl. 6; Heb. x. 6, 8.

manna.] Read, "**a meat offering.**" The reading of the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. *μάννα* is a frequent corruption of *μαναά*, the Greek form of the Hebrew word for "a meat offering" (מִנְחָה, *minchâh*):

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Ezra 6. 10. er. 29. 7.

11 And [c]pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son, that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven:

12 And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes, and we shall live [d]under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Balthasar his son, and we shall serve them many days, and find favour in their sight.

Ezek. 6. an. 4. 21.

13 Pray for us also unto the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God; and unto this day the fury of the Lord and his wrath is not turned from us.

14 And ye shall read this book which we have sent unto you, to make confession in the house of the Lord, upon the feasts and solemn days.

compare in the Septuagint Jer. xvii. 26, xli. 5.

offer upon the altar.] See Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

11. In Jer. xxix. 7, the exiles themselves are bidden to seek the peace of the city whither they are carried away captive.

Balthasar his son.] The LXX. use the same Greek form of the name both for Belteshazzar (Dan. i. 7) and for Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1). This latter, here called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was in fact his grandson: see the notes on Dan. v. 2, 11, in the 'Speaker's Commentary,' and our Introduction, § iii. p. 245.

On the meaning of the name Belshazzar ("Bel protect the king"), see the Additional Note on Dan. i. 7.

as the days of heaven upon the earth.] Both here, and in the original passage (Deut. xi. 21) from which this phrase is taken, the more exact rendering is "as the days of the heavens **above** the earth," *i.e.* as long as the heavens continue to cover the earth,—in other words, to the end of time. Compare Job xiv. 12, "till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake;" Ps. lxxxix. 29, "his throne as the days of heaven."

12. *And the Lord will give us strength.*] Compare Ps. xxix. 11: "The Lord will give strength unto his people." The effect of the prayers for the kings of Babylon will be that in their prosperity they will be favourable to the captives, who will long enjoy their protection. "In the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (Jer. xxix. 7).

lighten our eyes.] *I.e.* give us safety and prosperity. Compare Ezra ix. 8; Ps. xiii. 3, xix. 8; and Baruch iii. 14.

live under the shadow.] The protection enjoyed under the rule of a powerful monarch is compared to the shadow of a great tree: thus Ezekiel, when describing the Assyrian as "a cedar in Lebanon," says that "under his shadow dwelt all great nations" (xxxi. 6; compare Dan. iv. 12). It is a different image when the Psalmist speaks of "the shadow of God's hand," or "the shadow of his wings."

serve them many days.] In accordance with Jer. xxix. 5, 28.

13. *Pray for us also.*] Ewald draws attention to the tone of genuine humility in these Jewish exiles, who, "with a consciousness of their errors and calamities, gladly accept for themselves the intercession at Jerusalem."

sinned against.] Greek, "sinned unto," as in ii. 5; Prayer of Manasses, 7.

the fury of the Lord and his wrath.] Both words in the Greek express strong emotion; but when they are distinguished, "wrath" (ὀργή) is the settled feeling of anger, and "fury" (θυμός) its sudden blaze. The distinction is well seen in Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 10: "to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment before it brake forth into fury" (κοπάσαι ὀργὴν πρὸ θυμοῦ).

14. *this book.*] The Book of Baruch, referred to in i. 1, and contained in i. 15—iii. 8.

to make confession.] This meaning of the Greek word (ἐξαγορεῦσαι) is fully established by its use in Ezra x. 1, "when Ezra had prayed, and when he had confessed (ἐξηγόρευσε), weeping, and casting himself down;" and in Neh. ix. 2, "stood and confessed (ἐξηγόρευσαν) their sins," and ib. *v.* 3. It is found also in Lev. v. 5, xvi. 21, xxvi. 40; Num. v. 7; Neh. i. 6; Ps. xxxii. 5; Dan. ix. 20. A public confession is to be made in the very words of the book, which follow in *v.* 15 ff.

The meaning given by Fritzsche and Lange, "we have sent you this book to make it known," is very feeble.

in the house of the Lord.] See note on *v.* 10; and Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

solemn days.] Lit., "days of season," an unusual expression: but compare Ecclesiasticus xxxiii. 8, "He altered seasons and feasts."

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[e] Dan. 9. 7. ch. 2. 6. See Neh. 9. 32, &c.

15 And ye shall say, [e]To the Lord our God *belongeth* righteousness, but unto us the confusion of faces, as *it is come to pass* this day, unto them of Juda, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem,

16 And to our kings, and to our princes, and to our priests, and to our prophets, and to our fathers:

17 For we have [f]sinned before the Lord, [f] Dan. 9 5.

18 And disobeyed him, and have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in the commandments that he gave us openly:

19 Since the day that the Lord brought our forefathers out of the land of Egypt, unto this present day,

i. 15—iii. 8. THE CONFESSION OF THE CAPTIVES IN BABYLON.

Verses 15–18. These verses correspond closely with the prayer of Daniel (ix. 7–10), with some omissions and variations. The character of the variations shews—(1) that the Greek texts of the two passages are independent versions, and (2) that they are taken from two different Hebrew books. On the other hand, the correspondence is so close that these two Hebrew originals cannot have been wholly independent of each other. See the Introduction, § iv. p. 248.

15. *To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness.*] Compare Dan. ix. 7, 9. The A. V. rightly supplies a verb in the present tense; for the meaning is, not "God's was the righteous cause" (Hitzig on Daniel), but "righteousness" is the eternal attribute of God manifested in all His dealings with Israel, even in their deepest misfortunes. Compare the words of Azarias in The Song of the Three Holy Children, *vv.* 4, 5: "For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways are right, and all thy judgments truth. In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, even Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgment." Compare also Bar. ii. 9; Dan. ix. 14.

the confusion of faces.] Omit the article, with the Vatican MS.

as it is come to pass this day.] Lit., "as this day *is*." Ewald's rendering—"shame of face now at this time"—is inadequate: there is a comparison implied in the Greek—To us belongs confusion of face, as this day is an example and a proof. Compare Deut. ii. 30; Jer. xxv. 18, xliv. 6, 23; Dan. ix. 15; and especially Ezra ix. 7, "and to confusion of face, **as it is this day.**"

unto them of Juda.] Literally, "to the man of Judah," as Ewald renders: but the Hebrew word (אִישׁ) is often used collectively, and the phrase "**the men** of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" occurs frequently in the prophetic books, especially in Jeremiah, *e.g.* xi. 2, 9. See Gesenius, 'Hebrew Gr.' § 108, 1.

16. *our kings, &c.*] The like enumeration of special classes, beginning with the highest, and so shewing that none are to be excepted, is frequent in Jeremiah, *e.g.* xxxii. 32: in Dan. ix. 8, the priests and the prophets are not mentioned, but the fuller enumeration given by our author is found also in Neh. ix. 32.

and our fathers.] All generations as well as all classes are included in the author's view, which embraces the whole history of Israel from the giving of the Law to the time present (*v.* 19).

17. *For we have sinned.*] "**For that:**" compare Dan. ix. 8, "because we have sinned against thee;" and see the note at the end of the chapter on the Greek construction, and on the evidence of a Hebrew original of Baruch.

18. *And disobeyed him.*] Our author substitutes this for the beautiful passage in Dan. ix. 9: "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him." How can we fail to recognise here the difference between the real prophet and the copyist? The remainder of the verse is taken entirely from Dan. ix. 10, but with variations, which imply that the Book of Baruch was first compiled in Hebrew. See the note at the end of the chapter on *v.* 17.

the commandments.] In Dan. ix. 10 both Hebrew and Greek have "in his laws:" our author's phrase is especially frequent in Ezekiel.

that he gave us openly.] The same words (ἔδωκε κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν) are better rendered in ii. 10 and in Daniel, "**which he set before us,**" *i.e.* as the rule and guide of our life.

19. The sin confessed is no occasional transgression, but continual disobedience from the first day of the national existence till now. For the phrase compare 2 Sam. vii. 6, "since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day;" 2 Kings xxi. 15; Jer. vii. 25.

we have been disobedient.] The unusual form of the verb (ἤμεθα ἀπειθοῦντες) expresses very strongly the continuous persistence in disobedience: compare Deut. ix. 7, 24 (LXX.).

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we have been disobedient unto the Lord our God, and we have been negligent in not hearing his voice.

20 [g] Wherefore the evils cleaved unto us, and the curse, which the Lord appointed by Moses his servant at the time that he brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, to give us a land that floweth with milk and honey, like as *it is to see* this day.

21 [h] Nevertheless we have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, according unto all the words of the prophets, whom he sent unto us:

22 But every man followed the imagination of his own wicked heart, to serve strange gods, and to do evil in the sight of the Lord our God.

[g] Deut. 28. 15. Dan. 9. 11.

[h] Dan. 9. 10.

we have been negligent in not hearing.] The Greek word (σχεδιάζω), meaning to do anything in a slight, careless, negligent way, does not occur elsewhere in the LXX. It is well translated by Ewald, "we were too careless to hearken." A comparison with Dan. ix. 11, "by departing (ἐξέκλιναν, LXX.) that they might not obey," shews the independence both of our translator and of his Hebrew text. See the note on σχεδιάζω at the end of the chapter.

20. *Wherefore the evils cleaved unto us.*] Better rendered by Ewald: "**So there clave unto us the evils.**" Compare Dan. ix. 11: "Therefore (καί, Heb. ו) the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God." The reference is to Deut. xxviii., where see especially *v.* 21, "The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee" (προσκολλήσαι Κύριος); and *v.* 60, "and they shall cleave unto thee" (κολληθήσονται ἐν σοί).

appointed by Moses.] "appointed **unto** Moses," *i.e.* commanded Moses to declare: see Ex. xvi. 16, 32, 34 (LXX.).

at the time.] "**in the day:**" compare Jer. xi. 4; Dan. ix. 15.

like as it is to see this day.] "**as it is this day:**" see on *v.* 15. In Jer. xi. 4, 5, from which our passage is evidently taken, the clause refers to the continued possession of the land: "in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt . . . that I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as it is this day." In the present context the last clause seems to refer to the beginning of the verse: "**clave unto us . . . as it is this day.**"

21. *Nevertheless.*] Literally, "And." The words are taken from Dan. ix. 10, as in *v.* 18 above.

22. *But every man followed the imagination.*] "**And we walked every one in** the imagination of his **evil** heart." The same phrase (διάνοια καρδίας) occurs in ii. 8, and in 1 Chr. xxix. 18, but apparently nowhere else in the LXX., and once only in the N. T. (Luke i. 51).

to serve.] The same Greek word (ἐργάζεσθαι, "to work") occurs below in ii. 21, 22, 24: "to serve the king of Babylon." The translator of Jeremiah alone appears to use it in the sense of "serving God" or "serving false gods" (xxx. 8, 9), though elsewhere he renders the Hebrew root (עָבַד) by its usual equivalent (δουλεύειν).

in the sight, &c.] Compare Jer. xxxii. 30.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 9, 17, 19.

9. *the captives.*] The Hebrew word (מַסְגֵּר), which is rendered in our A. V. "smiths," is originally a Hiphil participle, which means "shutting up," and is used as a noun in two senses: (1) *a prison*, Ps. cxlii. 7; Isa. xxiv. 22, xlii. 7. (2) *a smith*, i.e. locksmith, 2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2. In the first of these passages the LXX. have rendered it by συγκλείων, and by δεσμώτης in both passages of Jeremiah. These are, according to Fürst, the only places in which it occurs.

The active sense (συγκλείων) corresponds to the Hebrew, and is required by the context, in which מַסְגֵּר is associated with חָרָשׁ, "craftsmen" or "carpenters."

But the translator of Jeremiah took it in a passive sense—"one who is shut up," "a prisoner"—and the mistranslation is repeated in Baruch.

Reusch supposes that δεσμώτης is used by the translator in an active sense (*Schlosser* = locksmith), and thus substitutes ignorance of Greek for a mistaken rendering of the Hebrew.

The inference in any case is clear that the writer of the Greek text of Baruch was either the same person as the translator of Jeremiah, or at least had the Greek version of Jeremiah before his eyes.

In the Latin "cunctos potentes" is thought to be a corruption of "**vinctos** et potentes,"

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the original word having been afterwards put in a wrong place—"duxit eos vinctos in Babylonem."

17. *ὃν ἡμάρτομεν.*] The construction of the relative is difficult, but there is no variation of reading: the conjecture *ἀνθ' ὧν* is therefore inadmissible, as having no support.

Fritzsche thinks that the relative, which should have been in the nominative (*οἱ ἡμάρτομεν*), is attracted to *ἡμῶν*, but such an attraction of the nominative is utterly inadmissible.

A better construction is found by referring *ὧν* back to *αἰσχύνη* for its government—"shame for the sins which we have committed." The distance, however, between the two words makes their connexion obscure, and in any case it must be admitted that the translator has given a very vague interpretation of the Hebrew (אֲשֶׁר).

Instead of *ὧν ἡμάρτομεν ἔναντι Κυρίου*, as in Baruch, the LXX. give in Dan. ix. 8 *οἵτινες ἡμάρτομέν σοι*. Some light is thus thrown on the composition of our book: for the different renderings of the relative shew that the Greek texts have different authors, while the further variation *ἔναντι Κυρίου* for *σοι* is more than a mere diversity of translation, and proves that there must have been a Hebrew text of Baruch differing here from the text of Daniel.

19. *ἐσχεδιάσαμεν.*] The word is used in the same sense, "to act carelessly," by Polybius, XII. iv. § 4, *ὑπὲρ ὧν Τίμαιος κακῶς καὶ παρέργως ἱστορήσας ἐσχεδίασεν*; and XXIII. ix. § 12, *οὗτοι μὲν ἐσχεδιακότες ἐφαίνοντο τοῖς κακοῖς πράγμασιν.*

CHAPTER II.

The prayer and confession which the Jews at Babylon made, and sent in that book unto the brethren in Jerusalem.

[a] Dan. 9 12, 13.

[a] THEREFORE the Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, and against our judges that judged Israel, and against our kings, and against our princes, and against the men of Israel and Juda,

2 To bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses;

3 That a man should [b] eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter.

[b] Deut. 28. 53. Lam. 2. 20. & 4. 10

4 Moreover he hath delivered them to be in subjection to [c] all the king-

[c] 2 Kings 24. 2.

CHAPTER II.

1. *Therefore the Lord made good.*] Lit., "And the Lord established."

The whole verse is taken, with slight variations and additions, from Dan. ix. 12, on which see the notes in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

his word.] The LXX. in Daniel render the Hebrew less exactly by *προστάγματα*.

judges that judged Israel.] The meaning of "judges" in Daniel *l. c.* is rightly expanded in the words which are here added by our compiler, "and against our kings and against our princes." For in Daniel we are not to think only of "the judges" specially so called, though in our passage the word is so limited. Compare 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17. The wider sense occurs in Ps. ii. 10; Hos. vii. 7.

2. *To bring upon us, &c.*] Explanation of the way in which God fulfilled His word. On this explanatory use of the Greek infinitive (with *τοῦ*) "in epexegesis, where the simple infinitive with or without *ὥστε* might have been used," see Winer, 'Greek Gr.' § xliv. p. 410, E. Tr. This construction is very common in the LXX., ל with the infinitive denoting both design and consequence.

great plagues, such as never happened, &c.] There is a sort of redoubled comparison resulting from a combination of two thoughts: (1) plagues such as never happened elsewhere, and (2) such plagues never happened elsewhere as happened at Jerusalem. There is a similar mode of expression in Col. i. 6.

under the whole heaven.] Deut. iv. 19; Dan. vii. 27; Baruch v. 3.

3. The reference is to Lev. xxvi. 29, and Deut. xxviii. 53—passages which are recalled in Jer. xix. 9; compare Lam. ii. 20 and iv. 10: "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children: they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people."

That a man should eat, &c.] More exactly, "That we should eat, each man the flesh of his son, and each man the flesh of his daughter." The Greek here follows closely the idiomatic use of the Hebrew word אִישׁ.

4. *Moreover he hath delivered them to be in subjection.*] "**And he made** them **subject**:"

doms that are round about us, to be as [d] a reproach and [e] desolation among all the people round about, where the Lord hath scattered them.

5 Thus we [‖f] were cast down, and not exalted, because we have sinned against the Lord our God, and have not been obedient unto his voice.

6 [g] To the Lord our God *appertaineth* righteousness: but unto us and to our fathers open shame, as *appeareth* this day.

7 [h] *For* all these plagues are come upon us, which the Lord hath pronounced against us.

8 [i] Yet have we not prayed before the Lord, that we might turn every one from the imaginations of his wicked heart.

9 Wherefore the Lord watched over us for evil, and the Lord hath brought it upon us: for the Lord is righteous in all his works which he hath commanded us.

10 Yet we have not hearkened unto his voice, to walk in the commandments of the Lord, that he hath set before us.

11 [k] And now, O Lord God of Israel, that hast brought thy people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and high arm, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power, and [l] hast gotten

[d] Isai. 43. 28.
[e] Jer. 25. 38. & 44. 6, 22.
‖ Gr. *were beneath, and not above.*
[f] Deut. 28. 43, 44.
[g] ch. 1. 15.
[h] Dan. 9. 11, 12. ch. 1. 20.
[i] Dan. 9. 13, &c.
[k] Dan. 9. 15.
[l] Neh. 9. 10.

compare Gen. ix. 2, xiv. 20; Josh. xi. 8, &c., where the A. V. renders "delivered into the hand."

all the kingdoms that are round about us.] Egypt, Assyria, Babylon.

to be as a reproach.] Omit "as." The primary passage, Deut. xxviii. 37, is repeated in various forms in 2 Chr. xxix. 8; Jer. xxv. 9, 11, 18, xxix. 18, xlii. 18, xliv. 12, 22.

and desolation.] Rather, "and **an astonishment.**" Compare Jer. xxix. 18: "I will deliver them to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a curse and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among all the nations whither I have driven them." See the Additional Note.

where the Lord hath scattered them.] Compare Jer. xxix. 14, 18, xl. 12; Dan. ix. 7, in all which places the same Hebraism (οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ) is found in the LXX., as it is also in the original passage Deut. xxx. 3.

5. *Thus we were cast down.*] "**And they** were cast down." Compare Deut. xxviii. 13 (whence the words are taken, in converse order), and *v.* 43, "thou shalt come down very low," &c.

and have not been obedient unto his voice.] Better rendered by Ewald (E. Tr.): "**not to hearken** unto his voice."

6. See on i. 15, and compare Ezra ix. 7.

open shame.] "**confusion of face:**" literally, "the shame of faces."

7–17. This passage is taken in great part from Dan. ix. 13–18.

7. See the Additional Note. If we retain the reading of the chief MSS. (Vatican and Alexandrine), we may connect *vv.* 7–9 closely with *v.* 6, and render the whole passage thus: "**confusion of face,** as appeareth this day, (according to) **what** the Lord pronounced against us, all these **evils which** are come upon us, **and we did not entreat the face of** the Lord, that we **should** turn every one from the **thoughts** of his wicked heart, and **so** the Lord watched over **the evils,** and the Lord **brought them** upon us."

pronounced against us.] Compare Jer. xvi. 10, xix. 15, xxv. 13, xxxv. 17, xxxvi. 31: and observe the close dependence of our author upon Jeremiah as well as upon Daniel.

8. *prayed before the Lord.*] More literally, "**did not entreat the face of** the Lord." Compare the rendering given in the margin (E. V.) in 1 Kings xiii. 6; Ps. cxix. 58; Jer. xxvi. 19; and many other passages, including Dan. ix. 13, from which our verse is wholly taken. The corresponding Hebrew phrase is very expressive,—"stroke the face."

imaginations.] "**thoughts** (νοημάτων);" not the same word as in i. 22.

9. *watched over us for evil.*] "watched over **the evils,**" as in Dan. ix. 14.

in all his works which he hath commanded us.] Dan. ix. 14, "which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice:" an acknowledgment of the justice of the chastisements inflicted. Our author refers it to what God has required of Israel, whose sin was aggravated because God required only what was right and good.

10. *set before us.*] See on i. 18.

11. The whole verse is taken literally from Dan. ix. 15, with the insertion of the words "and high arm, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power," taken from Jer. xxxii. 21: compare Ps. cxxxvi. 12.

hast gotten thyself a name.] Compare Neh. ix. 10; Ex. xiv. 18; and margin, Dan. ix. 15.

thyself a name, as *appeareth* this day:

12 O Lord our God, we have sinned, we have done ungodly, we have dealt unrighteously in all thine ordinances.

13 [m] Let thy wrath turn from us: for [n] we are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us.

14 Hear our prayers, O Lord, and our petitions, and deliver us for thine own sake, and give us favour in the sight of them which have led us away:

15 [o] That all the earth may know that thou art the Lord our God, because [‖p] Israel and his posterity is called by thy name.

16 O Lord, [q] look down from thine holy house, and consider us: [r] bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.

17 Open thine eyes, and behold; [s] for the dead that are in the graves, whose [‖] souls are taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness:

[m] Dan. 9. 16, &c.
[n] Jer. 42. 2.
[o] Isai. 37. 20.
[‖p] Gr. *thy name is called upon Israel.*
[q] Dan. 9. 19. [q] Deut. 26. 15. Isai. 63. 15.
[r] Dan. 9. 18.
[s] Ps. 6. 5. & 115. 17. Isai. 38. 18, 19. Ecclus. 17. 27, 28.
[‖] Gr. *spirit*, or, *life.*

12. Compare Dan. ix. 15, 16.

in all thine ordinances (δικαιώμασι).] In Daniel the corresponding words are connected with the following verse: "O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger be turned away."

For "righteousness" the LXX. there read "mercy" (ἐλεημοσύνη), an admissible meaning, but one which shews that our compiler used not the Greek version, but the original Hebrew, to which his translator gave a meaning different from that given by the LXX.

13. *Let thy wrath turn from us.*] There is an evident abruptness and want of connexion, which is removed by the reading of Cod. A (ἀποστραφήτω δή), in which δή answers to the Hebrew particle of entreaty (נָא), rendered in the A.V. "now," or "I pray thee;" or as n Dan. ix. 16, "I beseech thee."

a few left among the heathen.] Compare Deut. iv. 27, "And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither the Lord shall lead you;" Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. xxviii. 62; Ps. xliv. 11; Jer. xlii. 2, xlix. 15; Obad. 2.

where thou hast scattered us.] Dan. ix. 7; compare *v.* 4, and *v.* 29 below.

14. *Hear our prayers, &c.*] "**Hearken unto** our **prayer**, O Lord, and our **supplication**:" Dan. ix. 17; 2 Chr. vi. 19.

for thine own sake.] Dan. ix. 19.

led us away.] "**carried us away captive**:" as in Jer. xxix. 14, and constantly.

15. *That all the earth may know.*] 1 Sam. xvii. 46; 2 Chr. vi. 33, &c.

called by thy name.] "And **that thy name is called upon Israel and upon his race.**" See the marginal notes in the A.V. on Dan. ix. 18; Jer. xiv. 9; 2 Chr. vi. 33, &c.

16. *from thine holy house.*] Deut. xxvi. 15: "Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven."

bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.] "**and** hear;" as in Dan. ix. 18, "incline thine ear, and hear." The original is Isa. xxxvii. 17, the prayer of Hezekiah against Sennacherib.

17. Comp. Isa. xxxvii. 17: "Open thine eyes, O Lord, and see." The remainder of the verse is taken substantially from Isa. xxxviii. 18, Hezekiah's prayer after his recovery from sickness.

in the graves.] Literally, "in Hades:" "**in the unseen world.**" The *souls*, not the bodies of the dead, are of course meant. See the next note.

whose souls are taken.] "whose **spirit is** taken." The construction of the relative pronoun is closely copied from the Hebrew. See Introd. § v. p. 249.

from their bodies.] The Greek word (σπλάγχνα) rendered "bodies" means really the inner organs, especially the nobler organs, lungs, heart, and liver. The description strengthens the contrast between the living and the dead, who, being deprived of the "**spirit**," have no longer any living bodily powers wherewith *on earth* to praise God.

By "**spirit**" is here meant "the breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7, vi. 17, &c.).

will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness.] "will **not** give unto the Lord **glory and** righteousness." The Gk. word (δικαίωμα) rendered "righteousness" in A.V. may mean, as in 2 Sam. xix. 28, a "right," a just claim, equivalent to "due honour." The corresponding Hebrew word (צְדָקָה) has the same sense also in Neh. ii. 20, but more usually means "justice" or righteousness shewn in act: compare Keil's note on Dan. ix. 16. The meaning of our passage therefore seems to be to "ascribe to God glory and justice." In the phrase "give glory to God" the Hebrew word always used (כָּבוֹד) means not mere "praise" or "recognition," but inherent glory. See notes on Rom. iii. 23 in the

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18 But the soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry soul, will give thee praise and righteousness, O Lord.

19 [t] Therefore we do not make our humble supplication before thee, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, and of our kings.

20 For thou hast sent out thy wrath and indignation upon us, as thou hast spoken by thy servants the prophets, saying,

21 [u] Thus saith the Lord, Bow down your shoulders to serve the king of Babylon: so shall ye remain in the land that I gave unto your fathers.

[t] Dan. 9. 18.

[u] Jer. 27. 11.

'Speaker's Commentary.' Our interpretation is rendered certain by the corresponding passage in *v.* 18, where the more usual word (*δικαιοσύνη*) is employed.

The doctrine of the verse concerning the state of the dead does not differ from that which is found in the original passage (Isa. xxxviii. 18), and frequently in the Psalms. Compare the notes in the 'Speaker's Commentary' on Pss. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10–12, cxv. 17; and see the same thought expressed in Ecclus. xvii. 27, 28. The meaning of such passages is well stated by Cornelius à Lapide in his 'Commentary on Baruch,' quoted here by Reusch: "The dead, it is said, praise not God, (1) because in their state as dead they cannot praise Him with bodily organs, the mouth and tongue. (2) They do not praise God for new mercies received from Him day by day in wonderful deliverance from troubles as happens to the living (Ps. lxxxviii. 11: 'Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? . . . Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?'). (3) They praise not God with such praise as the living praise Him withal, nor with such praise as the living can hear; wherefore *in respect of the living* there is from the dead no praise, even as there is no voice, no life. . . .

"For the Old Testament understands by the praise of God an outward and perceptible praise, which may edify others and encourage them to join in the same, such as the praise of penitents entreating and imploring God's mercy, as was this praise of Baruch and the Jews, which is properly called 'giving glory:' for 'glory' is praise and renown made *public*, whereas praise and honour may be private and secret."

18. *greatly vexed.*] The Greek means literally "vexed at the greatness" (*ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος*); and this reading is fully supported in the MSS. But there is almost certainly some corruption, or error of translation: for the following clause, "which goeth stooping and feeble," is descriptive of the body, not of "the soul."

Ewald (reading *καὶ* for *ἐπί*) renders: "the grieving soul, and *the pride* which goeth along bowed and fainting;" but neither this, nor any other possible meaning of *μέγεθος*, is satisfactory. The whole verse is imitated from Deut. xxviii. 65: "Neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind." See the Additional Note, and Introd. § v. p. 249.

the eyes that fail.] Compare Deut. xxviii. 65: "The Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind." The words of Deuteronomy were evidently in our author's mind here as in so many other passages of this chapter.

the hungry soul.] Compare Jer. xxxi. 25: "For I have satiated the weary soul, and I have replenished every sorrowful soul." For "sorrowful soul" the LXX. there have "hungry soul;" the Hebrew word there and in Deut. xxviii. 65 ("sorrow of mind") meaning literally to "pine" or "waste away."

19. *Therefore we do not make our humble supplication before thee.*] Literally, "For we do not cast down our supplication before thy face." Compare Jer. xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 20, xxxviii. 26, xlii. 2; Dan. ix. 20.

for the righteousness.] Literally, "upon the righteous deeds," as a ground or foundation for our petition. Compare for the thought Deut. ix. 4–6. Ewald thinks that an additional clause, such as that in Daniel, "but for thy great mercies," has been omitted here; but our author postpones that plea till *v.* 27.

20. *thou hast sent out.*] Omit "out."

and indignation.] "and **thine** indignation."

by thy servants.] Literally, "by the hand of thy servants," following the Hebrew closely.

21. The verse is compiled from Jer. xxvii. 11, 12.

Bow down your shoulders.] "**shoulder**." The Greek words used here (*ὦμος*) and in *v.* 33 (*νῶτος*) are both different from the word (*τράχηλος*, "neck," Hebrew עֹרֶף) used by the LXX. in the corresponding passages of Jeremiah (xxvii. 2, 8, 11, 12; xxviii. 12, 14); another Hebrew word (עֵבֶר) is represented

22 But if ye will not hear the voice of the Lord, to serve the king of Babylon,

x Jer. 7. 34. & 16. 9. & 25. 10. 23 x I will cause to cease out of the cities of Juda, and from without Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of joy, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride: and the whole land shall be desolate of inhabitants.

24 But we would not hearken unto thy voice, to serve the king of Babylon: therefore hast thou made

y Jer. 8. 1, 2. good y the words that thou spakest by thy servants the prophets, namely, that the bones of our kings, and the bones of our fathers, should be taken out of their places.

25 And, lo, z they are cast out to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night, and they died in great miseries by famine, by sword, and by pestilence.

z Jer. 36. 30.

26 And the house which is called by thy name hast thou laid waste, as *it is to be seen* this day, for the wickedness of the house of Israel and the house of Juda.

27 O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us after all thy goodness, and according to all that great mercy of thine,

throughout, as also in the epithet "stiff-necked" (σκληροτράχηλος) in *v.* 30.

In Jeremiah the command to bring the neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon was enforced by the prophet's symbolical action in putting bonds and yokes upon his own neck.

to serve.] Literally, "to work for," as in i. 22. Compare Jer. xxviii. 14, xl. 9.

so shall ye remain in the land.] "**and abide upon** the land:" *i.e.* do not attempt to escape into Egypt. Compare Jer. xlii. 10, 13.

23. The verse is taken very literally from Jer. vii. 34, which passage is in part repeated in xvi. 9, and in Jer. xxv. 10, a context already quoted by our author: the translation, however, is independent of the LXX.

desolate of inhabitants.] See notes on *v.* 4; and compare Jer. xxxii. 43, xlviii. 9.

24. *But we would not hearken.*] "**And we hearkened not.**" The prophecy especially meant is Jer. viii. 1: "They shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of the princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem out of their graves."

places.] "**place.**"

25. Instead of continuing the quotation from Jer. viii. 2, "And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved," &c., the author passes to another prediction of similar import.

to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night.] Or, "to the heat **by** day, and to the frost **by** night." The Greek words are the same as in Jer. xxxvi. 30, where they refer to the dead body of Jehoiakim. This obvious reference of the passage is overlooked by Ewald, who imagines that there is an omission in the text, which he would supply thus: "and now are they cast out *of their graves; and thy surviving ones are exposed* to the heat," &c.

they died.] This refers to the people generally, as in Jer. xxi. 9.

in great miseries.] A free but good rendering of the Greek (πόνοις πονηροῖς).

by pestilence.] The Greek word (ἀποστολή) means properly "a sending forth;" but here, and in Jer. xxxii. 36, with which our passage closely corresponds, it is used as an equivalent to the Hebrew word meaning "pestilence." See the fuller explanation at the end of the chapter.

26. *which is called by thy name.*] Literally, as in Dan. ix. 18, "upon which thy name has been called:" compare *v.* 15.

hast thou laid waste, as it is to be seen this day.] The Greek means simply, "hast thou **made as it is this day.**" See note on i. 15.

house of Israel.] "The evil of the house of Israel" is in like manner called to remembrance in Jer. xi. 17, a passage written more than a hundred years after the fall of the kingdom of Israel. Compare ii. 1.

27. *O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us.*] "**And yet,** O Lord," &c.

goodness.] The Greek word (ἐπιείκεια), in its form as a substantive, seems to occur only here and in the books which were written originally in Greek (The Song of the Three Children, *v.* 19, "loving-kindness;" Wisdom ii. 19, "meekness;" xii. 18, "equity;" 2 Macc. ii. 22, "favour;" x. 4, "mercy"). The adjective, however, is used by the LXX. to render the Hebrew word meaning "ready to forgive" in Ps. lxxxvi. 5.

according to all that great mercy of thine.] See the note on *v.* 19, and compare Dan. ix. 18.

28 As thou spakest by thy servant Moses in the day when thou didst command him to write thy law before the children of Israel, saying,

29 [a] If ye will not hear my voice, surely ‖this very great multitude shall be turned into a small *number* among the nations, where I will scatter them.

30 For I knew that they would not hear me, because it is a stiff-necked people: but [b] in the land of their captivities they shall ‖remember themselves,

31 [c] And shall know that I am the Lord their God: for [d] I will give them an heart, and ears to hear:

32 And they shall praise me in the land of their captivity, and think upon my name,

33 And return from their stiff ‖neck, and from their wicked deeds: for they shall remember the way of their fathers, which sinned before the Lord.

34 [e] And I will bring them again into the land which I promised with an oath unto their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they shall be lords of it: and I will increase them, and they shall not be diminished.

35 And [f] I will make an everlasting covenant with them to be their God, and they shall be my people: [g] and I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land that I have given them.

[a] Lev. 26. 14, &c. Deut. 28. 15, 62.
‖ Gr. *this great swarm.*
[b] Lev. 26. 32, &c.
‖ Or, *come to themselves.*
[c] Ps. 9. 16.
[d] Deut. 30. 6. Jer. 24. 7. & 32. 39.
‖ Gr. *back*
[e] Jer. 16. 15.
[f] Jer. 31. 31, &c. & 32. 38, 40.
[g] Lam. 4. 22.

29. *surely.*] Greek εἰ μήν, on which see Winer, 'Grammar of N. T.,' pp. 553, 627, and the commentators on Heb. vi. 14.

this very great multitude shall be turned, &c.] "this **swarm so great and so many** shall **turn**," &c. The nation is compared to a great swarm of bees, the Greek word being an imitation of their humming. As a substantive it is apparently only used here, but the verb (βομβεῖν) occurs in Jer. xxxi. 35; 1 Chr. xvi. 32; and in Plato, 'Rep.' viii. 564, D. See more in the Additional Note.

30. *I knew that they would not hear me.*] "I **know** that they **will** not," &c. The same tense (ἔγνων) is used by the LXX. in Jer. xiv. 20, xviii. 23, xxxiii. 3, xlviii. 30; in all which places the A. V. has the present.

captivities.] "**captivity**," as in *v.* 32. The Greek word (ἀποικισμοῦ) is used by the LXX. only in Jeremiah.

shall remember themselves.] Literally, "will return to their heart." Similar phrases occur in 1 Kings viii. 47; 2 Chr. vi. 37; Dan. iv. 34, 36.

31. *an heart.*] *I.e.* "a heart to know me" (Jer. xxiv. 7), "an understanding heart" (as some MSS. here read); or else "a new heart" (Ezek. xviii. 31). Compare Jer. xxxii. 39, where for "one heart" the LXX. read "another heart."

ears to hear.] Literally, "hearing ears:" compare Prov. xx. 12, "the hearing ear and the seeing eye."

33. *stiff neck.*] See note on *v.* 21.

wicked deeds.] See note at the end of the chapter.

the way of their fathers.] *I.e.* their evil course of conduct, as in Ezek. xvi. 61; xx. 43; xxxvi. 31, 32.

34. The promise of restoration is already given in Lev. xxvi. 42–45; Deut. xxx. 1–5.

the land which I promised with an oath.] See Deut. xxxiv. 4.

35. *I will make an everlasting covenant with them.*] In Lev. xxvi. 44, 45, God promises to "remember the covenant of their ancestors." Here the "everlasting covenant," as in Jer. xxxii. 40 and frequently, is the "new covenant" of Jer. xxxi. 31–33.

I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land.] This corresponds to Jer. xxxii. 41, "I will plant them in this land assuredly with my whole heart, and with my whole soul;" xxiv. 6, "I will plant them, and not pluck them up;" and xlii. 10, "I will plant you, and not pluck you up."

Some modern interpreters, while acknowledging that these passages express a Messianic hope, deny the accomplishment of that hope in Jesus of Nazareth, and say that the promise has never been fulfilled: they see in it nothing more than a promise of material prosperity made to Israel after the flesh. Grotius gives rather a different view: "This covenant with Israel continued until Messiah came, and would have continued afterwards if they had received the Messiah,—a condition which is sometimes expressed, sometimes to be understood."

But both these views are directly opposed to the distinguishing characteristic of the "new covenant," that it shall never be broken, as the old covenant was (Jer. xxxi. 32, &c.). The description of the "new covenant" in Jeremiah as one which shall be written upon the heart can only apply to the spiritual

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covenant which God has made with the true Israel in Jesus Christ (Isa. lv. 3; Heb. viii. 6).

The Messianic hope had its material as well as its spiritual side, and the two are often combined in one view by the prophets, looking forward to the restoration of Israel and redemption in Christ as one event. In the former, however, the material aspect of the promise had its temporal and symbolical fulfilment: in the latter, the spiritual fulfilment in the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 4, 7, 18, 25, 29, 33.

4. *desolation.*] Gr. *ἄβατον.* The corresponding Hebrew word (שְׁמָמָה) meant originally, according to Fürst, "astonishment," and then "desolation." It is translated by many different words in the Septuagint, as will be seen by referring to Deut. xxviii. 37; 2 Kings xxii. 19; 2 Chr. xxix. 8, xxx. 7; Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8, xxv. 9, xlii. 18.

Passages in which *ἄβατος* is used as the translation of שְׁמָמָה are Jer. xxv. 18, 38; xliv. 22; xlviii. 9; xlix. 13, 17.

It is only in Jeremiah, apparently, that either שְׁמָמָה or its cognate שִׁמְמָה is rendered by *ἄβατος*; a circumstance which favours the conjecture that Baruch and Jeremiah were translated into Greek by the same person. But see the note on *v.* 21.

7. The received reading (Vat. and Alex.) is as follows:—*ἃ ἐλάλησε Κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα ἃ ἦλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.* To avoid the apparent difficulty of construction, the second *ἃ* is omitted in Codd. XII., 26, 33, 36, 49, &c.; while *διότι* is substituted for the first *ἅ* in Codd. 22, 48, 51, supported by the Lat. *quia* [and Syr.: Fritzsche].

The latter reading, though an evident gloss, points to the true explanation, the first *ἅ* being a bald translation of אֲשֶׁר, which may be construed in two ways. Either it is simply the relative, referring to *v.* 6; or it has here, as in other places, the force of a conjunction "as" (Ewald), or "because." On this use of אֲשֶׁר, see Gesenius, 'Hebr. Gr.,' § 155, 1 and 3. Ewald begins a new sentence with *v.* 7: "*As* the Lord spake all the evils concerning us which came upon us, but we did not entreat the face of the Lord . . . *so* the Lord watched over the evils," &c.

18. The Received Text (*ἀλλ' ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ λυπουμένη ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος ὃ βαδίζει κύπτον καὶ ἀσθενοῦν*) is supported by all the MSS., except that some cursives omit *ὅ*, and others, with Theodoret, insert *πνεῦμα* before *βαδίζει*. Neither of these corrections would remove the difficulties of the passage. No help is given by the free paraphrases of the Latin Versions.

Most of the modern commentators suppose that the Hebrew text was itself corrupt, or was misunderstood by the translator.

Reusch and Kneucker, referring to the original passage Deut. xxviii. 65, suggest that here also there was a similar antithesis between the soul and the body, or some part of it, *e.g.* the foot.

All that can be said with certainty is that the passage gives strong evidence of a Hebrew original.

25. *pestilence.*] That the word *ἀποστολή* is here used in this peculiar sense is clear from the parallel passage (Jer. xxxii. 36), where it is employed by the LXX. to translate the Hebrew word (דֶּבֶר), which is commonly used for "destruction," "death," "pestilence" (*θάνατος*, Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, &c.). As to the origin of a meaning so remote from the etymological sense of *ἀποστολή*, "a sending forth," Fritzsche suggests that it arose from the frequent use of the phrase *ἀποστέλλειν θάνατον* (Lev. xxvi. 25; 2 Chr. vii. 13; Jer. xxiv. 10; Ezek. xiv. 19, 21, xxviii. 23; Amos iv. 10).

29. *multitude.*] The Greek substantive *βόμβησις*, "buzzing," is said to be used nowhere else: the Hebrew word (הָמוֹן) to which it corresponds (as *βομβεῖν* to המה in Jer. xxxi. 35; xlviii. 36) occurs in 1 Kings xx. 13; 2 Kings xxv. 11; Isa. xiii. 4, xvii. 12; Ezek. xxx. 15, and is variously rendered by the LXX. as *ὄχλος, ἔθνη, πλῆθος.*

From this frequent use of הָמוֹן for "multitude," Kneucker argues that "the Greek translator here certainly misses both the sense and the right word, and is guilty of a mis-translation." But an examination of the passages quoted above from Isaiah will shew that in his use of the word the idea of "multitude" is derived from that of a "humming noise." Our author's attempt to represent this original meaning of the Hebrew by the new but rightly formed word *βόμβησις* cannot justly be called a mis-translation. It is, however, a strong proof of a Hebrew original.

33. *wicked deeds.*] For *πονηρῶν πραγμάτων*, which is the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, the Vatican has *πονηρῶν προσταγμάτων*, and this is adopted by Fritzsche in the same sense as "statutes that were not good" (Ezek. xx. 25). But there the "statutes" are represented as given in anger by God: here, if the word (*προστάγματα*) is retained, it should be compared with Deut. xxviii. 20 (*πονηρὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα*, "the wickedness of thy doings"); Jer. xxiii. 2, 22, xxv. 5, xxvi. 3. A better word than "deeds" or "doings" would be "**practices**;" *i.e.* habitual deeds,—customs recognised and, as it were, prescribed (*προστάγματα*).

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CHAPTER III.

3 *The rest of their prayer and confession contained in that book, which Baruch writ, and sent to Jerusalem.* 30 *Wisdom was shewed first to Jacob, and was seen upon the earth.*

O LORD Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish, the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.

2 Hear, O Lord, and have mercy; for thou art merciful: and have pity upon us, because we have sinned before thee.

3 For [a]thou endurest for ever, and we perish utterly. [a] Ps. 102 26.

4 O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites, and of their children,

CHAPTER III.

1-8. An earnest prayer for deliverance, founded upon God's ancient promise recited in ii. 18–35.

Some commentators regard this as a separate prayer composed by Baruch for the exiles independently of the preceding chapters, alleging that "every link of transition, and still more every indication pointing to the preceding promise, is wanting" (Reusch).

No link of transition is needed, for the prayer follows quite naturally upon the promise.

The indications pointing to the preceding promise are numerous, as will at once appear by comparing *v.* 6 with ii. 31, 32, 35; *v.* 7 with ii. 31–33; *v.* 8 with ii. 29, 33.

Besides these references to the promise (ii. 28–35), Kneucker has shewn that every verse has some phrase or thought connecting it with the preceding portion of the book, i. 15—ii.

This will be the more evident if, instead of quoting the parallel passages in the notes on each verse, we bring together a few of the more striking into one view.

Compare iii. *v.* 1 with ii. 18.
iii. *v.* 2 „ ii. 14, 27.
iii. *v.* 3 „ ii. 13, 29.
iii. *v.* 4 „ i. 20; ii. 7, 10.
iii. *v.* 5 „ ii. 11, 15, 19.
iii. *v.* 6 „ i. 15, 18, 21, &c.
iii. *v.* 7 „ i. 16–19; ii. 6, &c.
iii. *v.* 8 „ i. 15, 19, 20; ii. 4.

While thus closely connected with the preceding chapters, the whole prayer is more independent of other books of Scripture; more forcible, tender, and earnest. By whomsoever and whenever composed, it expresses the genuine feelings of the writer.

1. *the soul in anguish.*] "a soul in anguish;" literally, "in straits" (ἐν στενοῖς). Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; Susanna 22. Our English rendering of this word, and the equivalent (στενοχωρία, Isa. xxx. 6; Wisd. v. 3), is derived from the Vulgate (*in angustiis*). See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' ii. 20.

the troubled spirit.] "**and a** troubled spirit." The Greek word (ἀκηδιάω) means originally "to be without care or sorrow," and hence in its later use "to be insensible to pain," "to be past feeling," "dependent," "heavy." It is used by the LXX. in Isa. lxi. 3, "spirit of heaviness;" Ps. cxix. 28, "my soul melteth away for very heaviness."

2. As the verse stands in the A.V., two reasons are urged why God should shew mercy to Israel: (1) His own nature as "a merciful God" (Deut. iv. 31, &c.); and (2) the suppliants' confession of sin, as in Ps. xli. 4, "I said, Lord, be merciful unto me: heal my soul; for I have sinned against thee."

On the omission of the words "for thou art merciful: and have pity upon us," in the Vatican MS., see the note at the end of the chapter.

3. A further twofold motive to compassion lies in the contrast between the eternal majesty of God and the helplessness of His perishing creatures: Isa. lvii. 15, 16.

endurest.] "**sittest (in the throne).**" Compare Ps. ix. 4, xxix. 10; Lam. v. 19.

perish utterly.] "**are perishing for ever.**" The A.V., though it misses the force of the repetition "**for ever**," seems to apply the words rightly to Israel *as a nation:* We, the remnant of Thy people, left few in number among the heathen, are perishing in exile, and with us Thy people Israel will perish "**for ever.**" Compare Jer. xl. 15, "the remnant in Judah perish;" Lev. xxvi. 38 f.; Deut. xxx. 18; Jer. xxvii. 10, 15.

4. *hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites.*] This strange expression—"the **prayer** of the dead **of Israel**"—has given rise to much discussion. "Some ancient interpreters understood by it, what seems to be the most obvious meaning, that the pious ancestors *in limbo patrum* prayed for their nation" (Reusch): and an appeal is made to such passages as Ps. xcix. 6; Jer. xv. 1; 2 Macc. xii. 43 ff., xv. 12, 13, to shew that such a view concerning the state of the dead is not without support in the O. T. A glance at these passages will shew how little they support the view in question: but even if their testimony were stronger, it could not be set against our author's own statement in ii. 17: "The dead . . . will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness."

which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God: for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.

5 Remember not the iniquities of our forefathers: but think upon thy power and thy name now at this time.

6 For thou art the Lord our God, and thee, O Lord, will we praise.

7 And for this cause thou hast put thy fear in our hearts, to the intent

Another opinion is that the phrase refers to the prayers which righteous men, *now dead*, such as Moses or Samuel or Solomon, had offered during their life (Ex. xxxii. 32; 1 Kings viii. 25 ff.): but this explanation is very far-fetched, and inconsistent with the plain meaning of the words "Hear the prayer of the dead," which can hardly be understood of prayers offered many centuries before.

A third view, held by many commentators (Maldonatus, à Lapide, Calmet, Grotius, Luther, Ewald, Reusch), is that by "the dead of Israel" are meant the suppliants themselves, who in their misery speak of themselves hyperbolically as "the dead." It is true that in *v.* 3 they speak of themselves as "perishing," and in *v.* 11 as "counted with them that go down into the pit;" but those expressions are evidently metaphorical, and can only apply to the living, while here it seems equally clear that the perfect participle (*τῶν τεθνηκότων*, as in ii. 17) can only apply to those who are actually dead.

It is, in short, impossible to find a satisfactory explanation of the words "prayer of the dead:" their meaning is clear, but quite inadmissible in this context, and directly opposed to our author's statement in ii. 17.

There is no various reading in the Greek text, except "prayers" for "**prayer**," which gives no help. But if proof were needed that the Greek text is not the original, we may find it in these words.

In Hebrew the difference between "the dead of Israel" (מֵתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) and "the **men** of Israel" (מְתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) lies only in the vowel-points of the first letter, and is no greater than the difference between *mêthêy* and *m'thêy*. In the Hebrew original of Baruch, written, as it must have been, without vowel-points, there could not have been any sign at all of the two meanings of מתי. This at once makes it probable that a translator from the Hebrew may have put "the dead of Israel" instead of "the **men** of Israel," which latter reading removes the difficulty of our passage.

The probability of this explanation is raised almost to certainty, when we consider the frequent mistakes which Greek translators have made in rendering the Hebrew word (מתים, "men"), and especially when we find that in Isa. v. 13 the Seventy, and in Isa. xli. 14 Aquila and Theodotion, give it the meaning "dead," as our translator does here.

For a fuller discussion of the subject, see the critical note at the end of the chapter.

and of their children, which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God.] Render, "and **sons of the sinners** before thee, **which hearkened not**," &c. "**The sinners**" meant are spoken of in the relative clause which follows in the 3rd person, and clearly distinguished from the suppliants who speak of themselves in the 1st person (*ἡμῖν*). Thus in the former part of the verse they give a twofold description of themselves: (1) as the remnant of Israel, and (2) as sons of the sinners whose disobedience has brought evil upon their children. This interpretation is confirmed by *vv.* 5, 7, 8, in which the fathers only are mentioned as sinners before God. The present participle (*τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων*) makes no difficulty, as it answers to the Hebrew participle, which has no distinction of tense: in both languages the participle is often a timeless substantive; see Winer, 'Gr.' § xlv. 7.

for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.] "**and so the evils clave** unto us." Compare i. 20. It was a characteristic tendency of the Jews to trace the misfortunes of the children to the sins of their fathers: Ezek. xviii. 2; Lam. v. 7; Jer. xxxi. 29; Tobit iii. 3, 4.

5. *forefathers.*] "**fathers.**"

think upon thy power.] "**remember thy hand**:" compare ii. 11; Isa. li. 9.

and thy name.] Ps. lxxix. 9, cvi. 8; Isa. lxiii. 12; Jer. xiv. 21.

6. *thee, O Lord, will we praise.*] The inverted order of the words produces an emphasis which is not in the original: "**we will praise thee, O Lord.**"

7. *And for this cause.*] "**for therefore**," *i.e.* that we should praise Thee, as is explained below.

to the intent that we should call upon thy name.] Or, according to the Vatican MS.,—"**and** (made us) **to call**,"—a second thing put into the heart by God.

and praise thee.] "**and we will** praise thee;" namely, because through Thy grace we have repented, according to Thy promise:

that we should call upon thy name, and praise thee in our captivity: for
Deut. v. 1. [b]we have called to mind all the iniquity of our forefathers, that sinned before thee.

8 Behold, we are yet this day in our captivity, where thou hast scattered us, for a reproach and a curse, and to be subject to payments, according to all the iniquities of our fathers, which departed from the Lord our God.

9 Hear, Israel, the commandments of life: give ear to understand wisdom.

10 How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land, that thou art waxen old in a strange

compare ii. 31, 32. For this we will praise thee even now, while yet in exile.

called to mind.] "**put away from our heart**:" see the note at the end of the chapter, on the reading.

8. *captivity.*] More literally, "place of exile" (ἀποικίᾳ). Compare ii. 13.

and to be subject to payments.] "and **a penalty**" (Ewald). The Greek word (ὄφλησιν) does not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint, and its meaning here is not very clear. The A. V. seems to refer it to "paying tribute;" Grotius understands it of "debt," referring to Deut. xxviii. 44; others of the guilt and penalty of sin (Reusch); Kneucker thinks that the Greek translator misread or misunderstood the Hebrew word. But, instead of resorting to uncertain conjecture, it is better to take the Greek word in its proper sense of "paying a penalty," and to connect it closely with the words which follow. We thus get a thought perfectly appropriate to the context, that God has scattered the Israelites among the heathen to be an object of reproach and of cursing, and "**to pay the penalty for** [literally, "according to"] all the iniquities" of their fathers. Compare ii. 4, and the notes there.

iii. 9—iv. 4. Israel admonished to return to the Fountain of Wisdom.

9. *Hear, Israel.*] An echo of Deut. v. 1, or rather of Deut. vi. 4, "the beginning of what is termed the *Sh'ma* ("Hear") in the Jewish services" ('Speaker's Commentary').

commandments of life.] The genitive expresses the effect or purpose, as in Rom. v. 18, "justification of life." Compare Rom. vii. 10, "the commandment which was **unto life**," and the note there. The same thought is more fully expressed by our author in iv. 1.

give ear to understand.] The Greek word (ἐνωτίσασθε) is common in the LXX.; *e.g.* in Ex. xv. 26, "give ear to his commandments." Here, as in Ps. xlix. 1, it refers to what has gone before: **Ponder them in your ears**, to understand wisdom.

10. *How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land?*] "**Why** is it, Israel, **why is it**, that thou," &c. The same construction (τί ὅτι) is found in 1 Sam. i. 8, Isa. xxii. 1 (Septuagint), and in Mark ii. 16, Luke ii. 49, Acts v. 4, 9. Much of the vivacity of the question is lost in the Authorized Version by omitting the second interrogative with Codex A and other MSS. The attention is first roused, then quickened by the repetition, as in Prov. xxxi. 2: "What, my son? And what, the son of my womb? And what, the son of my vows?"

The question includes *vv.* 10, 11, and is answered in *vv.* 12, 13: its four clauses form a climax of misery, completed in the words "counted with them that go down into the grave."

thine enemies' land.] This cannot possibly mean, as Ewald supposes, "the ancient native land of Israel here called a *foreign* land (*v.* 10)," because "the most utterly foreign nations and rulers marched over its soil, as if it were entirely lost to Israel." This verse is in its plain and obvious meaning fatal both to Ewald's theory, that the Section iii. 9—v. 9 is "A prophetic Liturgy on the basis of the Law," "intended to be used at a public service of humiliation in the Temple at Jerusalem;" and to Nöldeke's view (mentioned by Kneucker) that it is an address of "consolation for the Israelites *left behind* in misery after the destruction of Jerusalem."

waxen old.] Compare Ps. vi. 7, xxxii. 3; Lam. iii. 4; and especially Dan. xi. 33, where, instead of "fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days," the Vatican text of the LXX. means "they shall fall upon the sword, and wax feeble [lit. "old"] by it, and by captivity," &c. Compare also Ps. xviii. 45, "The strangers shall fade away" (ἐπαλαιώθησαν), where, as in Ps. vi. 7, the idea of *decay* is more prominent than that of *age*.

Hence Reusch and Kneucker argue that the phrase "waxen old" does not necessarily point to a late period of the Captivity: but see Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

defiled with the dead.] Not "*by* the dead," but "*equally with* the dead." This meaning

country, that thou art defiled with the dead,

[c] Ps. 28. 1. 11 That thou art [c]counted with them that go down into the grave?

12 Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom.

[d] Ps. 81. 13, 14. 13 [d]For if thou hadst walked in the way of God, thou shouldest have dwelled in peace for ever.

14 Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding; that thou mayest know also where is length of days, and life, where is the light of the eyes, and peace.

is required by the Greek (*συνεμιάνθης*), and agrees better with the parallel clause which follows. The defilement meant is probably the contact with idolatry, as in Jer. ii. 23; Ezek. xx. 31. The meaning suggested by Grotius, that the Jews in Babylon were made to serve in burying the dead, is a mere conjecture, having no support either in the context or in history.

11. *counted with them that go down into the grave.*] The language is taken exactly from Ps. lxxxviii. 4, except that "Hades" is substituted for "the pit." Compare *v.* 19 below.

Ewald interprets the passage metaphorically of "the *dead*, i.e. such as were without the true pure life mentioned in *v.* 9, *i.e.* among heathen and under their rule," so that Israel is "itself, as it were, dead and polluted by the dead." But the true meaning is that which is more fully developed in the Psalm from which the clause is quoted, Ps. lxxxviii. 3–6, where the suppliant describes himself as one brought down by extreme misery, as it were, to the very edge of the grave, and cast aside like a neglected corpse.

12. The speaker who addresses Israel now answers his own question. It is because "Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom," *i.e.* God Himself, as in Jer. ii. 13, "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters," xvii. 13, and Ps. xxxvi. 9, "With thee is the fountain of life."

In Ecclesiasticus i. 5 the Authorized Version gives, "The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom;" but the verse is not found in the Vatican Codex, and is generally regarded as spurious. Also in 2 Esdras xiv. 47 (A. V.) it is said of certain books: "In them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom" (*fons sapientiae*): this Book of Esdras does not exist in Greek.

In our passage it is certainly best to interpret "the fountain of wisdom" of God Himself, according to Ecclus. i. 1: "All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him for ever." Israel had forsaken God by ceasing to walk in His way, as is explained in the next verse.

13. *For if.*] Omit "for."

"The way of God" is the way in which God teaches man to walk: compare Ps. xxvii. 11, "Teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path;" Micah iv. 2. On the reading see the Additional Note.

14. *Learn where is wisdom.*] Since the cause of thy misery is that "thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom" (*v.* 12), learn now once more who possesses and imparts her (*vv.* 15, 27, 32). Compare Job xxviii. 12 ff.

wisdom.] "prudence" (*φρόνησις*). "The Divine Principle which alone produces true life and happiness is here personified, and characterised in three distinct elements as *φρόνησις*, 'insight,' 'prudence;' *ἰσχύς*, 'strength,' and *σύνεσις*, 'understanding.' . . . But the same Principle is also characterised simply as *φρόνησις* (*v.* 28), *σοφία* (*v.* 23), and *ἐπιστήμη*, *vv.* 20, 27, 36." (Fritzsche.)

See further, on the distinction between these words, in the Additional Note.

strength.] *I.e.* the moral and spiritual power which belongs essentially to godly wisdom. Compare Mic. iii. 8, "Truly I am full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression;" Job xii. 13, "With him is wisdom (*σοφία*) and strength (*δύναμις*), he hath counsel and understanding (*σύνεσις*)." See also Prov. ii. 2, 3, 6 in the Greek.

also.] "at the same time."

length of days.] The Greek substantive (*μακροβίωσις*) seems to occur only here. Kneucker remarks that the Semitic maxim, "With the ancient is wisdom; and in length of days understanding" (Job xii. 12), takes from the religious standpoint of the Jews the converse form: "The fruit of wisdom (as revealed in God's law) is long life and happiness: Ex. xx. 12; Deut. iv. 6; Prov. iv. 10." See also Prov. iii. 16, "Length of days is in her right hand."

life.] True "life" (*ζωή*), as in *v.* 9, is more than mere "length of days;" it is life in its essence as a spiritual force, "the strength, freshness, and bloom of life." (Reusch.) For this emphatic sense of "life," compare Ps. xvi. 11; Prov. iv. 13: "Keep her (instruction), for she is thy life."

the light of the eyes.] *I.e.* cheerfulness, happiness: see note on i. 12.

peace.] Prov. iii. 17: "all her paths are peace."

15 [e]Who hath found out her place? or who hath come into her treasures?

16 Where are the princes of the heathen become, and such as ruled the beasts upon the earth;

17 They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air, and they that hoarded up silver and gold, wherein men trust, and made no end of their getting?

[e] Job 28. 1, 20.

15. The question, Where is Wisdom to be found? is repeated under various forms, and many imaginary answers are rejected, but the true answer is not given till *v.* 32 ff.

Compare Job xxviii. 12, 20, "Whence then cometh wisdom (*σοφία*), and where is the place of understanding (*ἐπιστήμης*)?" *v.* 23, "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof," *i.e.* her dwelling-place (Ps. xxxvii. 10). "Wisdom" is here used in its comprehensive sense as that which exists in God as its source, and must be sought by man from Him.

It is regarded (in the question) as something hidden and hard to find: as in Job xxviii. 21, "It is hid from the eyes of all living." Its place is known to none but God (Bar. iii. 32).

into her treasures.] "**treasuries**," or "treasure-houses." Compare Job xxxviii. 22, "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow?" Ps. cxxxv. 7, "He bringeth the wind out of his treasuries."

16. *Where are the princes of the heathen become.*] Omit "become."

The author first brings examples to prove that none but God hath found the place of Wisdom. The enumeration of the different conditions, ages, and races of men serves to magnify the incomparable worth of wisdom.

the princes of the heathen.] These princes or rulers (*ἄρχοντες*) stand first, as the types of human grandeur, pride, and arbitrary power: compare Ecclus. x. 14. Some find here an allusion to the great kings of Babylon, and to Nebuchadnezzar in his madness (Kneucker). But the past tenses, and the whole context, shew that in words at least the author refers to the mighty rulers of past ages; such, for example, as Nimrod, the "mighty hunter before the Lord." That there may at the same time be a veiled allusion to Nebuchadnezzar seems not improbable when we look at such passages as Jer. xxvii. 6: "And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant: and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him."

The same thought concerning the dominion over the beasts of the field as given to Nebuchadnezzar is found also in Jer. xxviii. 14; Dan. ii. 38; Judith xi. 7.

such as ruled the beasts.] "**they that had dominion over the beasts**:" compare Jer. xxvii. 6; Dan. ii. 38.

17. *They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air.*] Job xli. 5: "Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? Or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?"

The Seventy seem to have understood Ps. civ. 26 in the same way: "There is that leviathan whom thou hast formed to take thy pastime with him (*δράκων οὗτος ὃν ἔπλασας ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ*)." On this traditional Jewish interpretation, adopted by some modern commentators, see the note in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

The meaning of the allusion to "the beasts" and "the fowls of the air" in connexion with the search after Wisdom is seen by referring to such a passage as Job xii. 7: "Ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee: and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee." These mighty rulers in all their pride could find nothing better to do than to amuse themselves with such trifles, and yet they have not learned wisdom from the birds who have travelled so far and seen so much: compare Job xxxv. 11: "But none saith, Where is God my Maker, . . . who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven?"—a passage which may otherwise be rendered: "Who teacheth us by the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wise by the fowls of heaven." See Delitzsch and the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

wherein men trust, and made no end of their getting.] Literally, "wherein men **trusted, and there is** no end of their getting." In the former clause the Greek translator has rightly given the past tense: in the latter, which represents a common Hebrew phrase that has no verb expressed, he seems inadvertently to have used the present (*ἐστί*). In Isa. ii. 7 the LXX. rightly use the past tense (*οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός*). The sense and connexion are clearly shewn in the A.V.: "they that hoarded up silver and gold, . . . and made no end of their getting." Neither their absolute power, nor their boundless riches, could give wisdom to those princes of the heathen. On the Hebraisms of this and the next verse, see the Introd. § v. p. 250.

18, 19. There is some difficulty in determining the sense and construction of these verses, and their relation to the preceding context. Much depends upon the meaning of the first clause, which in the Vulgate (*qui argentum fabricant*) and A.V. is referred to the silversmiths, and more particularly (as Kneucker thinks) to the makers of silver

18 For they that wrought in silver, and were so careful, and whose works are unsearchable,

19 They are vanished and gone down to the grave, and others are come up in their steads.

20 Young men have seen light, and dwelt upon the earth: but the way of knowledge have they not known,

21 Nor understood the paths thereof, nor laid hold of it: their children were far off from that way.

22 It hath not been heard of in Chanaan, *f* neither hath it been seen in Theman. *f* Jer. 49. 7.

idols, the value of "whose works" is "unsearchable" from their number and excellence. Taken in this sense, and in connexion with *vv.* 16, 17, the general meaning of the passage will be, that not only the mighty and the rich, but the skilful artists whose works were so precious,—all are gone.

On the other hand, it must be considered that the Greek word (τεκταίνω), though not uncommon in the Septuagint, seems never to be there used of *material*, but only of *moral* working. With the usual meaning "contrive" or "devise," *i.e.* how to get, the whole passage, *vv.* 16–19, may be thus rendered: "Where are the **rulers** of the **nations**, and **they that had dominion over** the beasts upon the earth; they that **played with the birds of heaven**, and hoarded up silver and gold wherein men **trusted**, and **there was** no end of their getting?—For they that wrought **to get** silver, and were **full of care**, and whose works are **past finding out**, they are vanished," &c.

See the Additional Note for a fuller discussion of the sense and connexion of the whole passage.

18. *so careful.*] The same word as in Matt. vi. 34.

whose works are unsearchable.] The probable meaning is, "whose labours are infinite." Compare in the Greek Isa. xl. 28: "there is no searching of his understanding."

20, 21. One generation after another has failed to find wisdom.

20. *Young men have seen light.*] "**Younger** men have seen light;" *i.e.* have been born and lived. Compare Job iii. 16: "infants which never saw light."

By "the way of knowledge" and "the paths thereof" is meant the way that leads to knowledge (ἐπιστήμη, "science," Aristot.): so in *vv.* 23, 27, 31, 36.

21. *nor laid hold of it.*] These words should begin a new sentence: "**Nor did their sons lay hold of her**, they **wandered** far," &c.

from that way.] Literally, "from the way of them" (αὐτῶν), which De Wette explains as meaning "the way of their fathers" (ii. 33): the children wandered away far beyond their fathers.

It would be simpler to refer αὐτῶν to the children themselves—"**they wandered far out of their way**," *i.e.* out of the right way in which they should have sought Wisdom. Compare Job xvii. 9, "The righteous also shall hold on his way;" Prov. v. 8, "Remove thy way far from her;" x. 10, "He that perverteth his ways shall be known;" xi. 5, "The righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way;" xix. 3, "The foolishness of man perverteth his way;" xx. 24, "Man's goings are of the Lord: how can a man then understand his own way?"

Even this rendering may be questioned on the ground that throughout the whole passage it is "the way of knowledge" that is mentioned: *vv.* 23, 27, 31, 36. Fritzsche, Reusch, and Kneucker prefer the various reading (αὐτῆς for αὐτῶν), which has little authority.

22, 23. "He enumerates the nations that prided themselves on wisdom" (Theodoret).

22. *Chanaan.*] According to the later usage of the name, Canaan refers to the Phœnicians who dwelt on the sea-coast (Zeph. ii. 5; Matt. xv. 22), "whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth" (Isa. xxiii. 8). Compare 2 Chr. ii. 7, and Ezek. xxviii. 3–5, where of "the prince of Tyre" it is said: "Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee: with thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom, and by thy traffic, hast thou increased thy riches," &c. Compare Zech. ix. 2, 3.

"Theman," or Teman, a district and city in the south of Edom, was as famous for wisdom in counsel, and for proverbial sayings, as Canaan for arts and commerce. Jer. xlix. 7: "Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts, Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished?" Compare Obad. 8, 9.

23. *The Agarenes.*] "**The sons also of Agar**," *i.e.* the Ishmaelites (Gen. xvi. 15; xxxvii. 25; Ps. lxxxiii. 6).

that seek wisdom upon earth.] Gen. xxxvii. 25: "Behold a company of Ishmaelites came

23 The Agarenes that seek wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran and of Theman, the ‖authors of fables, and searchers out of understanding; none of these have known the way of wisdom, or remember her paths.

Or, *expounders.*

24 O Israel, how great is the house

from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." These travelling merchants are here represented as "seeking wisdom upon earth" on the principle that knowledge is increased by travel. The same word (*σύνεσις*) is in this verse first rendered "wisdom," and then (as in *v.* 14) "understanding:" the latter should be used in both places, though there is no emphasis on the special sense.

On the reading see the Additional Note.

the merchants of Meran.] The name "Meran" is not found elsewhere, and is thought to be a corruption, though there is no various reading. The most probable conjecture is that ר has been substituted for ד in the Hebrew form of the name "Medan," which in Gen. xxxvii. 36 is supposed to be applied to the Midianites (*v.* 28) or Ishmaelites who bought Joseph. "The different names given to the traders do not shew that the account has been drawn from different legends, but that these tribes were often confounded, from the fact that they resembled one another so closely, not only in their common descent from Abraham (Gen. xvi. 15; xxv. 2, 'Medan and Midian,' both sons of Keturah), but also in the similarity of their mode of life and constant change of abode, that strangers could hardly distinguish them, especially when they appeared, not as tribes but as Arabian merchants, such as they are here described as being, 'Midianitish men, merchants'" (Keil and Delitzsch on Gen. xxv. 2). Thus "the merchants of Medan" who were sons of Keturah are very naturally mentioned in connexion with the "sons of Agar" or Ishmaelites, as in Genesis.

and of Theman.] This is not necessarily the name of the same people as in *v.* 22. The Greek name (*Θαιμάν*) represents two different Hebrew names: "Theman" or "Teman" (Gen. xxxvi. 11), grandson of Esau; and "Tema," son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15), mentioned in Job vi. 19, Jer. xxv. 23, Isa. xxi. 13, 14. The modern name is Teymá ('Dictionary of the Bible').

the authors of fables.] The Greek word (*μυθολόγοι*) is not found elsewhere in the Greek Scriptures, and *μῦθος* only in Ecclus. xx. 19, followed by *παραβολή* in *v.* 20.

Various meanings are here proposed. Ewald writes: "This undoubtedly refers to a literature of legends and stories, much read at that time, and which spread from this people over the whole earth, a precursor of the later 'Thousand and One Nights,' &c."

The older commentators think that it means those who in Oriental fashion clothed their thoughts in fables, parables, or proverbs: *e.g.* Ezek. xvii. 2; xviii. 2, 3. Compare Ps. xlix. 4, "I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my dark saying upon the harp;" lxxviii. 2, "I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old; which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us," &c. On the full meaning of Mashal, compare Lowth ('Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews,' sect. iv. p. 43): "The Persians, the Arabs, and many of the most ancient of the Eastern nations, preserved in verse their history and politics, as well as the principles of religion and morals."

searchers out of understanding.] This additional description confirms the view which we have taken of the preceding clause. If, as Bishop Lowth suggests, the legendary lore included under the name Mashal embraced "all science, human and divine," these mythologists might well be called inquirers after wisdom, or "searchers out of understanding."

none of these have known.] Literally, "**but the way of wisdom they have not** known." The construction is irregular, but the meaning not obscure: The sons of Agar and merchants of Medan and Teman have been diligent searchers after knowledge about earthly things, yet they have not found the way that leads to true wisdom (*σοφία*).

On the construction and reading, see the Additional Note.

24–28. In this third part of the answer to the question, Who hath found out the place of Wisdom (*v.* 15)? the author passes from the consideration of particular classes of men, the mighty and rich (16–19), the ancients and their descendants (20, 21), nations most famous for enterprise, commerce, and intelligence (Phœnicians and Arabians), and rises to a higher thought that in the whole created world, great as it is, Wisdom is nowhere to be found, except in Him who is "the fountain of wisdom" (*v.* 12).

"Hitherto he has said that earthly might and riches, and human study and search, cannot bring men to the attainment of wisdom; the thought now takes the turn that human strength (*Kraft*) gives no claim to the reception of wisdom,—that in imparting it God has no regard to power and might." (Reusch.)

of God! and how large is the place of his possession!

25 Great, and hath none end; high, and unmeasurable.

26 There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.

27 Those did not the Lord choose, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them:

28 But they were destroyed, because they had no wisdom, and perished through their own foolishness.

29 [g] Who hath gone up into heaven, and taken her, and brought her down from the clouds? [g] Deut. 30. 12, 13. Rom. 10. 6, 7.

30 Who hath gone over the sea, and found her, and will bring her for pure gold?

24. *O Israel.*] The motive of this appeal is explained by *v.* 36. The thought that God has made His wisdom known to Israel only is already passing through the writer's mind.

the house of God.] This phrase, which first occurs in Gen. xxviii. 17, is always applied in the O. T. to some place or building where God grants His presence. But here its meaning cannot be limited to an earthly sanctuary, which would neither suit the description in *v.* 26, nor the mention of the giants in *v.* 27. Nor does *v.* 27 allow us to apply it to "the heavens" as God's dwelling-place. (Comp. 'De Mundi opif.,' § 7.) It must have the wider meaning in which Philo-Judaeus ('de Incorr. Mundi,' § 21, *θεῖον δέ τι μέγεθος ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ αἰσθητῶν*) applies it to the whole created universe. It is, however, possible that this idea of "the universe" is expressed by combining the two clauses of the verse, the heaven being "the house of God," and earth "the place of his possession." The latter phrase is illustrated by Ps. civ. 24: "The earth is full of thy riches" (*κτήσεως*, the word here rendered "possession").

25. This thought of the immensity of the world serves to render God's favour to Israel the more conspicuous: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof: the world, and they that dwell therein" (Ps. xxiv. 1); and yet "He hath chosen Jacob unto himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure" (Ps. cxxxv. 4).

26. *There were the giants, &c.*] The author follows the Septuagint version of Gen. vi. 4 more closely than is here shewn in the A.V. "There were the giants **born, who were** from the beginning **men of renown,** of great stature, expert in war." Other references to Gen. vi. 4 are found in Ecclus. xvi. 7; Wisdom xiv. 6.

27. *Those did not the Lord choose.*] "**Not these did God** choose." Reusch refers to Deut. iv. 37: "Because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, . . . to drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art;" and argues that our author is thinking especially of the giant sons of Anak, and the Rephaim, because it was more directly to them that Israel was preferred. But the allusion to the giant race of the world before the Flood is more in accordance with the wide scope of the whole passage (*vv.* 24–30), and the grandeur of the thoughts which it borrows from the ancient Scriptures.

28. *But they were destroyed, &c.*] "**So they perished,** because they had no **prudence** (*φρόνησιν*); they perished **because of** their foolishness." The language is not so well suited to the Canaanites who *were destroyed* by Israel, as to the flood of waters "in the old time, when the proud giants perished" (Wisdom xiv. 6).

29, 30. The language is borrowed from the description of the Divine commandment in Deut. xxx. 12: "Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us? . . . Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us?"

But the language is not used by our author to enforce the same argument as in Deuteronomy. *There* the purpose is to make Israel feel that the wisdom of God has been brought very near to them, even in their heart and conscience, and therefore need not be sought far off, "in heaven," or "over the sea." *Here* the meaning is, that man can never find wisdom for himself, not even if he could mount up to heaven or cross over the sea. Our author's use of the passage thus falls far short of that deep significance which St. Paul discerned in it (Rom. x. 5–9). The addition of the words "brought her down from the clouds" rather points to a connexion of our passage with Ecclus. xxiv. 3,—where Wisdom says of herself: "I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud. I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar. I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep." The conclusion of that passage, as of our own, is that Wisdom could find no resting-place except in Israel. Compare also Job xxviii. 14.

30. *pure gold.*] Literally, "**choice** gold:" compare Job xxviii. 15–19.

31 No man knoweth her way, nor thinketh of her path.

32 But he that knoweth all things knoweth her, and hath found her out with his understanding: he that prepared the earth for evermore hath filled it with fourfooted beasts:

33 He that sendeth forth light, and it goeth, calleth it *again*, and it obeyeth him with fear.

34 The stars shined in their watches, and rejoiced: [h] when he calleth them, they say, Here we be; and so with cheerfulness they shewed light unto him that made them.

35 This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him.

36 He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto

[h] Ps. 147. 4.

31. *No man knoweth.*] **There is none that** knoweth."

her path.] *I.e.* the path that leads to Wisdom.

32. *But he that knoweth all things knoweth her.*] The comparative poverty of our language makes it almost impossible to reproduce the distinction between the two Greek words: one of which (εἰδώς) represents the ever-present knowledge of Him "that knoweth all things;" while the other (γινώσκει) ascribes to God the same mental process by which man *gets to know* what was not previously known to him. See the Additional Note. The latter idea is developed in a still more anthropomorphic fashion in the following words: "and hath found her out with his understanding."

The description of God's creative action as extending over all His works serves to confirm the truth that He must know fully the way of wisdom, for only by wisdom hath He made them all. This argument also is taken from Job xxviii. 23, 24 ff. It serves to exalt the glory of Him, who is in an especial sense the God of Israel, by whom the chosen nation has been so highly favoured (*vv.* 35, 36).

for evermore.] Compare Eccles. i. 4: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever." Thus the earth may be called eternal in comparison with man and his works, but the statement must not be taken in an absolute sense. The duration of God's works exalts His power.

33. By "light" some here understand the light of the sun, and others lightning. In favour of the former they refer to Job xxxi. 26: "If I beheld the sun (margin, "light") when it shined." This seems to be the only passage in which the Hebrew word for "light" (אוֹר) is translated "sun" (ἥλιον, LXX.), though of course it often means the light of the sun.

On the other hand, "light" (אוֹר) is used for "lightning" in Job xxxvi. 30, 32, xxxvii. 3, 11, 15; from which passages the description seems to be taken. Compare Job xxxviii. 35: "Canst thou send lightnings that they may go?"

with fear.] The lightning is personified, and described as conscious of God's power and command.

34. *The stars shined in their watches.*] Compare Ecclus. xliii. 10: "At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches."

"A metaphor from soldiers keeping watch: for the stars are the host of heaven" (Cornelius à Lapide). The old commentator in this good note anticipates the poet's thought:

"The sentinel stars set their watch in the sky."

and rejoiced.] Compare Job xxxviii. 7, "The morning stars sang together;" and Ps. cxlviii. 3, "Praise him, all ye stars of light;" and Shakspeare's allusion to the former passage ('Merchant of Venice,' v. 1):

"There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdest,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims."

when he calleth them.] Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.

Here we be.] Compare Job xxxviii. 35: "Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?" Judith ix. 6. "They spake not by word, but by deed" (Cornelius à Lapide).

35. Compare Ps. xlviii. 14, "This God is our God for ever and ever;" and cxiii. 5, "Who is like unto the Lord our God?"

This mighty God, the Maker of the world, to whose power and wisdom all things in heaven and earth bear witness, is in an especial sense our God, whom alone we worship, and who has chosen us to be His peculiar people.

36. The question of *v.* 15 now receives its full answer. God alone has "found out all the way [or rather "**every** way"] of knowledge."

Compare Job xxviii. 23: "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof;" *i.e.* of wisdom.

Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved.

37 [i] Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men. [i] Prov. 8. 31. John 1. 14

and hath given it unto Jacob his servant.] Ps. cxlvii. 19: "He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for his judgments they have not known them." Compare also Isa. xliv. 1, "Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen;" and Deut. iv. 5.

beloved.] See Deut. xxxii. 15, in the LXX. (ἐλάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος).

37. *Afterward did he shew himself upon earth.*] "Afterward **she was seen** upon earth." No subject is expressed in the Greek, but there can be no doubt that the statement refers to "knowledge" (ἐπιστήμη, *v.* 36), not as in A. V. to God. Compare Ecclus. xxiv. 8: "So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment. . . . Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel . . . and so was I established in Sion" (*v.* 10).

and conversed with men.] In Prov. viii. 31 Wisdom speaks thus of herself: "Rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth: and my delights were with the sons of men."

On the supposed reference of this verse to the Messiah, see the Additional Note.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 2, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 18, 23, 32, 37.

2. The Vatican MS. omits the words ὅτι θεὸς ἐλεήμων εἶ· καὶ ἐλέησον, which are found in the Alexandrine and most other MSS. and Versions. They are rejected by some modern commentators, and Kneucker argues that the superfluity of words does not suit the deep emotion of the suppliant; a criticism which is not convincing.

4. The great difficulty of the expression "Hear the prayers of the dead Israelites," the complete removal of the difficulty by the proposed emendation "the **prayer** of the **men of Israel**," and the striking proof which the supposed mistake affords of a Hebrew original,—all make it desirable to examine carefully the way in which the LXX. render the word מֻתֵי, and its construct מְתֵי.

The word first occurs in the phrase מְתֵי מִסְפָּר, "men of number," *i.e.* "few in number" (A.V.), men easily counted (εὐαρίθμητοι τινες). This formula occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 30 (ὀλιγοστὸς ἐν ἀριθμῷ); in Deut. iv. 27 (ὀλίγοι ἀριθμῷ); 1 Chron. xvi. 19 (ὀλιγοστοὺς ἀριθμῷ); Ps. cv. 12 (ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖς ὀλιγοστούς). We see that in the Greek translation no trace appears of the original meaning "men;" and we shall find further reason to doubt whether the translators had any knowledge of this meaning.

In Deut. xxxiii. 6, "Let not his men be few" (literally, "a number"), the LXX. give καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ. In Deut. xxvi. 5 and xxviii. 62 we find another combination, בְּמְתֵי מְעָט; meaning literally "with men of fewness," and rendered in both places by the LXX. ἐν ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖ.

In all these passages the idea of a "small number" is expressed by the words with which מְתֵי is combined, but was apparently attached by the Greek translators to that word itself. Thus in Isa. xli. 14, "Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel," the LXX. have ὀλιγοστὸς Ἰσραήλ, and the margin of the A. V. gives as an alternative "few men of Israel."

The mistaken notion of the LXX. becomes apparent when we turn to passages in which there is no idea of number in the Hebrew. Thus in Job xi. 3, "Should thy lies put men (מְתִים) to silence?" they seem to wander in total darkness, writing εὐλογημένος γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος, and still clinging in the last word to their error. Still more remarkable is their rendering of Ps. xvii. 14: "From men which are thy hand, O Lord, from men of the world." Here מִמְּתִים is first translated ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν, and the second time ἀπ' ὀλίγων (of which ἀπολύων, Cod. Vat., is a manifest corruption).

The same ignorance of the true meaning of the word appears in other passages: Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6; Job xi. 11, xix. 19, xxii. 15, xxiv. 12, xxxi. 31; Ps. xxvi. 4; Isa. iii. 25, v. 13. These are all the passages in which the word occurs, according to Fürst's Concordance; and the only one of them in which the Greek translators may be thought to have known its meaning is Job xxii. 15, where they turn "wicked men" (A. V.) into ἄνδρες δίκαιοι.

In Isa. v. 13 they have confounded מְתֵי, "men," with מֵת, "dead" (νεκρῶν), having turned "men of famine" into "dead through famine."

It is remarkable that the same confusion is seen in the Latin rendering of another passage quoted above—Isa. xli. 14, "ye men of Israel,"—for which we find, *qui mortui estis ex Israel*, which is derived from the Greek version of Aquila (τεθνεώτες) or Theodotion (νεκροί).

With these proofs of the confusion of the two words, it seems impossible to doubt that here also a translator's mistake has given us

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"the dead of Israel" instead of "the men of Israel."

Mr. Cheyne, in a critical note on Isa. iii. 25, observes that מֻתַּי "implies dependence or weakness." Hence he renders it in xli. 14, "ye petty folk of Israel." But in fact the idea of "weakness" seems to be quite excluded by the parallelism of the two clauses in Isa. iii. 25: Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. Compare Job xi. 3. There is no need to assume, as some do, that the Hebrew word itself has come to connote "fewness" from its frequent occurrence in the combination מְתֵי מִסְפָּר, "men of number," *i.e.* "few." See Delitzsch, and Rosenmüller on Isa. xli. 14; and on Baruch iii. 4, Welte, Hitzig, Kneucker, and Reuss.

7. The A.V. ("*called to mind*") represents the reading of Cod. Alex. and other MSS., *ἀπεστρέψαμεν ἐπὶ καρδίαν*, for which Cod. Vat. has *ἀπὸ καρδίας*. The Vulgate gives *convertimur ab iniquitate patrum.*

12, 14. The author uses three synonyms in this section, which may be thus distinguished: "understanding" (*σύνεσις*) is a purely critical faculty; "prudence" or "discretion" (*φρόνησις*) is practical and directive; and these both have as their object things human and temporal; while "wisdom" (*σοφία*) is "the perfect combination of science (*ἐπιστήμη*) and intelligence (*νοῦς*), having for its object the highest natures" (Hampden, 'Fathers of Greek Philosophy,' p. 145). Compare Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' vi. 6: *εἴη ἂν ἡ σοφία νοῦς καὶ ἐπιστήμη, ὥσπερ κεφαλὴν ἔχουσα ἐπιστήμη τῶν τιμιωτάτων.* Schol. *τιμιώταται δὲ αἱ ἀρχαί.*

13. *for ever.*] The Alexandrine and many other MSS. read *τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον*, as in *v.* 32; Isa. xiii. 20, xiv. 20. For such adjectival use of *αἰῶνα*, see Matth., 'Gk. Gr.,' ii. § 429, 4.

18. *For they that wrought in silver.*] Use of *τεκταίνω* (*-ομαι*) in the LXX.:—

Prov. iii. 29.	*μὴ τέκταινε ἐπὶ σὸν φίλον κακά.*
vi. 14.	*τεκταίνεται κακά.*
xii. 20.	*δόλος ἐν καρδίᾳ τεκταινομένου κακά.*
xiv. 22.	*πλανώμενοι τεκταίνουσι κακά· ἔλεον δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειαν τεκταίνουσιν ἀγαθοί.*
Ps. cxxix. 3.	The ploughers ploughed (*ἐτέκταινον οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί*) upon my back.
Ezek. xxi. 36.	*τεκταινόντων διαφθοράν.*
Sirach xi. 32.	*πονηρὰ γὰρ τεκταίνει.*
xxvii. 22.	*τεκταίνει κακά.*

In none of these passages is there any support for the A.V. "wrought in silver."

In classical authors the verb is found only in the Middle Voice, and its meaning ("to build") is expressly distinguished from the notion of *working in metal* by Plato, 'Legg.' viii. 846 E: *μηδεὶς χαλκεύων ἅμα τεκταίνεσθω, μηδ' αὖ τεκταινόμενος χαλκευόντων ἄλλων ἐπιμελείσθω μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης.*

We thus seem to be driven to adopt the metaphorical use of the word, which alone is found in the Septuagint: in this sense it is rendered "devise" in Prov. iii. 29, vi. 14, xiv. 22; and in the last of these passages it is immediately followed by *μεριμνῶντι*, as here by *μεριμνῶντες*. The meaning will then be—"they that did devise *to get* silver, and were so careful;" and this is the meaning generally adopted by modern commentators, as Fritzsche, Reusch, Ewald, and Reuss.

But another question remains concerning the connexion of *vv.* 16, 17 with *vv.* 18, 19. Fritzsche supposes that the answer to the questions in *vv.* 16, 17 is not expressed but understood after *v.* 17: "Where are the mighty and the rich?" "They are gone." And then the proof of this suppressed answer follows in *v.* 18, where we have a very irregular construction, a nominative absolute, followed by an apodosis introduced by a superfluous *καί*: "For they who devised to get silver, and were so careful—their works are nowhere to be found." Then *v.* 19 forms a separate sentence. It is obvious that this entire separation of *v.* 19 makes the construction of *v.* 18 very harsh, and the general connexion is better represented in the A. V.

23. The reading of the chief MSS. (*οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) gives no satisfactory sense. Fritzsche and Reusch omit the *οἱ*, with six or seven cursives: its presence in the older MSS. is probably due to an ancient error of transcription, caused by the previous occurrence of the same word in the earlier part of the verse.

In *ὁδὸν δέ . . .* the omission of *δέ* by the Alexandrine and other MSS. is a manifest attempt to correct a supposed error of construction. But this use of *δέ* in apodosis is not uncommon in good Greek authors, and is here justified by the implied contrast of the sentence: "the searchers after wisdom yet have not learned." See Schäfer, 'Appar. Demosth.,' iii. p. 448; Winer, 'Gramm.,' p. 694. This idiomatic use of *δέ* is not likely to have been introduced into a translation from Hebrew.

32. Kneucker argues that *εἰδώς* is here an error of translation for *ἰδών*, because the latter would have expressed more correctly the meaning of the Hebrew in Job xxviii. 24 ("seeth"): but the argument is not conclusive, since the author may have taken *εἰδώς* from the finite verb (*οἶδεν*), which the LXX. employ in *v.* 23 to translate the Hebrew יֹדֵעַ, which "includes the action of knowing both as commencing, and as completed" (Gesenius).

"The analysis of the Divine wisdom is here pushed to an excess: God *finds* wisdom *by means of* His intelligence: instead of saying

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simply that He alone possesses that which is denied to men." (Reuss.)

37. *Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men.*] This passage, understood of God as its subject, is constantly used by the Greek and Latin Fathers as a distinct prophecy of the Incarnation, and a proof that Christ is God. One example may suffice: "The prophet also, amazed at His great solicitude on behalf of the world, cried out clear and loud in these words, 'Our God was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.'" (Chrysost. 'Ecloga,' Hom. xxxiv.)

Augustine quotes the passage for the same purpose, ascribing it to Jeremiah ('c. Faustum,' xii. cap. 43).

Kneucker adopts this hyper-orthodox interpretation in order to turn it into an argument against the genuineness of the verse, which he regards as a spurious interpolation added by some Christian for a dogmatic purpose.

Against the more natural interpretation of the verse as referring to the abiding and progressive revelation of Divine truth to Israel, Kneucker argues (p. 312): "How could the author describe this as 'Wisdom appearing and walking among men'? If ὤφθη means anything at all, it means a *visible* form (against which even an appeal to *v.* 22 cannot avail), and indeed by virtue of the words 'conversed among men,' *a human form* (Phil. ii. 7), and nothing to the contrary is proved by such passages as Lev. xxvi. 12; 2 Sam. vii. 7."

In answer to this it is enough to say with Bishop Horsley ('Biblical Criticism,' ii. 64) that "Divine knowledge is personified in this discourse;" and "that 'knowledge' is the true subject of the verbs in this 37th verse, appears indisputably from the 1st verse of the following chapter, which explains how Knowledge was seen upon earth by means of her conversation with men under the Jewish Dispensation."

When a personification is employed, the language *must necessarily* be such as would apply to a *visible human* form: and the evidence of this afforded by *v.* 22 (ὤφθη) cannot be set aside by mere assertion, however confident.

It may be well to refer to the views of some of the best Roman Catholic commentators, as represented by Reusch. "Maldonatus, Corn. à Lapide, and Calmet, although they agree with this (the Messianic) interpretation, yet remark that ὤφθη and συνεστράφη *may* also be referred to Wisdom; and according to the context it seems to me quite inadmissible to give them any other reference: the whole preceding section treats of Wisdom; σοφία is equally the general subject of the whole section: it is professedly a discourse concerning Wisdom, for it is of her that the inquiry was made in *v.* 15; God is mentioned only on account of the connexion in which Wisdom stands to Him. Moreover we read immediately in the following verse πάντες οἱ κρατοῦντες αὐτήν, sc. σοφίαν, where again the subject of discourse is Wisdom; and a connexion with what follows can scarcely be established, unless we refer this verse to Wisdom."

While thus rightly defending the true grammatical interpretation, Reusch holds that there is still an implicit reference to the Messiah, in whom "in the fullest sense Wisdom appeared upon earth and walked among men."

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The book of commandments is that wisdom which was commended in the former chapter.*
25 *The Jews are moved to patience, and to hope for the deliverance.*

THIS is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever: all they that keep it *shall come* to life; but such as leave it shall die.

CHAPTER IV.

The new chapter ought to begin with *v.* 5, for it is evident that *vv.* 1–4 are closely connected with the description of "Wisdom" in the preceding chapter, and form the proper conclusion of the argument introduced in iii. 9. For while in iii. 36, 37 the thought has been stated in a general form, that Israel is the nation which God has distinguished by the gift of Wisdom, the practical application of the whole argument lies in the fact that this Divine Wisdom is identified with the Law of Moses, and that Israel can be restored to true happiness and prosperity only by faithful observance of the Law (*vv.* 1–4).

1. *This is the book, &c.*] *This* Wisdom or Knowledge (iii. 36), which God has given to Israel, "is the book of the commandments of God." For the mode of expression compare Ecclus. xxiv. 23, where Wisdom herself speaks: "All these things are the book of the covenant of the most High God, even the law which Moses commanded," &c. The book of the Law is the actual expression of the Wisdom given by God to Israel. This was the foundation of all religion for the Jews, and by none of them was the book of the Law

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2 Turn thee, O Jacob, and take hold of it: walk [1]in the presence of the light thereof, that thou mayest be illuminated.

3 Give not thine honour to another, nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation.

4 O Israel, happy are we: for things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us.

5 Be of good cheer, my people, the memorial of Israel.

6 [a]Ye were sold to the nations, not for [your] destruction: but be-

[a] Isai. 50. 1. & 52. 3.

[1] Gr. *to the shining before the light thereof.*

more highly reverenced or more diligently studied than by the Babylonian Dispersion. "When the Law had fallen into oblivion, it was restored by Ezra of Babylon; when it was a second time forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came and recovered it; and when yet a third time it fell into oblivion, Rabbi Chija came from Babylon and gave it back once more." (*Succoth* 20 *a*, quoted by Dr. Edersheim, 'Jesus the Messiah,' i. 12.)

the law that endureth for ever.] Compare Ecclus. i. 15: "She (Wisdom) hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue with their seed." It is no doubt true, as Fritzsche observes, that the Jewish belief "in the eternal duration of the Law was a result of their Theocratic mode of viewing it:" but this does not affect the truth on which their belief was founded.

Reusch quotes with just approval the distinction drawn by Aquinas, and after him by Cornelius à Lapide, that "the Law is in its moral precepts absolutely eternal, but in its ceremonial ordinances eternal only in so far as they are completed and fulfilled in their Antitype: for in the new Law, that is in the mysteries of Christ and of His Church, the figures which foreshadowed them continue and are fulfilled." Compare Ps. cxix. 44, 52, 89, 96, 144, 152; Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17.

they that keep it.] "they that **keep hold of her:**" Ps. lxxiii. 23, "Thou didst hold me by my right hand" (ἐκράτησας, LXX.).

but such as leave it.] "but **they that forsake her:**" compare iii. 12.

2. *of it.*] "of **her.**"

that thou mayest be illuminated.] This clause is misplaced, and very freely paraphrased. Render the passage thus: "**direct thy way towards her shining,** in the presence of **her light.**" The two clauses are parallel, as in Isa. lx. 3: "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." The figure of walking by the light of a torch or lamp is applied in a similar way in Job xxix. 3: "When his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness."

3. *thine honour.*] "thy **glory;**" *i.e.* the special privilege of Israel in being the sole possessor of God's law (iii. 36): compare Deut. iv. 6, "This is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations;" Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20; Ecclus. i. 19.

4. Compare Deut. xxxiii. 29: "Happy art thou, O Israel."

for things.] "for **the** things," &c. Compare for the thought Ps. cxix. 1, 2; Ex. xv. 26; Wisdom ix. 18, "Men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom."

iv. 5—v. 9. Consolation and Encouragement for Israel.

5-8. Let the people be of good courage, for their captivity is not meant for their destruction, but for chastisement.

5. *Be of good cheer.*] The Greek word (θαρσεῖτε) is the same which is thus translated in the New Testament: it is used sometimes by the LXX. to represent the Hebrew which is more exactly rendered in the A. V. "Fear not."

my people.] God is here the speaker.

the memorial of Israel.] The remnant which keeps alive the remembrance of the nation is here called its "memorial." This meaning of the word (μνημόσυνον) follows very naturally from its use in such passages as Ps. ix. 6, xxxiv. 16, cix. 15, in which the utter destruction of a people is described as cutting off their "memorial." In this latter way the word is used very often in Ecclesiasticus. The sacrificial sense of "memorial" (Lev. ii. 2, &c.) is less appropriate here, though adopted by Ewald, whose explanation is rather fanciful: "*Thou incense-offering Israel:* thus a poet or bold speaker might denominate that nation whose whole life (and therefore itself in a certain sense) ought to be continually a sweet odour for the true God."

6. *Ye were sold to the nations.*] "Ye were sold to the **heathen,**"—*i.e.* given over into bondage or captivity, as in Lev. xxv. 39; Deut. xxviii. 68; and metaphorically in Rom. vii. 14, "sold under sin."

not for [your] destruction.] Omit "your." This additional thought clearly shews that the author has borrowed his language from Esther vii. 4, "we are sold to be destroyed,"—literally, "**for destruction,**" the Greek words being the same as here (ἐπράθημεν . . . εἰς ἀπώλειαν).

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cause ye moved God to wrath, ye were delivered unto the enemies.

7 For ye provoked him that made you by [b] sacrificing unto devils, and not to God.

8 Ye have forgotten the everlasting God, that brought you up; and ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.

9 For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said, Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion: God hath brought upon me great mourning;

10 For I saw the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting brought upon them.

11 With joy did I nourish them; but sent them away with weeping and mourning.

[b] Deut. 32. 17. 1 Cor. 10. 20.

but.] The conjunction (δέ), though omitted in the Textus Receptus (Tischendorf), is undoubtedly genuine, and strengthens the antithesis to the negative clause, "not for destruction." It is thus clearly implied that the Captivity is meant to be only a temporary chastisement.

delivered unto the enemies.] "delivered **over to your adversaries**" (ὑπεναντίοις, as in Josh. v. 13; Isa. i. 24).

7, 8. Proof of the charge that Israel had "moved God to wrath." The description of God as "him that made you," and in *v.* 8 as him "that brought you up," or nurtured you (τὸν τροφεύσαντα), serves to aggravate the ingratitude of His people. The language of the two verses is chiefly taken from Deut. xxxii. 15–18: "He forsook God which made him . . . they provoked him to jealousy . . . they sacrificed unto devils, not to God . . . thou hast forgotten God that formed thee."

7. *unto devils, and not to God.*] Besides Deut. xxxii. 17, compare Ps. xcvi. 5, "For all the gods of the nations are idols" (δαιμόνια, LXX.); cvi. 37, "Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils;" 1 Cor. x. 20, on which passage see the note in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' The true meaning of the original passage of Deuteronomy is given in the margin of the A. V., "devils which were not God," and placed beyond doubt by *v.* 21, "that which is not God" (בְּלֹא־אֵל, ἐπ' οὐ θεῷ). Render therefore here—"unto **daemons and no God**." The substitution of "**daemons**" for "devils" is required by the fact that "devil" (ὁ διάβολος) is a name appropriated to "the Prince of the **daemons**," and the Greek word is never used as a substantive in the plural. Compare Archbp. Whately, 'Good and Evil Angels,' p. 88. See the Additional Note.

8. *the everlasting God.*] Isa. xl. 28; Sus. *v.* 42.

that brought you up.] Literally, "nursed you:" the LXX. use the Greek word (τροφεύω) only in Ex. ii. 7, of Moses' nurse.

ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.] Jerusalem is personified as the mother and nurse of her people: compare Isa. liv. 1–6, 13; Lam. i. 5, 16; Tobit xiii. 9. She mourns over the sins which have driven her children into captivity, and made her desolate.

9–16. Jerusalem appeals to her neighbours for pity.

9. *For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said.*] "**For she saw** the wrath of God **which had come** upon you, **and** said." The cause of the grief of Jerusalem is stated in the principal sentence "**for she saw** the wrath of God:" this therefore must not be reduced to a subordinate clause, as in the A. V.

Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion.] Compare *v.* 14, and *v.* 24 where the same words (αἱ πάροικοι) are translated "the neighbours of Sion." In this its original and simple meaning the word is used by classical writers, and by Aeschylus ('Persae,' 869) is applied, exactly as it is here, to neighbouring cities or states: compare Jer. xlix. 18; l. 40, "Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbour cities thereof." The more common meaning of the word (πάροικος) in the LXX. is "stranger" or "sojourner."

God hath brought upon me great mourning.] Most of the MSS. and versions insert "for" (γάρ) to mark more expressly the *cause* of the appeal, which Jerusalem makes to her neighbours for sympathy. But the conjunction is not necessary, and is very frequently omitted after "Hearken" or "Hear." Compare 1 Chron. xxviii. 2;—2 Chron. xiii. 4, 5; xv. 2; xviii. 18;—Isa. xxviii. 22; xxxii. 9, 10; xxxix. 5;—Jer. vi. 19;—Amos iii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1; vii. 16, &c.

10. *For I saw, &c.*] "For I **have seen** the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the **Eternal hath brought** upon them." Here, as in the last clause of *v.* 9, the aorists referring to events supposed to be recent are better rendered by the perfect.

The Alexandrian Codex and the Vulgate insert "my people" (τοῦ λαοῦ) before "my sons and daughters,"—a needless gloss.

11. *With joy.*] "**For** with joy."

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12 Let no man rejoice over me, a widow, and forsaken of many, who for the sins of my children am left desolate; because they departed from the law of God.

13 They knew not his statutes, nor walked in the ways of his commandments, nor trod in the paths ‖ of discipline in his righteousness.

14 Let them that dwell about Sion come, and remember ye the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting hath brought upon them.

15 For [c] he hath brought a nation upon them from far, a shameless nation, and of a strange language, who neither reverenced old man, nor pitied child.

16 These have carried away the dear beloved children of the widow, and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.

‖ Or, *of his discipline in righteousness.*

[c] Deut. 28. 49, 50.

sent them away.] *I.e.* into captivity: compare *v.* 23.

12. *rejoice over me.*] *I.e.* exult in my misfortunes, as in *v.* 31; Mic. vii. 8; Obad. *v.* 12.

a widow.] The Greek word (χηρά) sometimes has, both in classical and biblical usage, a general meaning, "desolate" or "bereft." It is thus applied to Jerusalem in Isa. xlix. 21: "I have lost my children, and am desolate" (χηρά); compare *vv.* 16 and 19, Lam. i. 1, and the opening lines of Heber's 'Palestine:'

"Reft of thy sons, amid thy foes forlorn,
Mourn, widow'd Queen; forgotten Zion, mourn."

It is not necessary therefore to press the meaning "forsaken of God."

who . . . am left desolate.] "For the sins of my children am I left desolate." The proper connexion of this with the following clause preserves the parallel arrangement of the original.

departed.] "**turned aside:**" Job xxxi. 7; Ps. cxix. 51, "declined." The clause is taken word for word from Job xxxiv. 27, where A. V. has "turned back."

13. *knew not.*] "**considered** not" (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν); *i.e.* did not give heed to understand and observe them. This clause, like the last, is taken word for word from Job xxxiv. 27, except that there the LXX. have ἐπέγνωσαν, "would not consider," A.V. Here the reading of Cod. A (ἐφύλαξαν, "kept") is a gloss.

his commandments.] "**the** commandments **of God,**" according to the better reading.

trod in the paths.] Omit "in."

of discipline in his righteousness.] The words may be connected in two ways: "of his discipline in righteousness" (Gaab), or "of discipline, in his righteousness." The former might be justified by Ecclus. l. 27, "The instruction (παιδείας) of understanding and knowledge," but it is simpler to connect "in his righteousness" with the verb "trod."

discipline.] The Greek word (παιδεία), like the Hebrew (מוּסָר) to which it answers, is applied to the "correction" of children by their parents (Prov. xxii. 15; xxiii. 13) and of men by God (Jer. ii. 30); but also has the meaning "instruction" (Prov. i. 2, 7, and very frequently).

Thus "the paths of discipline" are the paths in which God's instruction and correction should teach men to walk.

14. A renewed appeal to the neighbouring cities, beginning in the 3rd person, passes by a lively and not unusual transition to the 2nd person. The remainder of the verse is repeated from *v.* 10.

15. Taken from Deut. xxviii. 49: "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far."

a shameless nation.] This answers to "a nation of fierce countenance," in Deut. xxviii. 50, which is literally "a nation strong of face," and is rendered by the LXX. ἀναιδὲς προσώπῳ, "shameless of face." Compare Dan. viii. 23.

of a strange language.] The LXX. use the same word (ἀλλόγλωσσον) in Ezek. iii. 6: it is rather a paraphrase than a literal rendering of the Hebrew in Deut. xxviii. 49, "whose tongue thou shalt not understand" (A. V.).

who neither reverenced.] "**For** they neither reverenced." With "**for,**" the reading of the Vatican MS., this sentence gives the reason for the description "a shameless nation." In Deut. xxviii. 50 it is—"which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:" but according to the LXX. "nor pity the young."

16. *These have carried away.*] "**And they** have carried away,"—a continuation of the statement, "he hath brought a nation upon them from far" (*v.* 15).

the dear beloved children.] "the beloved **sons:**" the mention of daughters separately shews that "**sons**" are here meant.

and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.] "and **robbed the lone woman of her** daughters." Codex A reads μονογενῆ,

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17 But what can I help you?

18 For he that brought these plagues upon you will deliver you from the hands of your enemies.

19 Go your way, O my children, go your way: for I am left desolate.

20 I have put off the clothing of peace, and put upon me the sackcloth of my prayer: I will cry unto the Everlasting [d] in my days.

21 Be of good cheer, O my children, cry unto the Lord, and he shall deliver you from the power and hand of the enemies.

22 For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you; and joy is come unto me from the Holy One, because of the mercy which shall soon come unto you from the Everlasting our Saviour.

23 For I sent you out with mourning and weeping: but God will give you to me again with joy and gladness for ever.

24 Like as now the neighbours of Sion have seen your captivity: so shall they see shortly your salvation from our God, which shall come upon you with great glory, and brightness of the Everlasting.

25 My children, suffer patiently the wrath that is come upon you from God: for thine enemy hath persecuted thee; but shortly thou shalt see his destruction, and shalt tread upon his neck.

‖ Or, *prosperity.*

‖ Or, *in the time of mine affliction.*

d Ps. 116. 2. & 137. 7.

which word is used by the LXX. in the sense of "desolate" in Ps. xxv. 16.

17–29. After appealing to the neighbouring cities, Jerusalem now speaks to her children, as they are being led away into captivity.

17. *But what can I help you?*] "But **I—in what am I able to** help you?" There is strong emphasis on the pronoun, the meaning being made clear by the next verse: "It is not I, but God that must help you."

18. *hands.*] "**hand,**" in the sense of "power," the common Hebrew idiom. See the Introd., § vi. p. 250.

20. *the clothing of peace.*] "the **robe** of peace;" *i.e.* the beautiful garment worn in times of prosperity. The word (στολή) is generally used by the LXX. for a priestly, royal, or festal robe: compare Luke xv. 22, xx. 46; John xix. 2, 5; Rev. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14.

the sackcloth of my prayer.] "the sackcloth of my **supplication,**" *i.e.* the sackcloth which I wear as a suppliant in my distress. But in Ps. xxii. 24 the LXX. use δέησις for "affliction;" and a comparison of v. 1 makes it probable that we should adopt the same meaning here,—"the sackcloth of my **affliction.**" Compare Esther (Apocr.) xiv. 2.

I will cry unto the Everlasting in my days.] "I will cry unto the **Eternal all the days of my life.**" Compare Ps. cxvi. 2, "I will call upon him as long as I live," where the margin gives "in my days," and the Greek is the same as here, and in Isa. xxxix. 8.

21. *unto the Lord.*] "unto **God.**"

22. *For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you.*] "For **I hope in the Eternal for your salvation.**" See the Additional Note. By "**salvation**" is here meant a happy return from exile (see *vv.* 24, 29, 37), with all the blessings which Prophecy connected with it.

the Holy One.] This, as a title of God, is repeated in *v.* 37 and v. 5: compare Hab. iii. 3; Isa. xl. 25, &c.

shall soon come.] Compare *vv.* 24, 25, and see Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

the Everlasting our Saviour.] "the **Eternal your** Saviour;" see Appendix at the end of the Introduction, p. 253. The words are partly taken from Ps. xxiv. 5, which may be rendered, according to the LXX., "He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour." Ps. cvi. 21: "forgat God their Saviour." The phrase "God of (our) salvation" in the A.V. of the Psalms is in the LXX. "God our Saviour." Compare Isa. xliii. 3, &c.

24. *Like as now.*] "**For** like as now." By "the neighbours of Sion" are meant the neighbouring cities, as in *v.* 9.

By "brightness" is meant the moral splendour of God's attributes, which will be displayed in the deliverance and restoration of His people.

25. *suffer patiently.*] The verb is properly intransitive, "be long-suffering," and seems to be nowhere else followed by an accusative.

for thine enemy hath persecuted thee.] Omit "for," which is not found in the Vatican MS. "The shorter and more abrupt reading is better suited to the impassioned tone of the context." (Fritzsche.)

tread upon his neck.] "tread upon **their necks.**" Taken from the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxiii. 29. The frequent interchanges of the singular and plural are

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‖ Or, *My darlings.*

26 ‖My delicate ones have gone rough ways, and were taken away as a flock caught of the enemies.

27 Be of good comfort, O my children, and cry unto God: for ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you.

28 For as it was your mind to go astray from God: so, being returned, seek him ten times more.

29 For he that hath brought these plagues upon you shall bring you everlasting joy again with your salvation.

30 Take a good heart, O Jerusalem: for he that gave thee that name will comfort thee.

31 Miserable are they that afflicted thee, and rejoiced at thy fall.

32 Miserable are the cities which thy children served: miserable is she that received thy sons.

33 For as she rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall: so shall she be grieved for her own desolation.

34 For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude, and

characteristic of the speaker's emotion. For examples in the N. T., see Winer, § lxiii.

26. *My delicate ones.*] Mic. i. 16; Deut. xxviii. 56; Isa. xlvii. 1, 8. "He calls them delicate who lived in ease and plenty, as having no experience of hardships." (Theodoret.)

and were taken away.] "**they** were taken away."

a flock caught of the enemies.] "**a flock ravaged by** enemies."

27. Repeated from *v.* 21.

that brought.] "that **bringeth**," Cod. Vat.

28. *so, being returned, seek him ten times more.*] "**so tenfold more return and** seek him."

29. *everlasting joy again with your salvation.*] Omit "again," to which there is nothing answering in the Greek. "Your salvation"—*i.e.* your restoration from exile—shall be accompanied with the enduring joy "which goes hand in hand with righteousness and the fear of God: see *v.* 36; v. 1–4." (Fritzsche.) See above on *v.* 22.

iv. 30—v. 9. Jerusalem now ceases to address her children, and herself receives comfort from the prophet.

30. *he that gave thee that name will comfort thee.*] The etymology of the name Jerusalem is much disputed: according to Gesenius and Fürst it means "Foundation of peace." Here the allusion is to the latter part of the name, "peace." It is, however, doubtful whether there is any allusion to the name "Jerusalem" at all. The A. V. needs correction, thus: "he that **called thee by** name."

Many names are suggested: "the holy city" (Isa. xlviii. 2; lii. 1); "the city of God" (Pss. xlvi. 4; xlviii. 1, 8; lxxxvii. 3): "the city of the Lord" (Isa. lx. 14); "the city of righteousness" (Isa. i. 26); "the throne of the Lord" (Jer. iii. 17). Other commentators refer to such passages as ii. 15; Jer. xxv. 29, "the city which is called by my name;" and Isa. lxii. 2, "Thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name," and *v.* 4, "Thou shalt be called Hephzibah."

It is not necessary to the argument to determine what particular name, if any, is intended: "The fact that God has '**called thee by name**' is itself a pledge that He will comfort thee."

31. *Miserable.*] The word (δειλαιοι) expresses contempt as much as pity: it is the opposite to μακάριοι, *v.* 4.

32. *which thy children served.*] "**to** which thy children **became bondsmen**."

she that received thy sons.] The verb (δέχομαι) seems hardly appropriate to receiving captives, yet Babylon is evidently meant here; and though the preceding descriptions are more vague, they also point to Babylon, as is clear from comparing *v.* 31 with *v.* 33. The cities mentioned in *v.* 32 are the cities of Babylonia among which the Jewish exiles were distributed.

33. Kneucker (who in this follows Schürer and Volkmar) finds in these verses allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans A.D. 70, and to the great triumph of Titus. But see Introduction, § vi. p. 250.

rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall.] In the Greek the words of the latter clause (εὐφράνθη, πτῶμα) are stronger than those of the former (ἐχάρη, πτῶσις). The case is exactly the reverse in our A.V., which borrows the strong word "ruin" from the Latin. A more correct rendering would be: "**was glad at thy falling, and rejoiced over thy ruin.**"

34. According to the frequent custom of the prophets, God is introduced for a moment as speaking in the first person.

For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude.] "**And** I will take away

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her pride shall be turned into mourning.

35 For fire shall come upon her from the Everlasting, long to endure; and she shall be inhabited of devils for a great time.

ch. 5. 5. 36 [e]O Jerusalem, look about thee toward the east, and behold the joy that cometh unto thee from God.

37 Lo, thy sons come, whom thou sentest away, they come gathered together from the east to the west by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the glory of God.

from her the rejoicing," &c. The latter words may describe either the rejoicing of the city over her great population (genitive of the object, πολυοχλίας) or the joy of the great multitude itself. This latter is the usual construction of ἀγαλλίαμα in the LXX. See Ps. xlviii. 2, cxix. 111; and, for the thought, Isa. xxiv. 8–12.

35. Here the prophet speaks again. There is an allusion to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, to which the destruction of Babylon is compared also by Isaiah, xiii. 19.

long to endure.] Literally, "for long days," *i.e.* "**for many days.**"

devils.] "**daemons:**" see on *v.* 7, and compare Isa. xiii. 21: "Owls (σειρῆνες) shall dwell there, and satyrs (δαιμόνια) shall dance there;" namely, in Babylon.

for a great time.] See note on Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch vi.), *v.* 3. "The expression shews that he did not predict that she should be always utterly uninhabited, but for a long time: and she is inhabited now by a few Jews." (Theodoret.)

36, 37. Prophecy of the return of the captives from Babylon. The author in the assumed person of Baruch, professing to predict the return from captivity, *sets himself in the very time of that return*,—a proof that such was the well-known style of the real prophets, and therefore a refutation of the main objection which modern critics have urged against Isaiah's authorship of the latter portion of the book which bears his name. See Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

36. *the joy that cometh unto thee from God.*] That is the joy foretold in *v.* 22.

37. *from the east to the west.*] *I.e.* from all quarters. The phrase is repeated below v. 5. Compare Isa. xliii. 5; Zech. viii. 7. "When the exiles in Babylon had returned, those also came back who had fled at the time of the war, and occupied the western and southern regions; and this is why he made mention of those who came from the west." (Theodoret.)

rejoicing in the glory of God.] "Because it is not in their own power that they have got the better of their enemies, but God, who gave them up, restored their liberty." (Theodoret.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO VERSES 7, 8, AND 22.

7, 8. Kneucker regards the whole passage from "him that made you" (*v.* 7) to "forgotten" in *v.* 8 as an interpolation on the following grounds, which appear to be quite erroneous:

(1) In Deut. xxxii. 18, "God that formed thee," the participle stands in apposition to a preceding subject; and the omission of the subject by our author is not in accordance with Hebrew usage. But a similar use of the Hebrew participle, not in apposition to a preceding subject, is often found, as, for instance, in Job xxxi. 15, xl. 19; Isa. xvii. 7, xii. 11.

(2) "Forgotten" is very weak after "provoked," to which the only proper parallel is "ye have grieved." But "forgotten" is taken exactly from the original passage, Deut. xxxii. 18.

7. *devils.*] Fritzsche and Reuss find here in the word δαιμονίοις an imaginary proof that the author held the later Alexandrine doctrine concerning devils. "According to the prophets, the false gods are purely imaginary beings, but they were regarded later as evil spirits who had induced men to worship them" (Reuss).

The supposed proof is at once confuted by the fact that the LXX. use δαιμονίοις in Deut. xxxii. 17, from which our author is evidently borrowing his language. The acceptance of a word already employed in the Septuagint version is no proof that the writer holds the Alexandrine doctrine.

22. The peculiar construction—ἐπὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ ἤλπισα τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν—is explained by Fritzsche as being made up of the two usual constructions ἐλπίζειν τι and ἐλπίζειν ἐπί τινι. But Reusch and Kneucker regard it as a close imitation of a Hebrew construction such as is found in Ps. xxxvii. 5, "Commit thy way unto the Lord," and Prov. xvi. 3, "Commit thy works unto the Lord," in both which passages the Hebrew verb means literally "roll," *i.e.* "devolve."

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CHAPTER V.

1 *Jerusalem is moved to rejoice,* 5 *and to behold their return out of captivity with glory.*

PUT off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness of the glory that cometh from God for ever.

2 Cast about thee a double garment of the righteousness which cometh from God; and set a diadem on thine head of the glory of the Everlasting.

3 For God will shew thy brightness unto every country under heaven.

4 For thy name shall be called of God for ever The peace of righteousness, and The glory of God's worship.

5 Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand

CHAPTER V.

A Promise of lasting Happiness and Blessing to Jerusalem.

1. *the comeliness of the glory.*] The same Greek words (εὐπρέπεια δόξης) are used by the LXX. in Jer. xxiii. 9, but are there an evident mistranslation. The metaphor here is the same as in iv. 20 (where see note), and is frequent in Isaiah, *e.g.* lii. 1, "put on thy beautiful garments" (τὴν δόξαν σου); lxi. 3, "the garment of praise" (δόξης); lxi. 10, "the garment of salvation." Compare Psalm of Solomon xi. 8, "Put on, O Jerusalem, thy garments of glory, make ready thy robe of holiness."

2. *a double garment.*] "the double garment" (διπλοΐδα); *i.e.* a large mantle or cloak. When Samuel appears to the witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 14), "he is covered with a mantle." In Ps. cix. 29 it is said concerning the wicked, "Let them cover themselves with their own confusion as with a mantle;" and in Job xxix. 14, "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me," the LXX. render the last clause "like a mantle" (ἴσα διπλοΐδι).

Fritzsche remarks: "It is to be observed that here 'righteousness,' *i.e.* right conduct in all respects, is in the most general sense traced back to God as its source from whence it proceeds: . . . and from *v.* 4 it is quite clear that 'righteousness' as a virtue is intended."

This sense of the word (δικαιοσύνη) is acknowledged by all in *v.* 4, but here the meaning appears to be the same as in *v.* 9, —namely, "goodness," "kindness," "mercy." The word often has this meaning in the Septuagint, as will be seen by comparing the following passages in which it is employed in the Greek with the A. V., which renders the Hebrew word (חֶסֶד) by "mercy" or "kindness:" Gen. xix. 19, xx. 13, xxi. 23, xxiv. 27, xxxii. 10; Ex. xv. 13, xxxiv. 7; Prov. xx. 28; Isa. lxiii. 7.

a diadem.] "the diadem" (τὴν μίτραν), the same word which the LXX. use in Isa. lxi. 10: compare Judith x. 3, xvi. 8, "a tire." In these passages it means the turban or tiara worn by women, but it is also frequently used of the High Priest's "mitre," as in Ex. xxviii. 37. Jerusalem, decked once more as a bride, is to be crowned with "the glory of the **Eternal.**"

3. *unto every country under heaven.*] For the Greek phrase, which means literally "the whole region under heaven," compare Ex. xvii. 14, Deut. xxv. 19, and especially Luke xvii. 24.

4. *called of God.*] See note on iv. 30.

The peace of righteousness.] *I.e.* the peace which is the fruit of righteousness: compare Isa. xxxii. 17; James iii. 18.

The glory of God's worship.] The Greek word (θεοσέβεια) means in the Septuagint "the fear of God" (Gen. xx. 11; Job xxviii. 28), or "godliness" (Ecclus. i. 25); and thus in 1 Tim. ii. 10 differs from εὐσέβεια in the same chapter, *v.* 2, only in being expressly limited to the reverence and piety which are shewn towards God. (See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' i. 202.)

The meaning, therefore, of the second name here promised to Jerusalem is, "*The glory* which is the fruit *of* **godliness.**" The A.V. seems to fix the thought chiefly upon the glory of outward worship, as (many suppose) in Ps. xxix. 2.

Reusch, who regards the book as a genuine prophecy of Baruch, argues that the promises of this verse extend to a moral renewal and perfecting of Israel; and that this having been only partially and imperfectly realized by the Jews after their return from captivity, the complete fulfilment is only seen "in the Jerusalem to which the Jerusalem of the Old Testament is transfigured by the Messiah in the Church." But the Messianic tone is sufficiently accounted for by the author's intimate knowledge and free use of the prophetic books, without our assuming that the writer was Baruch, and Baruch a prophet.

5. *Arise, O Jerusalem.*] Isa. li. 17, "Stand up, O Jerusalem."

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ch. 4. 36. on high, and [a]look about toward the east, and behold thy children gathered from the west unto the east by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of God.

6 For they departed from thee on foot, and were led away of their enemies: but God bringeth them unto thee exalted with glory, as children of the kingdom.

7 For God hath appointed that [b] Isai. 40. 4. [b]every high hill, and banks of long continuance, should be cast down, and vallies filled up, to make even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the glory of God.

8 Moreover even the woods and every sweetsmelling tree shall overshadow Israel by the commandment of God.

9 For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him.

and stand on high.] "and stand **upon the height:**" compare Isa. xl. 9.

look about, &c.] Isa. lx. 4: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far," &c. See on iv. 37, and compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 3, "Stand upon high, O Jerusalem, and see thy children gathered from the east and from the west."

in the remembrance of God.] "in **God's** remembrance:" the obvious reference to iv. 27, "Ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you," leaves no room for the ambiguity contained in the A.V.

6. *For they departed, &c.*] "For they **went out** from thee on foot **led away by enemies,** but God bringeth them **in** unto thee **lifted up** with glory as **a royal throne.**" Compare Isa. xlix. 22, "They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders;" lxvi. 20, "And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem."

The comparison to "**a royal throne,**" literally "throne of the kingdom" (1 Kings i. 46; 2 Chron. vii. 18), has been regarded by most interpreters as unusual, and by some as inadmissible. The origin of the various reading "as sons of a kingdom" (Cod. A, &c.) is probably to be traced to this supposed difficulty. But the use of a "moving throne" among the Persians, and of litters or palanquins by the Egyptians, makes it probable that what is here meant is such a seat or throne either carried on men's shoulders or as a horse-litter. The figure is then most appropriate to the triumphant return of the captives in regal state. See Delitzsch on 'The Song of Solomon,' iii. 7–9; and Kitto, 'Biblical Cyclopædia,' LITTER.

7. *God hath appointed.*] An evident reference to Isa. xl. 4, the language of which passage is closely followed here.

every high hill and banks of long continuance.] "every high **mountain** and **lasting hills:**" Deut. xxxiii. 15, and xii. 2 (*θινῶν*).

cast down.] "**made low.**"

to make even.] Mic. vii. 12 (*εἰς ὁμαλισμόν*). Compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 5, "The high mountains hath he brought down to make even ground (*εἰς ὁμαλισμόν*) for them." The LXX. use the word only in Mic. vii. 12, and there it is a mistranslation.

go safely in the glory of God.] The allusion here, as in *v.* 9, "in the light of his glory," is to the light that guided Israel in the wilderness. See Ps. of Solom. xi. 7, quoted below on *v.* 8. For the construction compare Job xxix. 3 (*ὅτε τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορευόμην*), "when by his light I walked."

8. *and every sweetsmelling tree.*] The Greek words (*πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας*) are not found in the Septuagint, but only in Ps. of Solomon xi. 7, "Every sweetsmelling tree did God cause to spring up for them, that Israel might pass on in charge of the glory of their God."

shall overshadow Israel.] "**made a shade for** Israel" (Ewald): compare Jonah iv. 6. In the liveliness of his description the author writes as if the return were already past. Compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 6, "The forests made a shade for them."

9. *God shall lead Israel.*] Ex. xiii. 21 (*ἡγεῖτο*).

in the light.] "**by** the light:" see on *v.* 7.

the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him.] The goodness of God towards His people is called "mercy," as being unmerited, and "righteousness," as being a faithful adherence to His promises. See note on *v.* 2.

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THE

EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. CONTENTS.

VERSES 1–7: PREFATORY STATEMENT.—The "Epistle of Jeremy" professes to be a copy of a letter sent by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews who were about to be carried away captives to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He tells them, by God's command, that their captivity is the punishment of their sins, and that it will be long before they shall be brought back in peace (*vv.* 1–3).

Meanwhile they must keep themselves free from the idolatry which they will see in Babylon, and remain true to the Lord, whose angel will protect them (*vv.* 4–7).

VERSES 8–72: THE VANITY OF IDOLS. — From this point onward the whole Epistle is occupied in setting forth at large the vanity of idols and the folly of idol-worship.

There is no clear logical arrangement of the thoughts, but the divisions are marked by the recurrence of a *refrain*, which is apparently intended to give a sort of rhythmical air to the whole composition.

This refrain occurs first at *v.* 16, "they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not:" it is repeated with slight variations at *vv.* 23, 29, 65, and 69; which verses may therefore be taken as marking the divisions of the Epistle. The question, "How can they be called gods?" also recurs in slightly varied forms at *vv.* 30, 40, 44, 46, 49, 52, 56.

Most of the thoughts are found in Ps. cxv. 4–8 (cxxxv. 15–18); Isa. xliv. 9–19; Jer. x. 3–9; Wisdom xiii. 10–19, xv. 13–17.

§ II. THE SUPPOSED AUTHOR.

The occasion described in *vv.* 1, 2 seems to be that on which Nebuchadnezzar, "in the eighth year of his reign" (2 Kings xxiv. 12), carried away Jechoniah and all the chief men of Judah, with great treasures, to Babylon.

At that time (B.C. 597) Jeremiah sent a letter "from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders which were carried away captives . . . from Jerusalem to Babylon, after that Jeconiah the king and the queen . . . were departed from Jerusalem" (Jer. xxix. 2).

The fact that Jeremiah had written one such letter to the captives seems to have suggested the idea of dignifying by his name another letter not written in reality till many ages after his death.

The purport also of this second letter, as an argument against the folly of idolatry, was appropriate to the character and position of Jeremiah, and to the spirit of his genuine writings. It is in fact little more than an enlargement of the prophet's warning against idolatry in

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chap. x. 1–16, from which passage, and from Ps. cxv. 4–8 and Isa. xliv. 9–19, much of the argument, and even of the language, is freely borrowed.

The assumption of the name of Jeremiah does not necessarily imply an intention to deceive: it was in accordance with the literary usage of the later centuries B.C., and was probably understood to mean nothing more than that the author had endeavoured to imitate the manner and spirit of the elder prophet, and to write for his own generation as he supposed Jeremiah might have written under the same circumstances.

That the imitation is not very successful, may be judged from the admissions even of those who try to maintain the actual authorship of Jeremiah: thus Reusch (p. 78), in describing the composition, says: "There is a long series of facts brought forward, from which it may be clearly seen that the gods have no power nor life. There is no strict logical arrangement prevailing in the development of the subject, but the facts are simply placed one after another, some of them repeated several times in a slightly modified form, and sometimes also facts wholly different in character are set side by side. The enumeration of them is only interrupted by the statement—ten times repeated as a sort of refrain at varying intervals and in varied form—'whence it is seen, that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.'"

It is strange that a scholar who sees so clearly and describes so fairly the character of the writing can yet believe that Jeremiah was its author. It has none of the grace or power of Hebrew poetry, nor even its outward form,—nothing but a monotonous repetition of one prosaic sentence as a sort of refrain. From first to last we feel not a breath of the genuine spirit of prophecy; no spark of the fire which burned so fiercely in the words of Jeremiah, and made him so terrible to the sinners of his day; not one sound of the sorrowful sighing of his soul over the sins and calamities of his country.

The inferiority of style is admitted: how is it to be explained? When Ewald says that the author writes like an orator who proves and exhausts his subject from every point of view, and shews not the remotest movement towards prophetic flight ('History of Israel,' v. 479, E. Tr.), Reusch can only reply that "the Jews who were carried into captivity with Zedekiah belonged for the most part to the lower classes; and the fact that the letter was intended chiefly for the great mass of the people, explains its popular form and the mode of representation which is characterised by Ewald quite correctly. For such readers it was very proper to draw attention to the multitude of tangible facts which shew the nothingness of the false gods. This also explains why the letter agrees in the thoughts with other passages in which Jeremiah speaks of idolatry, especially with chap. x., but differs in its mode of expression from his prophecies. Its particular and temporary aim also helps to explain why it was not adopted into the collection of the prophet's predictions."

Unhappily for this argument, the author professes to write to the Jews who were carried into captivity, not with Zedekiah, but previously with Jechoniah; and these belonged for the most part not to the lower, but to the higher classes (2 Kings xxiv. 14–16).

When an able and zealous advocate of the genuineness of the Epistle is reduced to so feeble a defence, based upon a palpable error, it is needless to discuss the question of Jeremiah's authorship any further.

§ III. The original Language.

An advocate of the genuineness of the Epistle must of necessity maintain that it was written at first in Hebrew. This opinion, though still defended by some Roman Catholic commentators, as Welte and Reusch, is rejected without hesitation by the great majority of competent and impartial critics. The general judgment is thus expressed by Fritzsche (p. 206): "If any one of the Apocryphal books was composed in Greek, this certainly was. The style, it is true, bears traces of the Hellenistic dialect, but, for Hellenistic Greek, it is very pure, and contains many rare forms and combinations. Of Hebraism there are but rare and slight reminiscences."

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The facts upon which this judgment is based cannot be denied: and Reusch, in reply to it, can only plead that "This character of the writing is far from proving that the letter *could not possibly be* a translation from the Hebrew. The translator, who perhaps is not the same as the translator of the book Baruch, might possibly translate freely and in seemingly good Greek style; and in the explanation of the Epistle occasion will often be presented for pointing to passages which a Greek author would certainly have expressed otherwise, and which betray a translator who in some particulars did not perfectly understand the original, or know how to render it, and did not confine himself so closely to the letter of the original as we could have wished."

The instances quoted by Reusch from Welte in support of this answer are the following:—

(*a.*) *Inconsistencies of Greek construction.* —Verse 6: προσκυνεῖν with the accusative, and with the dative in the very next verse.

The worthlessness of this objection is apparent from Reusch's own note on *v.* 6: "Προσκυνεῖν is construed sometimes with the dative, sometimes with the accusative: the latter is more in accordance with the Greek usage, the former with the Hebrew."

In John iv. 23 we find the same variation in a single verse: it is therefore no evidence of a Hebrew original.

Verses 8, 68: "The neuter plural with its verb in the singular, and in the plural in the same verse."

Again we refer to Reusch himself on *v.* 8 for an answer: "Ἐστί and δύνανται; after the subject in the neuter plural the singular is admissible, and the plural."

The transition in the same verse from singular to plural, both referring to the same subject, is found also in John x. 4.

Verse 38: "εὖ ποιεῖν with the accusative, and in *v.* 64 with the dative."

Reusch's note on *v.* 38 is: "εὖ ποιεῖν here, as is usual, with the accusative; in *v.* 64, Hebraistically with the dative." The classical usage with the accusative is most common in the LXX. But the dative occurs in Ex. i. 20, Josh. xxiv. 20, and five times in Ecclesiasticus: it also occurs in Mark xiv. 7 with εὖ ποιεῖν, and in Luke vi. 27 with καλῶς ποιεῖν. It may therefore rightly be called Hellenistic, but does not give evidence of a Hebrew original.

(*b.*) "The use of the future in a thoroughly Hebraistic manner in *vv.* 33, 34, 67." On *v.* 33 Reusch writes: "The future ἐνδύσουσιν is here especially harsh, and in this and other passages is only to be explained from a close adherence to the Hebrew."

But there is no need to assume "a close adherence to the Hebrew;" for the future is better explained as expressing a general truth (Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16), or probable event. See Winer, 'Gr. of N. T. Greek,' III. xl. 6; Bernhardy, 'Syntax,' p. 377.

(*c.*) "The construction βουλεύεσθαι πρός τινα (*v.* 48) is not found in classical Greek, but answers closely to the Hebrew נוֹעַץ אֶל."

In Tromm's Concordance the Greek construction is cited only thrice (2 Kings vi. 8; Isa. xl. 14; Jer. xxxvi. 16), and only in the first instance is it a translation of the Hebrew phrase quoted by Reusch. Its occurrence in the Epistle only shews that the author was familiar with the style of the Septuagint.

(*d.*) Welte notices also the use of the singular τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν in *vv.* 13, 21 for the plural, as shewing that there stood in the Hebrew text פָּנֵיהֶם.

The inference is quite unwarranted. In *v.* 22 we find in like manner τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν, as in 1 Cor. vi. 19 (τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν); and this use of the singular, to express an object which belongs to each of several individuals, is not at all uncommon. See Matt. xvii. 6, xxii. 16; Luke ii. 31; 2 Cor. viii. 24, passages in which πρόσωπον is so used.

If these supposed traces of Hebraism be compared with the instances found in the first part of Baruch (Introduction to Baruch, § V.), it will be evident that they are quite insufficient to give even a show of *probability* to the theory of a Hebrew original.

When Reusch replies that there is no proof "that a Hebrew original is *impossible*," he makes an unreasonable demand for such demonstrative evidence as the nature of the case excludes.

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We may safely accept Ewald's judgment ('Prophets of the O. T.,' v. 139, E. Tr.), that the author's "Greek language seeks occasionally [as in *v.* 4, ἀφομοιωθέντες ἀφομοιωθῆτε] to assume the peculiarities of the Hebrew: but even in this respect he only partially succeeds."

Schürer also (in his 'History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ,' Leipsic, 1886) decides that the Greek is certainly original.

§ IV. Object of the Epistle.

Though the author writes under an assumed name, his work is not on that account to be put aside as a mere literary forgery: it has a serious practical purpose which cannot be overlooked.

The writer is evidently making an earnest appeal to persons actually living in the midst of heathenism, and needing to be warned and encouraged against temptations to apostasy (*vv.* 5–7). He shews an intimate knowledge of the details of idol-worship such as could hardly be possessed by any but an eye-witness: and thus, as Ewald observes ('History of Israel,' v. 479, E. Tr.), "the numerous close allusions to idolatrous usages confer on this composition a high historical value." The condition of the readers thus indicated corresponds with that of the Jewish communities descended from those captives who, after the destruction of Babylon, instead of returning to Jerusalem, chose to remain in the country where they had made themselves a home. These, who were by far the greater portion of the Captivity, formed the nucleus of those numerous colonies throughout the East "from India unto Ethiopia" (Esther viii. 9), which were included under the general title of "The Dispersion" (James i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1).

Thus, whether the letter was intended for the common benefit of "the Dispersion among the Greeks" (John vii. 35), or for some particular community, the local colouring is with perfect propriety borrowed from the position of their ancestors, the original captives in Babylon.

That position is admirably described by Ewald ('History of Israel,' v. 24): "The very closeness of this contact (with heathenism), and the accuracy of the knowledge thus obtained, must have created a profound repulsion in all the deeper minds; and the fact that the genius of heathenism had been developed by the Babylonians of this very period to the highest point of art and science of which it was susceptible, but had become utterly corrupt as a rule of life, necessarily increased the horror with which it was regarded. Thus the rejection, in the most contemptuous manner conceivable, of every feature of heathenism kept pace with the deepening consciousness of the eternal truth of their own religion: and never before had all the senseless and therefore intrinsically ridiculous notions involved in idol-worship been pursued and exposed in detail as they were now."

Though the historian is here speaking of the actual period of the Captivity, and grounding his remarks, according to his own well-known theory, upon the writings of Jeremiah and the so-called Deutero-Isaiah or "Great Unnamed," his description is quite as appropriate to the circumstances of "the Dispersion" several centuries later, and especially to the Epistle of Jeremy.

The author was certainly a Hellenistic Jew, and possibly, as Fritzsche thinks, a Jew of Alexandria: but, whether living in Egypt or elsewhere, he doubtless had good reason for laying the scene in Babylon, and veiling his fierce attack on idol-gods under the venerable name of Jeremiah, instead of openly deriding in his own name the religion of the people among whom he dwelt.

§ V. Approximate Date.

Attempts have been made to find a relative date for the Epistle of Jeremy from a supposed allusion to it in 2 Macc. ii. 1, 2, where it is said to have been "found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet commanded them that were carried away . . . not to forget the commandment of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, when they see images of silver and gold with their ornaments."

The language of the last clause is very similar to that of the Epistle in *vv.* 4–6;

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and Ewald, who recognises the allusion, observes that "there is no reason why the writer of 2 Maccabees should not have been acquainted with our little book" ('Prophets,' v. 141, E. Tr.). Herzfeld takes the opposite view, that the coincidence of language proves the Epistle to be the later work. Fritzsche however, with better judgment, thinks that the similarity of language is not such as to afford a safe criterion.

At all events, the supposed allusion to our Epistle seems to be excluded by the statement in 2 Macc. ii. 4: "It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God." The Epistle contains no such reference to the tabernacle and the ark, nor to the command "to take of the fire" (*v.* 1).

Another supposed note of time is the frequent reference to offending, resisting, setting up, and putting down kings (*vv.* 18, 34, 53, 56, 59, 66), in which Ewald finds an indication of the times of the last Seleucidae and Ptolemies, and so fixes the date of the Epistle "about the beginning of the last century before Christ." "The Grecian kings had then already greatly fallen in estimation and power, and were easily deposed."

This date, 100 B.C., differs little from that which is usually assigned to the Epistle,—namely, the later period of the Maccabees, the last of whom, John Hyrcanus, died about 106 B.C.

§ VI. Text.

The Epistle of Jeremy is found in the same Greek MSS. which contain the Book of Baruch, except a few cursives. "The character of the MSS. in relation to each other is very much the same as in Baruch, only more invariable here" (Fritzsche). On this point see the Introduction to Baruch, § VII. pp. 251, 252.

§ VII. Place in Canon.

In some Greek MSS. the Epistle of Jeremy is included in the Book of Baruch, but in Cod. Vat. and Cod. Alex. it is separated from Baruch, and follows the Lamentations of Jeremiah. It has, in fact, no connexion with Baruch, except through the author's assumption of the name of Jeremiah, and his imitation of parts of his prophecy.

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THE

EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

(BARUCH, CHAPTER VI., IN A. V.)

1 *The cause of the captivity is their sin.* 3 *The place whereto they were carried is Babylon: the vanity of whose idols and idolatry are set forth at large in this chapter.*

A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded him of God.

BECAUSE of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be led away captives into Babylon by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians.

3 So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye shall remain there many years, and for a long season, namely, seven generations: and after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence.

4 [a] Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders, which cause the nations to fear.

[a] Ps. 115. 4. & 135. 15. Isai. 44. 8, 9, 10. & 46. 5, 6, 7. Wisd. 13. 10. 2 Mac. 2. 2.

VERSES 1–7. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OF THE ALLEGED AUTHORSHIP AND OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE.

On the general contents of these verses, see the Introduction, § I.

The superscription is counted as *v.* 1 in the E. V., but not in the Greek.

1. *were to be led.*] From this expression and from *vv.* 2, 3 we see that the letter professes to have been written at a time when the captives had been removed out of Jerusalem, but had not yet left their own country for Babylon. This agrees with the occasion described in Jer. xxix. 2.

to certify them.] "to announce," or "to tell them." This message from God to the captives is evidently suggested by Jer. xxix. 4: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives."

2. *Because of the sins which ye have committed.*] Compare the answer given in Jer. xvi. 10–13 to the question of the people: "Wherefore hath the Lord pronounced all this great evil against us?"

The remembrance of the sins which had led to the Captivity should cause it to be borne with patience.

3. *remain there . . . for a long season.*] "be there . . . a long time." Compare Jer. xxxii. 14, and Bar. iv. 35. The false prophet Hananiah, having foretold a speedy return from Babylon, was rebuked by Jeremiah (xxviii. 2–17), who in his letter to the captives bade them look for a long continuance of their exile: "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them: take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters . . . And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." (Jer. xxix. 5–7.)

namely, seven generations.] "even unto seven generations." See the Additional Note.

I will bring you away peaceably from thence.] "I will bring you out thence in peace:" Ezek. xxxiv. 13, "I will bring them out from the people." It is the same word (ἐξάγειν) which is constantly used of bringing out the people from Egypt.

4. *Now shall ye see.*] "But now ye will see:" *now*, i.e. for the present, and as long as your captivity shall last.

gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood.] The Vulgate changes the order, and reads: "gods of gold and of silver and of stone and of wood." The addition may have been suggested by the original passage (Deut. iv. 28): "There ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell."

Tertullian ('Scorpiace,' c. 8) quotes the words in the order in which they stand in the A.V. His version of the passage (*vv.* 4–6) is quite independent of that given in the Vulgate: he cites the whole passage as from Jeremiah.

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5 Beware therefore that ye in no wise be like to strangers, neither be ye afraid of them, when ye see the multitude before them and behind them, worshipping them.

6 But say ye in your hearts, O Lord, we must worship thee.

7 For mine angel is with you, and I myself caring for your souls.

8 As for their tongue, it is polished by the workman, and they themselves are gilded and laid over with silver; [b] yet are they but false, and cannot speak. [b] Ps. 135. 16.

9 And taking gold, as it were for a virgin that loveth to go gay, they make crowns for the heads of their gods.

10 Sometimes also the priests convey from their gods gold and silver, and bestow it upon themselves.

11 Yea, they will give thereof to

borne upon shoulders.] The custom of carrying the images of the gods in procession upon festival days is often ridiculed by the Hebrew prophets, as by Isaiah (xlvi. 7), "They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place;" and by Jeremiah (x. 5), "They must needs be borne, because they cannot go."

which cause the nations to fear.] "which **strike terror into the heathen;**" literally, "shewing terror to the heathen:" compare Ps. lx. 3, "Thou hast shewed thy people hard things;" and Ps. lxxi. 20, "Thou which hast shewed me great and sore troubles."

5. *that ye in no wise be like to strangers.*] "**lest ye also become altogether like unto the aliens.**" The repetition (*ἀφομοιωθέντες . . . ἀφομοιωθῆτε*) is employed, like the corresponding Hebrew idiom, to give emphasis. Compare for the thought Deut. xii. 30, xviii. 9; Jer. x. 2.

neither be ye afraid of them.] "**and lest fear of them take hold of you.**" Compare (A. V.) Ps. xlviii. 6: "Fear took hold upon them there."

6. *in your hearts.*] Literally, "to your mind" (*τῇ διανοίᾳ*): compare Gen. xxvii. 41; Jer. v. 24. Cyprian ('On the Lord's Prayer,' c. 5, E. Tr.), less correctly, connects these words with the clause which follows: "The Holy Spirit, moreover, suggests these same things by Jeremiah, and teaches, saying, In the heart, O God, ought we to worship Thee."

O Lord, we must worship thee.] "**Thou,** O Lord, **art he whom we ought to** worship." The emphasis excludes the worship of any other god.

The whole verse is omitted in the Alexandrine Codex.

7. God is here introduced as speaking. The thought is connected with *vv.* 5, 6, thus: "Fear them not, but worship Me only, for mine angel is with you." Compare Ex. xxiii. 23, xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2, 3, 14, 15, and notes on these passages in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

and I myself.] Our A.V. follows the Latin (*exquiram*) in understanding this clause in the 1st person as referring to God. It is simpler to refer it to the angel, instead of introducing a new subject: "Mine angel is with you, and **he careth** for your souls." This construction is confirmed by a similar use of the pronoun in *v.* 8: "and they themselves" (*αὐτά τε*). The phrase (*ἐκζητῶν τὰς ψυχάς*), literally, "seeking out your souls," is sometimes used of seeking to destroy life (2 Sam. iv. 8; Ps. liv. 3). Here, however, it evidently has the same meaning as in Ps. cxlii. 4, "No man cared for my soul" (margin: "sought after"); and in Prov. xxix. 10, "The bloodthirsty hate the upright: but the just seek his soul," *i.e.* watch over, and protect his life.

VERSES 8–16. IDOLS ARE THINGS WITHOUT LIFE, THE WORK OF MEN'S HANDS, SENSELESS AND HELPLESS.

8. Reasons for not fearing the idols. The conjunction (*γάρ*) which shews the connexion with *v.* 5 should not have been omitted in the A. V.

As for their tongue.] "**For** as for their tongue." Ps. cxv. 4: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not;" repeated in Ps. cxxxv. 15.

false.] Compare *vv.* 48, 59. The substantive (*ψεῦδος*) is used for an idol in Isa. xliv. 20: "Is there not a lie in my right hand?" Compare Jer. xiii. 25, xvi. 19; and Rom. i. 25.

9. *that loveth to go gay.*] Literally, "fond of ornament" (*φιλοκόσμῳ*), a word used by late Greek writers,—Plutarch, Aelian, and Lucian,—but not found elsewhere in the LXX. or N. T.

for the heads of their gods.] "**to set upon** the heads," &c.

10. *convey.*] This word means "to remove secretly," as in John v. 13; or "to steal," a sense in which it is commonly used by our older writers: "*Convey* the wise it call" (Shakespeare). This is also the meaning of the Greek word (*ὑφαιρούμενοι*).

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‖ Or, *which prostitute themselves openly.*

the ‖common harlots, and deck them as men with garments, [being] gods of silver, and gods of gold, and wood.

12 Yet cannot these gods save themselves from rust and moths, though they be covered with purple raiment.

13 They wipe their faces because of the dust of the temple, when there is much upon them.

14 And he that cannot put to death one that offendeth him holdeth a sceptre, as though he were a judge of the country.

15 He hath also in his right hand a dagger and an ax: but cannot deliver himself from war and thieves.

16 Whereby they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not.

17 For like as a vessel that a man useth is nothing worth when it is broken; even so it is with their gods: when they be set up in the temple, their eyes be full of dust through the feet of them that come in.

18 And as the ‖doors are made sure on every side upon him that

‖ Or, *courts.*

bestow.] "**consume.**" The LXX. use the same Greek word in Deut. iv. 24 and ix. 3: "The Lord thy God is a consuming fire."

Arnobius ('Adversus Gentes,' vi. 21) repeats some amusing tales of robberies from the images of the gods.

11. *and deck them.*] *I.e.* the gods. This clause should be preceded by a fuller stop than in A.V. After the digression concerning the thievish priests in *vv.* 10, 11 *a*, the author resumes his account of the false gods: "And **they** deck them with their **vestments** as men."

and gods of gold.] The repetition of the word "gods" strengthens the expression of scorn.

12. *Yet cannot these gods.*] The word "gods" is not in the Greek, but the addition agrees well with the scornful irony of the passage: so also "cannot" is better than the more exact "do not."

moths.] Literally, "parts eaten away" (βρωμάτων), corrosion, or "**decay:**" a similar word (βρῶσις) is used in Matt. vi. 19.

Compare for the thought Arnobius (vi. 16): "Do you not see that these images, which seem to breathe, whose feet and knees you touch and handle when praying, at times fall into ruin from the constant dropping of rain, at other times lose the firm union of their parts from their decaying and becoming rotten (*putredinis modo carie relaxari*) . . . and are eaten away with rust?"

though they be covered with purple raiment.] The construction of the Greek (genitive absolute) shews that this clause should rather be joined with the following verse, as in the Latin and Arabic Versions.

13. *They wipe their faces.*] Compare *v.* 24. Here the Middle Voice (ἐκμάσσονται) is remarkable, but may perhaps imply that the priests do not themselves wipe off the dust, but get it done.

when there is much.] "**which is thick.**"

14. *he that cannot put to death.*] Here, as in *v.* 11 and frequently in the Epistle, the future expresses as certain what the author thinks likely. See Introduction, § III. *b.* Though "cannot" is not actually expressed in the Greek (οὐκ ἀνελεῖ), it is correct in sense. Perhaps also, as Reuss thinks, there is a touch of irony in the future.

The author here passes to the singular, which makes the description more lively, as though he had some particular idol before his eyes.

as though he were a judge.] "**like a man that is** a judge."

15. *He hath also in his right hand a dagger.*] "**And he holds a dagger in his right hand.**" The dagger and axe were not likely to be placed both in the same hand, as might be supposed from the A.V. The same Greek word for "dagger" (ἐγχειρίδιον) is used by the LXX. in Jer. l. 42, where A.V. has "lance," and in Ezek. xxi. 3, 4, 5, where A.V. has "sword."

thieves.] "**robbers**" (λῃστῶν), as in *v.* 18: the more exact rendering agrees with the idea of defence against violence.

16. *Whereby.*] "**Whence:**" the verse draws the conclusion from the whole paragraph, *vv.* 8–15, and also forms an introduction to the next paragraph.

fear them not.] Jer. x. 5.

VERSES 17–23. THE IDOLS ARE USELESS AND HELPLESS.

17. Compare Jer. xxii. 28: "Is this man Coniah a despised broken idol? Is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure?"

the temple.] Literally, "**their houses**," as in *v.* 55.

18. *upon him that offendeth the king.*]

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offendeth the king, as being committed to suffer death: even so the priests make fast their temples with doors, with locks, and bars, lest *their gods* be spoiled with robbers.

19 They light them candles, yea, more than for themselves, whereof they cannot see one.

20 They are as one of the beams of the temple, yet they say their hearts are ‖gnawed upon by things creeping out of the earth; and when they eat them and their clothes, they feel it not.

‖ Gr. *licked.*

21 Their faces are blacked through the smoke that cometh out of the temple.

22 Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also.

23 By this ye may know that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.

24 Notwithstanding the gold that is about them to make them beautiful, except they wipe off the rust, they will not shine: for neither when they were molten did they feel it.

25 The things wherein there is no breath are bought for ‖a most high price.

‖ Or, *any price.*

Render: "**And as when one hath wronged a king the courts are made close around him,**" &c.

"**the courts**" (*αὐλαί*) are the courts of a prison, as in Jer. xxxii. 2, xxxiii. 1. Suidas gives this explanation of the word: "*αὐλή*, that which is now called *ἀρχεῖον*, where the condemned are led away, and the attendants there were called *αὐλικοί*."

as being committed.] A various reading (*ἢ ὡς*), "or as around one who has been led away to death," makes little difference in the sense.

their temples.] "their **houses**."

with robbers.] "**by the** robbers."

19. *candles.*] "**lamps.**" There is probably an allusion to the Egyptian "Festival of Lamps" at Saïs (Herod. ii. 62). Compare Lactantius ('Institut.' vi. 2): "They burn lights as for one in the dark. Can a man be considered sane who presents candles and wax lights to the author and giver of light?"

they cannot see.] "Eyes have they and see not" (Ps. cxv. 5).

20. *They are.*] "**He is.**" The singular "one of the beams" shews that the thought is here directed to one idol.

yet they say their hearts are gnawed upon by things creeping out of the earth; and when they eat them, &c.] Render: "Yet **men** say their hearts are **eaten out: when the creeping things** out of the earth eat them and their **raiment**, they feel it not."

21. *through.*] "**from**" (*ἀπό*). Ewald ('Prophets of the O. T.' v. 144) adopts the reading of the Alexandrine MS. (*τοῦ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καιομένου*), and renders: "They observe not how they are blackened in the face with the smoke which burneth out of the earth."

22. *Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, &c.*] "Upon their bodies and **upon their** heads bats **and** swallows **alight.**"

and birds, and the cats also.] "and **other** birds, and **likewise** cats also." Compare Lactantius ('Inst.' ii. 4): "The very birds alight upon their images . . . and build their nests, and befoul them."

23. *By this.*] "**Whence:**" compare *v.* 16.

VERSES 24–29. THE COSTLY BUT HELPLESS IDOLS ARE DISHONOURED BY THEIR OWN PRIESTS.

24. *Notwithstanding the gold.*] "**For as to** the gold." The sentence, if completed as it begins, would have been—"For the gold will not shine." But the plural subject, introduced in the relative clause—"**with which they are set about for beauty**"—is carried on into the principal sentence—"they will not shine."

that is about them.] The construction is thoroughly classical (*ὃ περικεῖνται*), but is found also in 4 Macc. xii. 3 (*τὰ δεσμὰ περικείμενον*) and in Acts xxviii. 20, and Heb. v. 2.

they wipe.] "**one** wipe."

rust.] Gold is, in fact, remarkable for its freedom from rust, but here the style is popular and rhetorical, as in S. James v. 3: "Your gold and silver is cankered: and the rust of them shall be a witness against you."

neither.] "**not even.**"

25. *bought for a most high price.*] It is better to retain the order of the Greek words: "**They have been** bought **at all cost**—things wherein is no breath." Compare Jer. x. 14, "There is no breath in them;" and Ps. cxxxv. 17, "Neither is there any breath in their mouths," and Hab. ii. 19, quoted below on *v.* 39.

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[c] Isai. 46. 7. ver. 4.

26 [c]They are borne upon shoulders, having no feet, whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth.

27 They also that serve them are ashamed: for if they fall to the ground at any time, they cannot rise up again of themselves: neither, if one set them upright, can they move of themselves: neither, if they be bowed down, can they make themselves straight: but they set ‖gifts before them, as unto dead men.

‖ Or, *offerings.*

28 As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and ‖abuse; in like manner their wives lay up part thereof in salt; but unto the poor and impotent they give nothing of it.

‖ Or, *spend.*

29 Menstruous women and women in childbed [d]eat their sacrifices: by these things ye may know that they are no gods: fear them not.

[d] Lev. 22. 4.

30 For how can they be called gods? because women set meat before the gods of silver, gold, and wood.

31 And the priests sit in their temples, having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads.

26. The clauses should be transposed: "Having no feet, they are borne upon shoulders." See on *v.* 4.

whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth.] "**displaying** unto men **their own worthlessness;**" *i.e.* that they cannot walk, but must be carried. But a different meaning is suggested by the use of the Greek word (ἀτιμία, "shame") in Jer. xiii. 26; Nah. iii. 5.

27. *for, &c.*] "**because,** if they fall to the ground, they **never** rise up again of themselves."

set them upright, &c.] "set **it** upright," &c. There are frequent changes from the plural to the singular throughout the description of the idols.

be bowed down.] "be **laid** down."

make themselves straight.] "**set** themselves **upright.**"

but they set gifts before them, as unto dead men.] "**but the offerings are set beside them as beside the dead.**" Compare Ps. cvi. 28: "They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." Ecclus. xxx. 18, 19: "Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave. What good doeth the offering unto an idol? for neither can it eat nor smell." Tobit iv. 17: "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked;" or, according to the Vatican Codex, "Pour out thy wine and thy bread over the tombs of the just."

For the custom of setting a feast before an idol, see Bel and the Dragon, *vv.* 3–15. The same custom is said to remain among the Arabs of Barbary ('Dict. of the Bible:' MOURNING, p. 437 *b*).

28. *As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and abuse.*] "**But their sacrifices** their priests," &c.

in like manner their wives.] "**and** in like manner their wives **also.**"

but unto the poor, &c.] "but **give no part either to the poor or to the feeble.**"

29. *eat.*] "**touch,**" and thereby defile: compare Lev. xii. 4, "she shall touch no hallowed thing."

by these things ye may know.] "**Knowing then from** these things."

30. *how can they be called.*] The Vatican MS. preserves the true reading (κληθείησαν, the optative without ἄν), meaning, "How could they be called?" "How could such a thing be thought of?"

because women, &c.] "**for** women," &c. A reason why the Jews could not regard the idols as gods; for among the Jews women had no share in the service of the Tabernacle or Temple.

31. The idolatrous priests assume in their worship all the signs of mourning because (as Grotius observes) those whom the Babylonians, like the Egyptians, regarded as gods, were in reality dead men. Among the Jews, on the contrary, the priests of the living God were expressly forbidden to defile themselves for the dead (Lev. xxi. 1–11; Ezek. xliv. 25).

sit.] Compare 1 Sam. i. 9: "Eli the priest sat upon a seat (ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου, 'upon **the** seat,' LXX., the Hebrew also having the article) by a post of the temple." The Greek word (διφρεύουσιν) is rightly rendered "sit" in the A.V., as in the Latin and Syriac Versions: but its more special meaning, "to sit in a chariot," is more common; and interpreters, assuming this to be the only meaning, have adopted various readings which are quite inadmissible.

having their clothes rent.] Lev. xxi. 10: "The high priest . . . shall not uncover his head, nor rend his clothes."

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32 They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead.

33 The priests also take off their garments, and clothe their wives and children.

34 Whether it be evil that one doeth unto them, or good, they are not able to recompense it: they can neither set up a king, nor put him down.

35 In like manner, they can neither give riches nor money: though a man make a vow unto them, and keep it not, they will not require it.

36 They can save no man from death, neither deliver the weak from the mighty.

37 They cannot restore a blind man to his sight, nor help any man in his distress.

38 They can shew no mercy to the widow, nor do good to the fatherless.

39 Their gods of wood, and which are overlaid with gold and silver, are like the stones that be hewn out of the mountain: they that worship them shall be confounded.

40 How should a man then think and say that they are gods, when even the Chaldeans themselves dishonour them?

and their heads and beards shaven.] Lev. xxi. 5: "They (the priests) shall not make baldness upon their head: neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard." Compare Jer. xlviii. 37.

32. *They roar and cry before their gods.*] Ezek. xxiv. 17: "Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead."

at the feast when one is dead.] "**at a feast for the dead**" (ἐν περιδείπνῳ νεκροῦ). Compare Jer. xvi. 7: "Neither shall men tear themselves for them (marg. 'break bread for them') in mourning to comfort them for the dead: neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother." St. Jerome, in his comment on the passage, compares the Jewish custom to "the feasts which the Greeks call περίδειπνα, and the Latins *parentalia*."

33. *The priests also, &c.*] "**From their raiment** the priests **will take part to clothe**," &c. On this use of the future see above, *v.* 14. Reusch sees in it a close imitation of the Hebrew, but without reason.

VERSES 34–38. CONTRAST BETWEEN THE IDOLS AND THE LORD.

34. *Whether it be evil that one doeth unto them, or good, &c.*] "**if they be evil entreated of any, nor if they be entreated well**," &c.

they can neither set up a king, nor put him down.] The recurrence of this and the like ideas in *vv.* 53, 56, 66, has been thought to indicate a time in which kings were often deposed. See Introduction, § V. The general thought of the passage, *vv.* 34–38, is that the idols have not the attributes of the true God: for "He putteth down one, and setteth up another" (Ps. lxxv. 7). Compare Job xii. 18; Ps. cxiii. 7, 8; Dan. ii. 21.

35. *money.*] Literally, "brass" or "copper," a common term for small money: Matt. x. 9; Mark xii. 41. Observe the contrast to 1 Sam. ii. 7, "The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich."

they will not require it.] The thought and language are evidently taken from Deut. xxiii. 21: "When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it: for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee."

36. *They can save no man from death.*] Deut. xxxii. 39, "There is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive;" 1 Sam. ii. 6, "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up."

37. *to his sight.*] Omit "his." Compare Ps. cxlvi. 8: "The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down."

38. Ps. cxlvi. 9: "He relieveth the fatherless and widow."

39. Read: "**They are like unto the stones from the mountain, these wooden things, and things overlaid with gold and silver.**" Compare Hab. ii. 19: "Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach! Behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it."

shall be confounded.] "**and** they that **serve** them shall be **put to shame**." The reference is to the priests who "**serve**" (θεραπεύοντες) the idols, rather than to the worshippers in general.

40. Here, as in *v.* 30, the refrain, according to the A.V., forms the conclusion of one section, and the introduction to the next. But the last clause should more properly be joined with the next verse.

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41 Who if they shall see one dumb that cannot speak, they ‖ bring him, and intreat Bel that he may speak, as though he were able to understand.

‖ Or, *bid him call upon Bel.*

42 Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them: for they have no ‖ knowledge.

‖ Or, *sense.*

43 The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.

44 Whatsoever is done among them is false: how may it then be thought or said that they are gods?

VERSES 41–44. THE IDOLS ARE PUT TO DISHONOUR BY THE CHALDEANS THEMSELVES.

when even the Chaldeans, &c.] A new sentence begins here, but its apodosis must be supplied from the preceding,—thus: "**And moreover**—(how can a man think them to be gods)—when even the Chaldeans dishonour them?"

Their own worshippers put their idols to disgrace, "by continually demanding from them what they know cannot be performed" (Grotius).

41. *Who if they shall see one dumb.*] "Who **when they see a dumb man.**"

bring him.] *I.e.* the dumb man, whom they bring to the idol: according to another construction, it may mean "they bring Bel and entreat him."

as though he were able to understand.] By entreating Bel, who cannot even hear (*αἰσθέσθαι*) their prayer, to make a dumb man speak, they put their idol to open shame.

42. *Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them.*] This is much better than the rendering which some commentators adopt: "And though they are themselves aware of this, they cannot leave them;" for the next clause states that they, the worshippers themselves, "have no knowledge" (*αἴσθησιν*, "perception," or, as in the margin, "**sense**"), and *therefore* cannot forsake their foolish idolatry.

43. Compare Herodotus, i. 199: "The most disgraceful of the customs among the Babylonians is the following. Every woman of the country must once in her life go and sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some strange man . . . Sitting in the temple-court of Aphrodite with a wreath of cord (*θώμιγγος*) round their heads are many women, for some are coming and others going: and ropes stretched to form passages in every direction keep a thoroughfare among the women, along which the strangers pass through and choose for themselves. And when a woman takes her seat there, she is not allowed to go away to her home until one of the strangers throws a piece of money into her lap and takes her with him outside the temple."

Strabo (lib. xvi. c. 1) gives a similar account, and states that the practice was instituted in consequence of some oracle.

The goddess called by Herodotus Mylitta, and identified with Aphrodite, seems to be the same with Milta, Bilta, or Beltis, the wife of Bel or Bil: see Rawlinson, 'Herodotus,' i. 199.

Selden ('de Diis Syris,' ii. 8) supposes this custom to be the same which is mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 30, "The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth," where the last words mean literally "booths of daughters." See, however, the note in the 'Speaker's Commentary' on Kings, where the words are differently explained.

with cords about them.] Literally, "**having put ropes round about them**" (*σχοινία περιθεμέναι*): this does not refer to wearing girdles of cord, nor to a wreath of cord round the head (*θώμιγξ*, Herod.; *θώμιγγι δ' ἔστεπται ἑκάστη*, Strabo), but to the roped passages (*σχοινοτενέες διέξοδοι*, Herod.), each woman being enclosed within a rope, which must be broken that she might be led away.

burn bran for perfume.] "burn bran **as incense**,"—namely, to the goddess, that through her favour a paramour may be found. Compare Theocritus, 'Idyl.' ii. 33 and 161; Virg. 'Ecl.' viii. 82: "sparge molam."

but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him.] "**and when one of them has been dragged off by one of them that pass by to** lie with him."

was not thought as worthy as herself.] "**has not been** thought worthy, **like** herself."

her cord.] "her **rope.**"

44. *done among them.*] "done **on** them;" it refers to the idols (*ἐν αὐτοῖς*, Vat.), rather than to the worshippers or priests (*παρ' αὐτοῖς*, Alex.).

Isai. 44. 12, 13, &c.

45 [e] They are made of carpenters and goldsmiths: they can be nothing else than the workmen will have them to be.

46 And they themselves that made them can never continue long; how should then the things that are made of them be gods?

47 For they left lies and reproaches to them that come after.

48 For when there cometh any war or plague upon them, the priests consult with themselves, where they may be hidden with them.

49 How then cannot men perceive that they be no gods, which can neither save themselves from war, nor from plague?

50 [f] For seeing they be but of wood, and overlaid with silver and gold, it shall be known hereafter that they are false:

[f] Ps. 115 4. Wisd. 13. 10.

51 And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings that they are no gods, but the works of men's hands, and that there is no work of God in them.

52 Who then may not know that they are no gods?

53 For neither can they set up a king in the land, nor give rain unto men.

54 Neither can they judge their own cause, nor redress a wrong, being unable: for they are as crows between heaven and earth.

VERSES 45–52. IDOLS ARE MERE WORKS OF MEN'S HANDS.

45. *made of carpenters.*] "made by carpenters." Isa. xl. 19; Jer. x. 3, &c.

they can be nothing else than the workmen will have them to be.] So Horace (1 Sat. viii. 1) scoffs at the statue of Priapus in his garden:—

"Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Quum faber incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum
Maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego."

Lactantius quotes the same passage ('Instit.' ii. c. 4).

46. *be gods.*] These words (εἶναι θεοί) are found in many MSS. and Versions, but not in the Vatican Codex. Without them the meaning will be: "The makers themselves do not continue, and how then is it likely that their works should be of long continuance? for what they have left to those that come after them are lies and disgrace."

47. *lies.*] *I.e.* false gods: see note on *v.* 8.

48. *any war or plague.*] "For whenever war or troubles come upon them."

49. *from war, nor from plague.*] "from wars nor from troubles."

51. *And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings.*] "To all the heathen and to their kings it shall be manifest."

there is no work of God in them.] *I.e.* They cannot do any work such as a god can do.

52. *Who then may not know.*] "To whom then shall it not be known." The Vatican Codex omits the negative particle, which is necessary to the sense. Without it we should have the inappropriate question — "Whereby then shall it be known that they are not gods?" The other reading is also confirmed by the form of the questions in *vv.* 49, 56, &c.

53. *a king in the land.*] "a king of the land." See note on *v.* 34.

give rain unto men.] Compare Deut. xi. 14; Ps. cxlvii. 8; Acts xiv. 17; Jas. v. 7.

54. *their own cause.*] Compare *v.* 14. Some would render: "they cannot judge men's causes." But there is a keener reproach in the A.V.

nor redress a wrong.] Or, as in Isa. i. 17, "relieve the oppressed." See the note at the end of the chapter on the various reading.

being unable.] "impotent as they are."

for they are as crows, &c.] The Alexandrine and other MSS. connect this with the preceding clause, omitting γάρ: "being helpless as the crows that are between heaven and earth." This does not affect the sense, which, however, the commentators have failed to discover. Thus Reuss: "This seems to be a proverbial saying. Anyhow the comparison is to the feebleness of the crow, not to its position. Yet the animal is much less feeble (!) than the idol."

Certainly a *living* crow does not appear to be feeble, especially when flying "between heaven and earth." But what is more impotent than a *dead* crow hung up "between heaven and earth," to scare his fellows. The same thought recurs in *v.* 70.

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55 Whereupon when fire falleth upon the house of gods of wood, or laid over with gold or silver, their priests will flee away, and escape; but they themselves shall be burned asunder like beams.

56 Moreover they cannot withstand any king or enemies: how can it then be thought or said that they be gods?

57 Neither are those gods of wood, and laid over with silver or gold, able to escape either from thieves or robbers.

58 Whose gold, and silver, and garments wherewith they are clothed, they that are strong do take, and go away withal: neither are they able to help themselves.

59 Therefore it is better to be a king that sheweth his power, or else a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of, than such false gods; or to be a door in an house, to keep such things safe as be therein, than such false gods; or a pillar of wood in a palace, than such false gods.

60 For sun, moon, and stars, being bright, and sent to do their offices, are obedient.

61 In like manner the lightning when it breaketh forth is easy to be seen; and ‖after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country.

‖ Or, *the same wind.*

62 And when God commandeth the clouds to go over the whole world, they do as they are bidden.

63 And the fire sent from above to consume hills and woods doeth as it is commanded: but these are like unto them neither in shew nor power.

64 Wherefore it is neither to be supposed nor said that they are gods, seeing they are able neither to judge causes, nor to do good unto men.

55. *Whereupon when.*] "For even when."

burned asunder.] "burned through and through" (μέσοι).

56. *thought or said.*] "admitted or supposed."

VERSES 57–59. IDOLS MOST HELPLESS AND USELESS EVEN OF MEN'S WORKS.

57. *Neither are those gods of wood, &c.*] There is more force in the proper order: "Neither from thieves nor from robbers can they escape,—these gods of wood," &c.

58. *Whose gold and silver . . . they that are strong do take.*] Here, again, the force is better preserved by retaining the order of the Greek: "From whom the strong will strip off the gold and the silver and the raiment that is about them."

neither are they able.] "and they will not be able to defend themselves."

59. *power.*] "courage" (ἀνδρείαν).

a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of.] "a vessel in a house useful for the purpose for which the owner shall have need of it." See Additional Note on the various reading.

such false gods.] "the false gods." The same words are repeated thrice in this verse, like a new refrain.

or to be a door.] "or even a door," &c.; *i.e.* is better than they.

VERSES 60–63. GOD'S WORKS ARE ALL USEFUL IN THEIR SEVERAL OFFICES.

60. *sent to do their offices.*] Literally, "sent forth for needful purposes."

61. *easy to be seen.*] "brilliant" (εὔοπτος), or "fair to see."

and after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country.] This version, with a slight addition, represents correctly the Received Text: "the wind also bloweth," &c. As sun, moon, stars, and lightning are all useful in their several offices, "after the same manner the wind also" everywhere does its work.

On the marginal rendering, "the same wind bloweth in every country," see the Additional Note.

62. *And when God commandeth, &c.*] "And when the clouds are commanded by God."

they do as they are bidden.] "they fulfil his bidding."

63. *And the fire, &c.*] "And the fire when sent forth from above to consume mountains and forests doeth that which is appointed."

but these.] "but these (idols)."

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65 Knowing therefore that they are no gods, fear them not.

66 For they can neither curse nor bless kings:

67 Neither can they shew signs in the heavens among the heathen, nor shine as the sun, nor give light as the moon.

68 The beasts are better than they: for they can get under a covert, and help themselves.

69 It is then by no means manifest unto us that they are gods: therefore fear them not.

70 For as a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing: so are their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold.

71 And likewise their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold, are like to a white thorn in an orchard, that every bird sitteth upon; as also to a dead body, that is cast into the dark.

72 And ye shall know them to be no gods by the ‖bright purple that rotteth upon them: and they themselves afterwards shall be eaten, and shall be a reproach in the country.

‖ Or, *purple and brightness.*

73 Better therefore is the just man that hath none idols: for he shall be far from reproach.

66. Compare Jer. x. 5: "They cannot do evil, neither also is it in them to do good." But God's curse or blessing affects even kings.

67. Compare Jer. x. 2: "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven."

68. *get under.*] "escape into."

69. *by no means.*] "in no wise." These words may be connected with the close of the sentence, thus: "In no wise then, it is manifest unto us, are they gods."

therefore.] "wherefore."

70. *a scarecrow.*] Lobeck ('Phrynichus,' p. 86) quotes this passage and a Scholiast's note upon it: "The prose writers of the Greeks give the names προβασκάνια and κερέμβηλα to things which the watchmen in a field set up to frighten birds or even men. But these latter are called μορμολυκεῖα."

in a garden of cucumbers.] Compare Isa. i. 8, with S. Basil's comment on the word: "A place that produces quick-growing and perishable fruits." On the form of the word, see the Additional Note.

keepeth nothing.] "that keepeth nothing." "He compares the idols to these scarecrows, which do not in reality protect the fruits but in the imagination of the birds, which suppose them to be real men, while they are only imitations of men: so also the idols are not gods, but images" (Corn. à Lap.).

71. *And likewise.*] "In the same manner also."

like to a white thorn.] The idols are as senseless and helpless as a thorn-bush ("Rhamnus:" 'Dict. of the Bible'), which cannot drive away the birds that settle on it: see *v.* 22.

cast into the dark.] "The dark" (ἐν σκότει) does not here mean "the grave," as Reusch supposes, nor "sheol." The idols are as senseless and as little respected as a corpse cast out *unburied* in some dark place. The same Greek word (ἐρριμμένος) is used in Judges iv. 22 of the corpse of Sisera, and in 1 Macc. xi. 4: compare Bar. ii. 25.

72. *by the bright purple, &c.*] "by the purple also, and by the brightness that rotteth upon them," &c. The word rendered in the margin "brightness" (μαρμάρου) means properly "marble," so called in Greek from its *brightness*. Marble was no doubt sometimes used to overlay and adorn wooden images, but the idea of rotting (σηπομένης) does not agree very well with marble, which moreover has not been mentioned in the preceding descriptions of the idols. Other words have been suggested, but the reading is not doubtful, and it is best to accept the general sense of "brightness" with the margin.

a reproach in the country.] Compare *vv.* 27 and 47.

73. *the just man that hath none idols.*] "a righteous man that hath no idols." The author breaks off rather abruptly with the general reflection that it is better to have nothing to do with idols, which bring only disgrace upon their worshippers.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 3, 27, 54, 59, 61, 70.

3. *seven generations.*] The Greek word (γενεά) usually meant a space of about thirty years: and if it has this meaning here, the duration assigned to the Captivity is just thrice as

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long as in Jer. xxix. 10: "For thus saith the Lord, That after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place."

The commentators on the Epistle attempt in various ways to reconcile or explain the apparent discrepancy. Some refer to Suidas, who observes that γενεά was used in medical language for a period of *seven years:* but that was evidently an exceptional use, which would be quite inappropriate here. Just as little help can be gained from a very doubtful passage in which Diogenes Laertius is *supposed* to use γενεά for a period of *ten years.* Reusch, a Roman Catholic commentator, who maintains that the Epistle is a genuine work of the prophet Jeremiah, supposes that γενεά is the translation of the Hebrew word (דּוֹר), which, "where it is used as a definition of time, signifies only in a general way 'a period of time,' 'a succession of years:' and why should not Jeremiah have said *here* 'many years and a long time even unto seven periods,' and *there* have recalled the more exact determination which he had already given elsewhere (xxv. 12)?" Other suggestions, such as δεκάδων for γενεῶν (Houbigant), or *three* for *seven* (i.e. γ′ for ζ′) (Welte), are still less probable.

Modern commentators, including the Roman Catholics, have for the most part given up the genuineness of the Epistle, and hold that it must have been written several centuries after the death of Jeremiah. A Jew of that later period, seeing that so large a portion of his nation was still scattered among the heathen in Babylon and in many other lands, might well think that the promised restoration of God's people, with all the great and glorious blessings which were to accompany it, could not have been fulfilled by the return of a small part of the exiles from Babylon. Unable to discern the spiritual meaning of the promises, and looking still for a more complete restoration of the greatness and glory of the nation, he might be inclined to extend the duration of the exile from "seventy years" to the longer and more indefinite period of "seven generations."

This view is held, with various modifications, by Fritzsche, Lange, Ewald ('Hist. of Israel,' v. 140, E. Tr.), and is on the whole the most probable.

27. (*a.*) The Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. both read διὰ τὸ μήποτε ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν πέσῃ δι' αὐτῶν ἀνίστασθαι. If this be retained, the sense will be that the attendants are ashamed "because (the idols), lest they should fall to the ground, are set up by them." The construction is perfectly regular, but the sense not satisfactory.

A better reading is suggested by the variations in the two following clauses, which both begin in the Codex Alex. with μήποτε ἐάν, but in the Cod. Vat. with μήτε ἐάν. The μήποτε is evidently wrong in these two clauses, but seems to have been transferred from the first clause, so that the true reading would be διὰ τὸ μήποτε, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν πέσῃ, δι' αὐτῶν ἀνίστασθαι, μήτε ἐάν τις κ. τ. λ.

(*b.*) ἐάν τις αὐτὸ ὀρθὸν στήσῃ κ. τ. λ. In the two following clauses Fritzsche says that "the author in μήτε κ. τ. λ. speaks out his own opinion (*von sich*) positively." But if so, he must have written οὔτε, not μήτε. The true explanation of his using μήτε seems to be that he is still expressing the *thought* of the attendants, but, instead of continuing the construction with the infinitive (διὰ τὸ μήποτε . . . ἀνίστασθαι, μήτε . . . κινηθήσεσθαι), passes over at the end of the sentence to the indicative.

(*c.*) ὥσπερ νεκροῖς. The comparison of the idol-gods to corpses occurs in several of the very early Christian writings: Pseudo-Clemens Rom. 2 Cor. iii.: ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν. Epist. ad Diognetum, c. ii.: οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; οὐκ ἀκίνητα; . . . ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε κ. τ. λ. The same comparison is also found in the Διδαχὴ τῶν ιβ′ ἀποστόλων (published by Bryennius at Constantinople, 1883), cap. vi.: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

54. Οὐδὲ μὴ ῥύσωνται ἀδίκημα. Instead of this reading of the Vatican MS., which is adopted in the Received Text (Tisch.), the Codex Alex., with many Cursives and Versions, has ἀδικούμενον.

á. Fritzsche suggests different explanations of ἀδίκημα.

(1) "Nor can they rescue a thing stolen from them." Plato, 'Republ.' ii. 365 E.: ἀδικητέον καὶ θυτέον ἐκ τῶν ἀδικημάτων. But this sense of ἀδίκημα is not found in biblical Greek, and in the passage quoted its meaning is in part defined by the context.

(2) "Nor can they hold back (from themselves) an injury." In Homer, 'Odyss.' xxiii. 243:—

> Ἡῶ δ' αὖτε
> ῥύσατ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ χρυσόθρονον,

the meaning is simply to "hold back," not to "repel" from oneself.

Fritzsche is himself not satisfied with these explanations, and as an alternative suggests a purely conjectural emendation, ἐρύσωνται.

β′. The other reading (ἀδικούμενον) is well authenticated, and gives a better sense: The idols can neither judge their own cause, **"nor relieve the oppressed."** This is the common use of ῥύεσθαι, both in the LXX. (Isa. i. 17: ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον) and

in the N. T. (Rom. vii. 24; 2 Cor. i. 10; 2 Tim. iii. 11, &c.).

59. *which the owner shall have use of.*] The reading *χρήσεται* (Alex.) has probably been substituted for the less usual *κεχρήσεται* (Vat.), and a feeble tautology thus introduced into the passage. As *χρῆσθαι* is, apparently, never found with *ἐπί* and a dative, *ἐφ' ᾧ* also was changed in some MSS. into *ἐν ᾧ*, *ἐφ' ὅ*, *ὅ*, or *ᾧ*, which last form is represented in the Authorized Version.

Neither of the changes is required. That *κεχρήσεται* means "shall need," rather than "shall use," is probable from the use of *κεχρημένος* in this sense (Homer, 'Od.' i. 13, xiv. 155; Soph. 'Phil.' 1264, &c.). If we then understand *ἐφ' ᾧ* in the usual sense of *purpose*, the meaning of the passage is clear: "a vessel useful for the purpose for which the owner shall have need of it." The Latin Version (*gloriabitur*) represents a reading *καυχήσεται*, and so confirms the form *κεχρήσεται*.

61. The Vatican text of this verse has *τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα κ. τ. λ.* The Alexandrine, which omits *καί*, may be rendered, as in the margin, "and the same wind bloweth in every country." In support of this rendering, Fritzsche refers to The Song of the Three Children, *v.* 43: "O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord." But the sense thus obtained, that wind is everywhere the same, the work of the same Creator, is less appropriate to our passage than that of the Vatican text—that as the other elements of nature all are useful, *so* the wind *also* is everywhere active.

This construction leaves *πνεῦμα* without an article, as *ἥλιος*, *σελήνη*, *ἄστρα*, *ἀστραπή*, which go before, and *νεφέλαις* which follows, all are. Compare for this omission of the article the passage cited by Bishop Middleton, ch. vi. § 2, from Plato, 'Cratylus,' 408 F: *ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων καὶ γῆς καὶ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ὡρῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ*;—and the earlier passage, 397 D: *φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους που θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.*

For the quasi-adverbial use of *τὸ αὐτό*, compare Philipp. ii. 18.

70. *ἐν σικυηράτῳ.*] Both here and in Isa. i. 8, the MSS. vary between this form and *σικυηλάτῳ*. Fritzsche prefers the latter on two grounds:—

(1) That it is better supported by MSS. in other authors, as Hippocrates, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria. Basil quotes from Isaiah *ἐν σικυηράτῳ*, but himself writes *σικυήλατον* immediately after.

(2) Fritzsche finds no satisfactory etymology for *σικυήρατον*, but compares *σικυήλατον* with *χαλκήλατος*, *χρυσήλατος*.

Lobeck ('Phrynichus,' p. 86) speaks of *σικυήλατον* as a faulty reading in some editions of the Bible. The combined authority of the Vat. and Alex. Codd. in favour of *σικυήρατον* in both passages must outweigh the testimony of the Cursives.

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ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

I. THE SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN.

Bar'kú Yahwéh mal'ákau
Gibbóre kóḥ 'osé ḥail
Lišmó' beqól debáro.
* * *
Bar'kú Yahwéh kol-ç'bá'au
M'šar'tháu 'osé reçóno.
* * *
Bar'kú Yahwéh kol-má'sau
Bekól m'qomóth memšálto
Bar'kí nafší eth-Yáhweh.
(Ps. ciii. 20 *sqq.*)

THE numerous Talmudic and Midrashic references to the story of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah make it probable that at one time Jewish tradition had more to tell about the three martyrs than is now read in Dan. iii. A story of this kind would naturally be a popular favourite, and as such would be peculiarly liable to amplification and embellishment. Hence it is not surprising to find that the Greek versions of Daniel, followed by the Syriac, Latin, and Arabic, have interpolated at chap. iii. 23 a Prayer which Azarias utters in the name of the Three, and a Canticle which they are supposed to have chanted together in the midst of the flaming furnace.[1]

Independently of the Story of the Three Children, it appears from Jer. xxix. 22 *sq.*, that burning alive was, as a matter of historical fact, a Babylonian mode of execution; and we have an older notice in the records of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who thus revenged himself on his rebellious brother *Samaš-šumucîn*, viceroy of Babylon (*circ.* 648 B.C.).[2] Firdausi tells a story which shews that Persian tradition also had its martyr-hero who came unhurt out of a fiery furnace (Malcolm's 'Persia,' i. 29, 30). The passage about the Two Wicked Prophets, quoted from the Midrash *Tanḥûmâ* in the Introd. to Susanna, makes Nebuchadnezzar refer to the case of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; and curiously relates that whereas Ahab and Zedekiah perished in the flames, their holy companion, Joshua, the High Priest, came forth without other harm than the singeing of his garments. In such legends it is possible to see a literal application of scriptural passages like Ps. lxvi. 12, "We went through fire and water, and thou broughtest us out;" Zech. iii. 2, "Is not this man [*i.e.* Joshua, the High Priest] a brand plucked out of the fire?" and Isa. xliii. 2, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." From texts such as these, the Haggadic expositors might easily develop stories illustrating their apparent meaning. The case is precisely analogous to that of Bel and the Dragon, and the Story of Susanna.

In the Midrash we find, besides, the following references to the Story of the Three Children. In *Wayyiqra Rabba* (Parash. xxxiii., cap. xxv. 1),[1] Nebuchadnezzar remonstrates with them thus: "Did not idolatry originate among you? Is it not written, 'And their graven images *from* Jerusalem and Samaria' [a misrendering of Isa. x. 10]? And come ye now to make nought of my god? When ye were in your own land, ye sent to us, and procured claws, hair, and bones of idols, and drew them, in

[1] This Prayer and Canticle are also read as Nos. viii.–x. among the hymns appended to the Ethiopic Psalter, where they are properly arranged, as poetical pieces, according to the rhythm.

[2] See the Introd. to the Prayer of Manasses.

[1] *Apud* Dr. Aug. Wünsche's 'Bibliotheca Rabbinica.'

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order to fulfil that which is written (Ezek. xxiii. 14), 'the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion;' and come ye now to make my idol image nought?" R. Jehudah bar R. Simon makes the king remonstrate in like manner, on the ground of Ezek. xvi. 25; xxiii. 42, 43 (with a ref. to Jer. li. 44). "R. Samuel bar Nachmani said: Nebuchadnezzar said unto them: 'Your idol image was of silver and gold, as it is said (citing Hos. viii. 4); but my idol image is wholly of the purest gold, as it is said (Dan. iii. 1); and come ye now to make mine idol nought? Did not Moses write for you in the Law (Deut. iv. 28), There ye shall serve gods the work of men's hands?' They answered: 'My lord, O king, to bow before does not mean to worship, but to be subject to them in the way of forced labours, subsidies, poll-taxes, and fines.' Our Rabbis have taught: Nebuchadnezzar said unto them, Did not Jeremiah write for you (xxvii. 8), 'The nation and kingdom that will not serve N. the king of Babylon,' &c." Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego gave the same explanation as before, adding, with reference to the command to worship the image, "'Thou art נבו־כד־נצר; bark (נבח = נבו) like a dog, swell thyself out like a water-jar (כד), and chirp like a cricket' (צרצר). Straightway he barked like a dog, swelled himself out like a water-jar, and chirped like a cricket" (a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's madness).

In the Talmud Bab. *Abodah Zarah* 3 A, it is said that the heathen will attest before Messiah's tribunal that Israel has kept the whole Law. Nimrod will declare that Abraham chose to be cast into his fiery furnace rather than worship his idols. Nebuchadnezzar will witness in favour of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

Sanhedrin, 93 A (referred to in the Introd. to Susanna), makes Nebuchadnezzar reply to his daughter thus concerning the proposals of the Two Wicked Prophets: "The god of these men hateth lust (זימה); when they come unto thee, send them unto me. When they came unto her, she sent them unto her father. He said unto them, Who told you? They said, The Holy One (blessed be He!). [He said:] Behold Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, I have asked them, and they have told me it is forbidden (אסור). They said unto him, We too are prophets like them. He (God) spake not unto them; unto us He hath spoken. He said unto them, I desire to prove you as I proved Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. They said unto him, They were three, and we are two. He said unto them, Choose you whom ye desire along with you. They said, Joshua, the High Priest. They thought, Let Joshua come; for his merit is great, and will shield us." The result was that they were burnt, and Joshua's garments singed (Zech. iii. 1, 2). "He (Nebuchadnezzar) said unto him, I know that thou art righteous; but what is the reason that the fire gained a slight advantage over thee, and none at all over Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah? He said to him, They were three, and I (am only) one. He said to him, And behold Abraham was alone there, and there were no wicked men with him, and yet leave was not given to the fire (to burn him)." "Here there were wicked men with me, and leave was given to the fire. This is what they say, Two dry sticks (אודי, *torres*) and one green one. The dry ones kindle the green one."

Taanith, 18 B, also alludes to the miracle of the deliverance of the Three. *Pesachim*, 118 A, has the following: "Hizkiah said [with reference to the text "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us"]: It implies a descent of the righteous into the furnace of fire, and an ascent therefrom: a descent, as it is written: Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us. Hananiah said, But unto thy Name give the praise. Mishael said, For thy loving-kindness and for thy truth's sake. Azariah said, Wherefore should the heathen say? They all said, on coming up from the furnace of fire, that which is written: Praise the Lord, all ye heathen. Hananiah said: Laud him, all ye peoples. Mishael said: For his loving-kindness is mighty upon us. Azariah said: And the truth of the Lord endureth for ever; praise ye Jah."

* * * * *

"In the hour when Nimrod the wicked threw Abraham our father into the midst of the furnace of fire, quoth Gabriel

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before the Holy One (blessed be He!): Lord of the World, I will go down, and cool, and deliver the righteous one out of the furnace of fire. The Holy One (blessed be He!) said unto him: I am alone in my world, and he is alone in his world: it becometh the Only One to deliver the only one. And as the Holy One (blessed be He!) doth not cut off the reward of any creature, He said: Thou shalt prevail, and thou shalt deliver three of his sons' sons.[1] R. Samuel the Shilonite discoursed thus: In the hour when Nebuchadnezzar the wicked threw Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah into the midst of the furnace of fire, Yôrqemî, the Prince of Hail, stood before the Holy One (blessed be He!). Said he before Him: Lord of the World, Let me go down and cool the furnace, and deliver these righteous ones out of the furnace of fire. Quoth Gabriel unto him: The Omnipotence of the Holy One (blessed be He!) is not (involved) in this, that thou the prince of the hail (cool the flames), when all men know that waters (naturally) quench fire; but I, the Prince of Fire, will go down and make it cool within (אקרר מבפנים) and hot without, and thus work a miracle within a miracle. The Holy One (blessed be He!) said unto him, Go down. In the self-same hour Gabriel opened his mouth and said: And the truth of the Lord endureth for ever." Cf. also *Pesach.*, 94 A.

The above passages not only illustrate the tendency to put appropriate thanksgivings into the mouth of the Three Martyrs, which we find exemplified at length in our Apocryphon: they also shew that the conception of a deliverance from a fiery furnace was traditional among the Jews, in all probability from very ancient times. And we have to bear in mind a fact familiar enough to students of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, though apparently unknown to many expositors of Scripture, whose minds conspicuously lack that *orientation* which is an indispensable preliminary to a right understanding of the treasures of Eastern thought; I mean, the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey their doctrine not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination, and seeking to rouse the interest and sympathy of the man rather than the philosopher. The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or fictitious. The doctrine is everything; the mode of presentation has no independent value. To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought, as we, with our dry Western literalness, are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity.

The composer of the Song of the Three Children has drawn largely upon the Psalter, and the Prayer of Azarias follows scriptural models. Although the Greek text as Greek reads rather baldly, we cannot agree with Fritzsche that "the accumulated doxologies" of the Song are an artistic defect; nor do we think the separate enumeration of the manifold powers of creation "frigid." The monotony of form is itself effective. It is like the monotony of the winds or the waves; and powerfully suggests to the imagination the amplitude and splendour of God's world, and the sublimity of the universal chorus of praise. The instinct of the Church, which early adopted the *Benedicite* for liturgical use, was right.

The supposition that the Prayer and the Hymn are due to different authors rests upon a false contrast between *vv.* 15 and 31, 62. It is true that the former passage presupposes the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of sacrifice, but the latter does not contradict this, for "the temple of thine holy glory" is the celestial temple or palace (see note *ad loc.* and Isa. vi. 1); and the language of *v.* 62, "O ye priests of the Lord," &c., is accounted for either by the consideration that there were priests among the exiles, or by the fact that the verse is taken bodily from Ps. cxxxiv. 1, and the author's view is ideal. Fritzsche thinks

[1] *I.e.* the Three Holy Children.

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he "has simply fallen out of his cue." In *v.* 15 he certainly appears to have done so, in the remark that "there is no prophet," which would suit his own time, but not that of the Exile. But here, too, the writer may have been influenced by a reminiscence of such passages as are cited in the note on the verse.[1] The style of prayer and song is identical throughout.

As to the original language of all the Three Additions to Daniel, it was probably in each case either Hebrew or Aramaic. The Greek text consequently is either a translation or a paraphrastic remodelling of the pieces. Eichhorn at first argued for a Greek original, as in the case of Judith also, but later he changed his opinion so far as to leave the question undecided.[2] Keil and Fritzsche maintain the originality of the Greek. The latter observes that in cases of this kind a Hebrew original has usually been inferred from the strongly Hebraizing character of the Greek; but there is always a great difference between a translation and an original Hellenistic text. In the latter a Greek colouring will always make itself apparent; in the former, awkward renderings, if not actual blunders, will always be discernible. Fritzsche admits however that, as regards the Song of the Three Children, its brevity and simplicity are against his decision; and we think that he is wrong in the assertion that there is no trace anywhere of a Hebrew text. It may be true that a Hellenist familiar with the LXX. might have written such a piece; and it is true that no mistakes in translation can be certainly specified. This last is an important point; for, as Dr. Pusey has well observed, "Hebraisms in themselves prove nothing; for one who thinks in his own language and writes in another is, in fact, translating, although mentally. One, *e.g.*, who had the word לפני in his mind, might just as well use *ἐναντίον* for it, instead of *ἐνώπιον*, as one who had it before his eyes; and so on. But mistakes in translating shew that the writer and translator were different."[1] The suggestion, however, that in *v.* 14 the Heb. מכל has been misread as בכל is plausible. The difficulty in *v.* 17 may indicate not so much a corruption of the Greek text as a confusion of the Heb. noun כליל, "holocaust," with the verb כלל, "to perfect;" and it is doubtful whether a Hellenist would have used such an expression as *καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὡσεὶ πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον* (*v.* 27), unless he were translating from a Semitic original. The word *πνεύματα* for *ἀνεμοὶ* (*v.* 43) may point to Heb. רוחות, which covers both terms; cf. *v.* 64. The commentary adds other indications, and demonstrates the strongly Hebraic cast and complexion of the Prayer and Song. But the argument for an original Hebrew text does not rest only upon such grounds as these. It may also be based upon the contents of all three Additions, which are indeed hardly conceivable as the fictions of Alexandrian Hellenists. The passages above quoted from the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash prove that the Story of the Three Children was a favourite topic with the Rabbis and their disciples, and seem to indicate the existence of a more extended tradition, which may have included the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three. Perhaps the Greek translator found this piece in a Hebrew *Midrash Daniel*. This would account for the recurrence to the *Hebrew* names of the Three. In the Aramaic of Dan. iii. they bear their Babylonian designations. See further the Introd. to Bel and Susanna.

The Additions constitute integral portions of the LXX. text of Daniel, and it is obviously difficult to suppose that the author of that text invented these stories himself, or incorporated in his version of a work written in Hebrew and Aramaic three important pieces which he only knew in a Greek dress. Moreover, the strange juxta-

[1] Compare also *Wayyiqra Rabba*, xxx. 23, 40: "R. Isaac explained the verse ('He will regard the prayer of the destitute,' Ps. cii. 17) with reference to the generations in which the people of Israel has no king and no prophets and no priests, and no Urim and Thummim, but only Prayer. Hence David said before God, 'Lord of the World, despise not their prayer.'"

[2] 'Einleit. in d. Apokr. Schr.,' p. 419; 'Einleit. in d. A. T.,' iv. 530.

[1] 'Daniel the Prophet,' p. 377, note 7.

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position of the two languages in Daniel may indicate, as Lenormant suggested, that certain *lacunae* in the Hebrew text have been supplied from an Aramaic version; and if that be so, it is not impossible that one or more of our three Additions represent sections of the lost Aramaic text, which may have been fuller than the Hebrew Daniel. Little, at all events, can be alleged against the supposition that the Alexandrian translator of Daniel rendered these narratives from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, and added them to his version of the main work, as pertaining to the same subject. The identity of style, even in minute particulars, strongly favours this conclusion. And, as regards the numerous variations between the different versions, especially in the case of Bel and Susanna, we may apply the words of Dr. Neubauer: "No books are more subject to additions, alterations, and various adaptations, than popular histories; the text is in the hands of a few, and the contents are related orally to the people: hence the great variety in the texts even of the early translations." What Dr. Neubauer thus writes of Tobit, has equal force in the present instance.

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THE SONG OF THE

THREE HOLY CHILDREN,

Which followeth in the third Chapter of DANIEL after this place,—*fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.*—Verse 23. That which followeth is not in the Hebrew, to wit, *And they walked*—unto these words, *Then Nebuchadnezzar*—verse 24.

2 *Azarias his prayer and confession in the flame,* 24 *wherewith the Chaldeans about the oven were consumed, but the three children within it were not hurt.* 28 *The song of the three children in the oven.*

AND they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God, and blessing the Lord.

2 Then Azarias stood up, and prayed on this manner: and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire said,

3 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: thy name is worthy to be praised and glorified for evermore:

TITLE.—*The Song of the Three Holy Children.*] In the Vatican LXX. the title is 'Prayer of Azarias' and 'Hymn of the Three.' The Alex. MS. omits. Fritzsche edits: 'Prayer of Azarias and Laud of the Three Children' (προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου καὶ τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν αἴνεσις). The Gk. term αἴνεσις may represent Heb. תהלה, *laus, psalmus,* as in Ps. cxlv. (title), or תודה, *actio gratiarum* (Ps. xxvi. 7). In the Vulgate, S. Jerome notes: "Quae sequuntur in Hebraeis voluminibus non reperi." Walton's Syriac has the heading, "Prayer of those with Hananiah;" the Ethiopic, "Prayer of Azariah." The Syriac edited by Bugatus from the Ambrosian MS. has no heading.

2. *Then Azarias stood up and prayed.*] The text of Theodotion connects this section with Dan. iii. 23 thus: "And they were walking in the midst of the flame, praising God and blessing the Lord. And standing with (them: Codd. 34, 36, *al.*), Azarias prayed on this manner," &c., as in the A.V. The Ambrosian Syriac, which represents the LXX., has: "23. The men, therefore, that bound them of the house of Azariah, when the flame had gone forth from the furnace, it kindled and slew; but *they* were preserved. 24. Thus, therefore, prayed Hananiah and Azariah and Mishael, and praised the Lord, when the king commanded to cast them into the furnace. 25. But when Azariah rose up, he prayed thus; and when he had opened his mouth, he was giving thanks to the Lord, with his fellows who were with him in the midst of the fire, when the furnace was being heated [*meštaggar,* "kindled"] by the Chaldeans mightily: and they said."

Fritzsche edits: "On this manner, therefore, prayed Ananias and Azarias and Misael, and sang praises unto the Lord, when the king commanded that they should be cast into the furnace. Now (δὲ) Azarias stood and prayed on this manner, and opening his mouth began to give thanks (ἐξωμολογεῖτο) unto the Lord, with his companions in the midst of the fire, as the furnace was being heated by the Chaldeans exceedingly, and they said." Theodotion pruned away this prolixity, and improved the connexion of the inserted piece with the original text. The mention of "the Chaldeans" here, and again in *v.* 24, as executing the royal decree, is remarkable. In the canonical text of Daniel they are mentioned but once (Dan. iii. 8), where it is said that "certain Chaldeans slandered the Jews" to Nebuchadnezzar. Moreover, the recurrence to the *Hebrew* names of "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego" is surprising; for throughout the narrative in Dan. iii. they are called by their Babylonian designations. It is also to be noted that in Dan. i. and ii. the order of the names is always "Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah," never, as in the addition, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (here, and *v.* 65). These peculiarities may be allowed to have some weight, in considering the question whether the piece originally belonged to the Book of Daniel or not; but they certainly do not tend to prove that the original language of this piece was Greek.

3. *Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers.*] A common formula of Jewish prayer. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 10, 20; 2 Chron. vi. 3, 4.

thy name is worthy to be praised.] So Syr.

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[a] Dan. 9. 14.

4 [a]For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways are right, and [b]all thy judgments truth.

[b] Ps. 25. 10.

5 In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, *even* Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgment: for according to truth and judgment didst thou bring all these things upon us because of our sins.

6 For we have sinned and committed iniquity, departing from thee.

7 In all things have we trespassed, and not obeyed thy commandments, nor kept them, neither done as thou hast commanded us, that it might go well with us.

8 Wherefore all that thou hast brought upon us, and every thing that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgment.

W., Vulg., Arab., and Ethiopic. Tischendorf and Fritzsche read *αἰνετὸς* for *αἰνετὸν* (so fifteen cursive MSS., Syr. Hex., and Co. Ald.), and connect the epithet with the preceding clause. We think the reading of the four versions agrees better with that *parallelism* which is one of the principles of Hebrew poetical construction. Else the term *αἰνετὸς*, Heb. מְהֻלָּל, is applicable in both ways: Ps. xviii. 3; cxiii. 3.

The word *δεδοξασμένον*, "glorious," *gloria affectus = afficiendus*, may represent Heb. גָּדוֹל, *magnus*, as in Mal. i. 11, "My name is great among the nations;" or rather נִכְבָּד, *honorandus, laudandus:* cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, 12; lxxxvii. 3.

4. *For thou art righteous in all the things.*] *ἐπὶ πᾶσι*, "in reference to all." The phrase occurs in Neh. ix. 33—a very similar context. Cf. 'Il.' xix. 181: *δικαιότερος καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἔσσεαι.* This clause is amplified in the successive sentences of the prayer to the end of *v.* 8. The spirit of it all is the same as that which finds expression in Ps. li. 4. Cf. also Jer. xii. 1. Ethiopic: "in all that thou hast brought upon us" (Gen. xxvi. 10).

yea, true are all thy works.] Gk. *καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου ἀληθινά.* Cf. Dan. iv. 34: *καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀληθινὰ καὶ αἱ τρίβοι αὐτοῦ κρίσεις.* Also Deut. xxxii. 4: *θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσεις.* And for the next clauses, Hos. xiv. 10; Ps. xix. 9. "Truth"—*ἀλήθεια*—is the reading of Codd. II., III. *al.*; but Fritzsche edits *ἀληθιναί*, "true." In Ps. xix. 9 *ἀληθινὰ* = Heb. אֱמֶת, "truth." Syr. W., "*in* truth;" Syr. Hex., "truth."

5. *In all the things.*] Literally, "And judgments of truth thou diddest, according to all that thou broughtest upon us, &c. [Ethiop.: "and thou hast done judgment and justice in all that thou hast done to us"]; because in truth and judgment thou didst all these things [so Syr. Hex.; but Theod., Syr. W., Vulg., Arab., Ethiop., *ἐπήγαγες ταῦτα πάντα*] on account of our sins." Cf. Gen. vi. 17; Jer. xix. 15; Judg. xvi. 19; Ps. iii. 7. The construction of *ἐπάγειν* with the dative is unusual in the LXX.

6. *For we have sinned.*] Fritzsche edits: "Because we sinned in all things (*ἐν πᾶσιν*, omitted by Theod.), and did lawlessly, to revolt from thee." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 37; Dan. ix. 9, 15; Jer. xvii. 5. Instead of *ἠνομήσαμεν ἀποστῆναι* (= we made lawless revolt), Codd. III., XII. *al.* read *ἠνομ. ἀποστάντες*, "we did lawlessly by revolting." Syr. W.: "On account of our trespasses which we sinned and did wickedly (before thee), and went far from thee, (and did against thy word,) and sinned unto thee in all, and unto thy commandments we hearkened not," &c. Syr. Hex. omits the bracketed clauses. Ethiop.: "because we have transgressed and gone astray, in that we have forsaken thee."

7. *In all things have we trespassed.*] *καὶ ἐξημάρτομεν ἐν πᾶσι.* The last verse began with *ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν.* It is likely that the compound verb represents a different Heb. verb, viz. הִרְשִׁיעַ, *impie egit:* see Neh. ix. 33. The Syr. Hex. has "we sinned . . . we went astray in everything."

thy commandments.] Fritzsche: "the commandments of thy law." Theod. omits *τοῦ νόμου*, and reads the simple *ἠκούσαμεν*, instead of *ὑπηκούσαμεν.* All the verbs are aorists: "And we did wickedly in all things, and the commandments of thy law we obeyed not, nor observed straitly (*συντηρεῖν*), nor did as thou commandedst us, that it might well befal us."

8. *Wherefore.*] Rather, "and now." This *καὶ νῦν*—Heb. וְעַתָּה—is a very common formula in later Hebrew style: cf. Neh. ix. 32; 2 Chron. vi. 16, 17, 40, 41. Theod., Syr. W., Arab., wrongly omit the characteristic *νῦν.* The formula recurs in *vv.* 9 and 17 *infra.* The writer repeats the statement of *v.* 4, as a preliminary to specifying *what* it is that God has brought upon His people. This peculiarity is another indication of a Hebrew original.

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9 And thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forsakers *of God*, and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world.

10 And now we cannot open our mouths, we are become a shame and reproach to thy servants, and to them that worship thee.

11 Yet deliver us not up wholly, for thy name's sake, neither disannul thou thy covenant:

12 And cause not thy mercy to depart from us, for thy beloved

9. *And thou didst deliver us.*] *I.e.*, "in that thou didst deliver us." The verse is an explication of the last. (Heb. ותתננו.) In Fritzsche's text the verse runs: "and thou didst deliver us into the hands of our lawless enemies, and most hateful renegades." So Syr. Hex. Theodotion omits ἡμῶν and καὶ before ἐχθίστων. His text may be rendered as in A.V., or perhaps thus: "enemies, lawless, abominable, apostate."

The term ἀποστάται, "rebels" or "rebellious," does not seem suitable as applied to the Chaldeans. In Isa. xxx. 1, the Jews are called τέκνα ἀποστάται; in the Heb., "stubborn, contumacious children." In Ezra iv. 12, 15, Jerusalem is called "rebel city"—πόλις ἀποστάτις—in regard to the Persian kings. Here, as in Num. xiv. 9, Josh. xxii. 19, the term represents the Heb. and Aramean מרד, "*contumax fuit, defecit* a domino" (cf. 2 Macc. v. 8). Michaelis thought that *môrĕdim* might mean "haughty" or "cruel," and he refers to the rarer Arabic and Syriac usage of the same root. The term "apostates" would then be an instance of mistranslation from the Hebrew original. But the Chaldeans are, from a Jewish point of view, not only ἄνομοι, but also ἀποστάται — "renegades" from Jehovah's law. (Cf. Jer. ii. 5; Ps. cxix. 150; and the Syr. Hex. term here.) The meaning need not be restricted to the Mosaic system. The universal laws of morality may be intended: cf. Amos i. 3; ii. 1. For the wicked lawlessness of the Chaldeans, cf. Hab. i. 11 *sqq.*; Is. xiv. 20 *sq.*

The Greek text continues: "and to a king unjust and very wicked beside (παρὰ) all the earth." The superlative πονηροτάτῳ is curious in connexion with παρά. I cannot find another instance. Otherwise the expression is thoroughly Hebraic (cf. the Ethiop., "evil above all the earth"). Such a description of Nebuchadnezzar appears, however, to be most unmerited, when considered in the light of what we are told about that great monarch in the Book of Kings, and in the writings of the contemporary prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The words rather express the bitter feeling of the later Jews towards their Syrian tyrants, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, whom they regarded as a "new Nebuchadnezzar." Syr. W.: "Into the hand of our wicked enemies, who are far from thee, and unto the lordship of the godless kingdom, which is worse than all the kingdoms of the earth." Ethiopic: "Sinners who are far off and removed from thee" (omitting "most hateful").

10. *we cannot open our mouths.*] Because we feel that our doom is just. Cf. Ps. xxxix. 9, "I am dumb, I open not my mouth; because thou hast done it;" also Matt. xxii. 12.

we are become a shame and reproach.] So Vulgate; but Greek, Syriac, Arabic, "shame and reproach have fallen to thy bondmen, and to them that worship thee."

11. *Yet deliver us not up.*] Theod. μὴ δὴ παραδῷς. Fritzsche omits the particle. "Wholly" is εἰς τέλος, which may be a rendering either of לכלה, *ad consummationem*, i.e. *prorsus, plane* (2 Chron. xii. 12), or of לנצח, *in aeternum*, as so often in the Psalms. Syr. H.: *l'hartâ*, "to the end."

disannul.] The Gk. is διασκεδάσῃς, "scatter abroad;" "fling to the winds," as we might say. In connexion with the term διαθήκη, it is the usual LXX. rendering of the Heb. הפר ברית, *fregit*, i.e. *violavit foedus*: Gen. xvii. 14; Lev. xxvi. 15, 44.

12. *cause not thy mercy to depart.*] Compare the promise to David (2 Sam. vii. 15; 1 Chron. xvii. 13).

for thy beloved Abraham's sake.] The Gk. is διὰ Ἀβ. τὸν ἠγαπημένον ὑπὸ σοῦ. This expression is usually compared with that of 2 Chron. xx. 7: ἔδωκας αὐτὴν σπέρματι Ἀβραὰμ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου, where the Hebrew is, "And gavest it to the seed of Abraham thy lover" (or "friend," אהבך). But Dr. Bissell is doubly wrong in the assertion that "only in 2 Chron. xx. 7 is Abraham elsewhere called 'the beloved (A.V. 'friend') of God.'" The same Hebrew term is applied to the patriarch in Isa. xli. 8: "seed of Abraham, my lover!" where the LXX. misrenders ὃν ἠγάπησα = τοῦ ἠγαπημένου μου or ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. It is certainly curious that the Greek version should in both cases render אֹהֵב, *amans*, as if it were אָהוּב, *amatus*. St. James (ii. 23) writes that Abraham "was called *friend* of God" (φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη). This, it is well known, is the common designation of the patriarch in the East; and had Greek

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Abraham's sake, for thy servant Isaac's sake, and for thy holy Israel's sake;

13 To whom thou hast spoken and promised, [c] that thou wouldest multiply their seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that lieth upon the seashore.

14 [d] For we, O Lord, are become less than any nation, and be kept under this day in all the world because of our sins.

15 Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before thee, and to find mercy.

16 [e] Nevertheless in a contrite heart and an humble spirit let us be accepted.

[c] Gen. 22. 17. & 26. 4.

[d] Baruch 2. 13.

[e] Baruch 2. 18.

been the original language of this Prayer, the expression of the text would most likely have been *διὰ Ἀβ. τὸν φίλον σου*. Some critics have supposed that the original expression in the present context was the Chaldee רְחִימֵךְ. It *may*, however, have been the Hebrew term just indicated, or the synonymous ידידך: comp. Deut. xxxiii. 12, ידיד יהוה=*ἠγαπημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου*, and Isa. v. 1, where לידידי is twice rendered *τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ*; and the Targum has זרעיה דאברהם רחמי, "the seed of Abraham my lover." So Syr. W. here; Syr. H., "who is dear (*ḥabib*) to thee." Ethiop. "beloved," "friend" (Hos. iii. 1).

for thy holy Israel's sake.] The phrase "Israel (*i.e.* Jacob) thy holy one" is unknown to the O. T. In Exod. xix. 6 it is ordained that the *people* of Israel shall be "a kingdom of priests, and a *holy nation*;" and the idea is reiterated in the succeeding portions of the Pentateuch, *e.g.* Lev. xi. 44, 45; Deut. vii. 6. Compare also Dan. vii. 18, 21 *sqq.* Applied to Jacob, the term seems to carry the same general sense: *separated* from the rest of the world, and *devoted to Jehovah*. Cf. *ὅσιος* in Ps. iv. 3; xvi. 9. Syr. H., "Israel *thy people*."

13. *To whom thou hast spoken.*] So Theod., *οἷς ἐλάλησας πρὸς αὐτοὺς, λέγων*, "unto whom thou spakest, saying." We prefer this Hebraism to Fritzsche's *ὡς ἐλάλ. κ.τ.λ.* (The Vatic. LXX. omits *πρὸς αὐτούς*, אלהם.) For the promise, see Gen. xxii. 17.

14. *For we . . . are become less than any nation.*] Whereas Jehovah had promised to make them numerous as the stars of heaven and the sand of the seashore, they are "minished below all the (heathen) nations" (*ἐσμικρύνθημεν παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*). For the verb, see Jer. xxix. 6 (מְעַט); 1 Chron. xvi. 19.

"O Lord" is *δέσποτα* (אדני), instead of the commoner *κύριε*. Comp. Gen. xv. 2, 8; Luke ii. 29.

be kept under . . . world.] "Are low (*ταπεινοί*) in all the earth." It is possible that *Mem* and *Beth* have been confused here, and בכל written for מכל. In that case the original text was, "and are lower than all the earth," which agrees better with the parallel clause. Comp., however, Judg. vi. 15 (LXX. Alex.). For *ταπεινὸς*, see Ps. xviii. 27; Isa. xiv. 32; 1 Sam. ii. 8 (דַּל=*ταπεινὸς* in Judg. vi. 15). Syr. W., "we are *scattered*;" Vulg. *humiles*; Syr. Hex. *meskiné*, "poor."

15. *Neither is there at this time.*] Comp. Hos. iii. 4: "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without a *Maççebah* (sacred pillar), and without an Ephod and Teraphim." Also 2 Chron. xv. 3; Isa. iii. 1 *sqq.*, ix. 15.

This verse bears on the question of date, inasmuch as the assertion that there was no *prophet* implies a time subsequent to that of the Exilic prophets. The author unconsciously transfers a feature of his own day to that of Daniel. On the other hand, the suspension of the sacrificial rites is in keeping with the supposition that at the time of composition the Temple lay in ruins.

sacrifice or oblation.] The Gk. terms *θυσία* (זבח, "peace offering") and *προσφορὰ* (מנחה. "meat offering") are thus associated in Ps. xl. 6: "Sacrifice and meat offering thou wouldest not."

or place to sacrifice . . . and to find mercy.] Because "in Jerusalem was *the place* (מקום) where men ought to worship." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 20; 1 Chron. xxii. 1; 2 Chron. vii. 12; Deut. xii. 5 *sq.* The term rendered "to sacrifice" is *καρπῶσαι*, which in Attic Gk. means "to bear fruit," "to crop land," "to enjoy the fruits or interest" of a thing or a sum of money. Here, as in Lev. ii. 11, it denotes "to offer a meat offering," and represents the Heb. אִשֶּׁה, "a fire offering" (=*κάρπωμα*, Lev. ii. 9, 10 *et al.*). Syr. W., "nor a place where we may offer sweet spices and a sacrifice;" Syro-Hex., "a place to offer fruits;" so Ethiop. For "find mercy"—*εὑρεῖν ἔλεος*—comp. Gen. xix. 19; Num. xi. 15 (Heb. חֵן, *gratia*).

16. *contrite heart.*] Gk. "contrite soul." Cf. Isa. lxi. 1; Ps. xxxiv. 18, cxlvii. 3. In-

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17 Like as in the burnt offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat lambs: ƒso let our sacrifice be in thy sight this day, and *grant* that we may wholly go after thee: for ɡthey shall not be confounded that put their trust in thee.

ƒ Ps. 51. 17.

ɡ Ps. 25, 2, 3.

18 And now we follow thee with all our heart, we fear thee, and seek thy face.

19 Put us not to shame: but deal with us after thy lovingkindness, and according to the multitude of thy mercies.

20 Deliver us also according to thy marvellous works, and give glory to thy name, O Lord: and let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed;

21 And let them be confounded

stead of πνεύματι τεταπεινωμένῳ, Theod. gives πνεύμ. ταπεινώσεως. The former is preferable. Cf. Ps. li. 18: πνεῦμα—συντετριμμένον—καρδίαν συντετρ. καὶ τεταπεινωμένην.

17. *the burnt offerings.*] Some MSS. of Theod., ὁλοκαυτώσει, sing.; Fritzsche, ὁλοκαυτώμασι, "burnt offerings;" so Syr. Hex. With the general sentiment here, compare Ps. cxli. 2: "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." Also Ps. li. 16, 17. Instead of "let us be accepted," Syr. W. has: "we have drawn near to the burning of the fire, praying that the offering of our soul to-day be more than bullocks and rams and many fat lambs."

and grant that we may wholly go after thee.] LXX. καὶ ἐξιλάσαι ὄπισθέν σου. Theod. καὶ ἐκτελέσαι (*al.* ἐκτελείσθω) ὄπισθέν σου. Fritzsche conjectures καὶ ἡ ἐξίλασις ἔμπροσθέν σου, "and our propitiation before thee," which satisfies the sense and parallelism. Eichhorn truly observes that the whole verse is so obscure and unintelligible, that no original Greek writer could have penned it.

It is likely that the Hebrew כָּלִיל, "whole," "perfect," and then "whole offering," ὁλοκαύτωμα, has been confused with the verb כָּלָה, "to finish." See Lev. vi. 15 *sq.*; Ezek. xvi. 14; xxvii. 4, 11. Walton's Syriac has, "And let not thy servants be ashamed;" but the Syro-Hexaplar agrees with LXX., and notes the reading of Theod. The Ethiopic gives the verse thus: "As the sacrifice of rams and bulls, and as thousands, etc., so be our sacrifice before thee to-day, and let it be perfect with thee" (*i.e.* in thy sight).

they shall not be confounded.] Lit., "there shall not be [Fritzsche, "there is not"] shame (*i.e.*, disappointment) to them that put," &c. Cf. Ps. xxv. 2, 3, xxxi. 1; Rom. ix. 33. The present tense is preferable, because the clause alleges a fact of general experience: cf. *v.* 18. So Syro-Hex.

19. *lovingkindness.*] The Greek is ἐπιείκεια, which, as a human quality, Mr. Matthew Arnold would call "sweet reasonableness." In Ps. lxxxvi. 5 the adjective ἐπιεικὴς renders a Heb. term which means "placable," "forgiving," and is followed immediately by πολυέλεος, "merciful." So here "forgivingness" is the meaning (cf. Baruch ii. 21), and the term is followed by τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου, which is a substantival expression corresponding to πολυέλεος.

20. *thy marvellous works.*] Or, "miracles;" τὰ θαυμάσια σου, נִפְלְאֹתֶיךָ: Ps. ix. 1, and often. Cf. Exod. iii. 20. It should be remembered that what we call "operations of Nature" were, to the Old Testament mind, "marvellous works (or miracles) of Iahweh;" a view which is at once less "scientific" and more profoundly true than ours.

give glory to thy name.] Ps. xxix. 1, 2; cxv. 1. Cf. also John xii. 28.

let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed.] Literally, "Let all them that shew evil things to thy servants be turned about" (or, "put to shame," Ael. 'V. H.' iii. 17; or "feel shame," 2 Thess. iii. 14; Titus ii. 8: see Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* ἐντρέπω. The verb renders two Heb. synonyms denoting "shame:" see Ps. xxxv. 4, 26; and also a term meaning "was humbled," or "humbled oneself:" Judges iii. 30; 2 Chron. xii. 7).

Those who argue for a "Chaldee" original have supposed that οἱ ἐνδεικνύμενοι (κακὰ) represents מַחְמִין or מַרְאִין. But the Greek is not peculiar. An exact parallel occurs in the LXX. of Gen. l. 15, 17, where the Heb. גמל רעה is rendered κακὰ ἐνδείκνυσθαί τινι. Syr. W.: "think evil things against." Syr. Hex.: "shew in (against) thy servants evil things" (*dam'ḫawwên b' 'abdê dîlôk bišôthô*).

21. *in all their power and might.*] The Gk. ἀπὸ πάσης δυναστείας, in connexion with καταισχυνθείησαν, can only mean, "Let them be ashamed of all (their) power" (warlike prowess, גבורה), as of a thing which had deceived their expectations. See the same phrase and construction, Jer. ii. 36, "Thou shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria." Also Ps. cxix. 16. Ethiopic: "in all their tyranny" (Amos iii. 9).

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‖ Or, *by thy power and might.*

‖ Or, *naphtha,* which is a certain kind of fat and chalky clay, *Plin. lib. 2. cap.* 105.

‖ Or, *cool.*

‖ in all their power and might, and let their strength be broken;

22 And let them know that thou art Lord, the only God, and glorious over the whole world.

23 ¶ And the king's servants, that put them in, ceased not to make the oven hot with ‖ rosin, pitch, tow, and small wood;

24 So that the flame streamed forth above the furnace forty and nine cubits.

25 And it passed through, and burned those Chaldeans it found about the furnace.

26 But the angel of the Lord came down into the oven together with Azarias and his fellows, and smote the flame of the fire out of the oven;

27 And made the midst of the furnace as it had been a ‖ moist whistling wind, so that the fire touched them not at all, neither hurt nor troubled them.

22. *And let them know.*] Fritzsche omits *καί*. Some MSS. of Theod. give it, and it accords better with Hebrew style to retain it. So Walton's Syr.

thou art Lord, the only God.] Or, "thou art alone the Lord God"—*σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος ὁ θεός* (Fritzsche). But Theod. *σὺ εἶ κύριος* (*ὁ*, III., XII. *al.*) *θεὸς μόνος*, "thou art the Lord God alone." Cf. 2 Kings xix. 19, "All the kingdoms of the earth shall know that *σὺ* (*εἶ*) *κύριος ὁ θεὸς μόνος*." The article before *θεὸς* is not in the Hebrew.

world.] *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, sc. *γῆ*. So Syro-Hex. Sometimes the Greek term renders אֶרֶץ, "earth," "land," "country," *e.g.* Isa. x. 23; but more often תֵּבֵל, *terra fertilis et habitata*, and then generally *orbis terrarum* (Prov. viii. 31). See Delitzsch *ad* Ps. xc. 2. Walton's Syr., "in all thy works."

23. *And the king's servants.*] The A.V. follows the text of Theodotion, which contracts the verse considerably. Fritzsche gives the full reading: "And when they had cast the three all at once into the furnace, and the furnace was red-hot (*διάπυρος*), according to the heating of it seven times as much;—and when they had cast them in, they who cast them in were above them (*ὑπεράνω αὐτῶν*, Ezek. x. 19; xi. 22), while the others were kindling underneath them (*ὑπέκαιον ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτῶν*: see Ezek. xxiv. 5) naphtha, and tow, and pitch, and brushwood." So Syro-Hex.

"Naphtha" is appropriately mentioned, as it was a natural product of Babylonia (Dioscor. i. 101). The word is of Persian origin (*naft*), and denotes a clear rock-oil or petroleum, used by the Jews for lighting purposes. See Targum Jerus. on Exod. xiv. 24: "And he cast upon them naphtha (נַפְטָא) and fire and hail stones." The term is also Talmudic (נֶפֶט): *Shabb.* 24 *b*, line 19. See also Plin. xxxv. 15; ii. 105. Syr. Hex. *id.*

"Tow"—Fritzsche *στυπίον*, Theod. *στιππόν*, but more correctly *στυππεῖον*, according to inscriptions—is the Latin *stuppa*. Judges xvi. 9; Isa. i. 31=נְעֹרֶת, *stuppa*.

"Smallwood," or brushwood, twigs, *κλήματις*, is properly "vine-twigs:" cf. Thucyd. vii. 53 (plur.). Isa. xviii. 5 = נְטִישׁוֹת, *palmites*.

"Pitch," *πίσσα*, is the Heb. זֶפֶת (Isa. xxxiv. 9).

24. *So that the flame streamed forth.*] Rather, "and the flame was spreading about" (*διεχείτο*: used of a disease, Lev. xiii. 22 = פָּשְׂתָה, *diffudit se*. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 75: *ὅπως μὴ διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ χῶμα*). Syro-Hex. *mešṭaff*"*ā*, "poured out;" but Walton, "And the flame of the fire made a noise, and rose above the furnace."

forty and nine cubits.] "Up to, as far as (*ἐπὶ*), forty-nine cubits." Not *about* (*περὶ*, *ἀμφὶ*), as Bissell translates, with a false reference to Hdt. iv. 190 (181?). As regards the number, it was natural to use a multiple of the sacred number 7 (cf. Dan. ix. 25; x. 2, 13; Lev. xxv. 8); and definite numbers are often assigned in the O.T., according to the vividness of Eastern style, where we should use an indefinite expression of quantity or extent.

25. *And it passed through.*] Gen. xii. 6 (*διῴδευσε*, Theod.). Fritzsche edits *διεξῴδευσεν*, "it escaped," "made its way out." But the other is the usual word in the LXX. Syro-Hex., "it came forth."

26. *the angel of the Lord.*] As *ἄγγελος κυρίου* represents מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה, this is right. Walton's Syriac has "the angel of dew:" cf. the next verse.

came down into . . . together with.] *Συγκατέβη . . . ἅμα*. The verb occurs Ps. xlix. 17, as rendering of Heb. יֵרֵד אַחֲרָיו, "his wealth shall not descend (into the grave) after him." Cf. also Wisd. x. 14.

Azarias and his fellows.] The well-known idiom *οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν*: cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 6, 9; xxxix. 4. Syr. W. gives the three names; Syr. H., "those of the house of Azariah."

smote.] Lit., "shook out." This verb (*ἐκτινάσσω*) renders נער in Exod. xiv. 27, and other places. Walton's Syr., "thrust," "drove;" Syro-Hex., "shook" (Acts xviii. 6).

27. *a moist whistling wind.*] Lit., "a

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28 Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, glorified, and blessed, God in the furnace, saying,

29 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.

30 And blessed is thy glorious and holy name: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.

31 Blessed art thou in the temple of thine holy glory: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.

32 Blessed art thou that beholdest the depths, and sittest upon the cherubims: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.

33 Blessed art thou on the glorious throne of thy kingdom: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.

34 Blessed art thou in the firmament of heaven: and above all to be praised and glorified for ever.

35 [h] O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and ‖exalt him above all for ever.

36 [i] O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[h] Ps. 103. 22.
‖ Or, *highly exalt*: and so in the rest.
[i] Ps. 148. 4.

wind of dew" (*i.e.* "a dewy wind;" or, "a dew-laden wind," *i.e.* a damp rainy wind, *πνεῦμα νότιον*), "whistling continually" (*διασυρίζον*). The phrase *πνεῦμα συρίζον* occurs Wisd. xvii. 17. The Heb. might be רוּחַ טַל יִשְׁרֵקֶת; so Syro-Hex. Dew is mentioned Dan. iv. 15, 23, 25, 33; v. 21. Cf. also Ecclus. xviii. 16: "Shall not the dew assuage the heat?" and xliii. 22.

28. *Then.*] So Theod. (*τότε*). But Fritzsche, *ἀναλαβόντες δέ*, "But taking up the discourse;" so Syro-Hex., "answered:" cf. Num. xxiv. 2, 15. The following verbs are all imperfects: "were praising" or "began to praise," &c. (*ὕμνουν*).

29. *exalted above all.*] Headed: "IX. Prayer of the 3 Children" in the Ethiopic Psalter. The Greek word *ὑπερυψόω* is used in Dan. iv. 34 in connexion with *αἰνῶ*. The Syr. is ܡܪܘܡܝܢ, which suggests Heb. מְרוֹמִם, as in Neh. ix. 5. In Syr. W. *vv.* 29–34 have the same refrain: *Laudatus tu et exaltatus in saeculum!* So probably the Hebrew.

30. *thy glorious and holy name.*] Lit., "the holy name of thy glory;" a Hebraism.

31. *the temple of thine holy glory.*] A phrase not found in the Hebrew O. T. The reference is probably to the heavenly Temple: Hab. ii. 20; Ps. xi. 4; Isa. vi. 1. lxvi. 1. There is thus no inconsistency between this verse and *v.* 14 *sq.* as some have supposed (*vide* Introd.). Syr. W., "the temple of thine holiness," which may be original.

"To be praised" is here *ὑπερυμνητός*. Neither this term, nor *ὑπερένδοξος* which follows it, nor *ὑπεραινετὸς* in the last verse, is met with elsewhere in the LXX. (Trommius.)

32, 33. Fritzsche transposes these two verses, after LXX., Syr. H., Vulg.

32. For "depths" (*ἄβυσσοι* = תְּהוֹמוֹת; so the Syriac texts) see Ps. xxxiii. 7; lxxvii. 16. In classical Gk. the word is an adjective, meaning "bottomless," and then "boundless," "immense," in a general sense. In the LXX. *ἡ ἄβυσσος* = "the ocean," and this accords with the Sumerian and Assyrian ABZU, *apsû*, which denotes the ocean flowing round the earth and under the earth, which, according to the Babylonian cosmogony, was the *sozer* (i.e. father) of all things. In Rev. ix. 1, *ἡ ἄβυσσος* is the pit of hell.

and sittest upon the cherubims.] See Isa. xxxvii. 16; Ps. lxxx. 1.

33. *the glorious throne of thy kingdom.*] Lit., "the throne of the glory of thy kingdom." Fritzsche omits *δόξης*, which is found in some MSS. of Theod. Syr. W. omits; Syr. H. marks it with an asterisk. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 8; 2 Sam. vii. 13; Jer. xiv. 21.

to be praised and glorified above all.] Fritzsche, *ὑμνητὸς καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος*; Theod., *ὑπερυμνητὸς καὶ ὑπερυμνούμενος*. The last word is probably due to a transcriber's error.

34. *in the firmament of heaven.*] So Theod. Fritzsche omits "of heaven;" but cf. Gen. i. 6. It is probably original.

35. The extract in our Prayer-book called the *Benedicite*, appointed to be sung as an alternative to the *Te Deum*, begins with this verse, and ends with the corresponding part of *v.* 65. It is headed, as a separate piece, in the Ethiopic Psalter: "X. Where Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael blessed." Cf. Ps. ciii. 22. The "works of the Lord" are the entire creation, visible and invisible, as appears from the subsequent enumeration of them. Cf. in general Pss. civ., cxlviii.

The refrain of this and the following verses, "praise and exalt him above all for ever"—or, as the P.B. gives it, "Praise him and magnify him for ever"—might be הַלְלֻהוּ וְרוֹמְמֻהוּ לָעוֹלָמִים. Cf. Dan. ii. 4; Ps. lxxvii. 7.

36. *O ye heavens.*] Syr. W. adds "of the Lord." Fritzsche puts the next verse before

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37 [k] O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

38 [l] O all ye waters that be above the heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

39 O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

40 [m] O ye sun and moon, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[k] Ps. 148. 2.
[l] Ps. 148. 4.
[m] Ps. 148. 3.

this one, and so the Prayer-book version. The order of the text is that of Theod., Syr., Old Lat. and Vulg. The general term "heavens" naturally precedes, as including the special *angels*. Moreover, the "works of the Lord" are subdivided into celestial and terrestrial, the former category covering everything from *v.* 36 to *v.* 51. Fritzsche therefore is wrong in stating that "By οὐρανοὶ, in contrast with ὕδατα, *v.* 38, only the visible arch of heaven [*das Gewölbe*] is meant, and that for that reason the angels are named first." Οὐρανοὶ—שָׁמַיִם—is a term including both the material and the spiritual heavens. Indeed the distinction is hardly made by Hebrew thought. In Ps. cxlviii. 1, 2, we have the same order as here,—first the heavens, then the angels; cf. Ps. ciii. 19, 20. But cp. also Ps. cxlviii. 4. The contemplation of the heavens is a natural source of elevated thought. And this is not less the case now when so much more is known about their mechanical structure and laws than it was in those ancient times, when they and all that they contained were regarded as intrinsically divine. Kant's saying about "the starry heavens above and the moral law within" has become a commonplace. "The philosopher who knows most, whether in the courses of the stars, or in the unfolding of the embryonic point, or in any other department of knowledge, is of all others in a position to feel in the highest degree the greatness of that which lies behind the phenomenal. The emotions which are considered more distinctly religious cannot be rendered less active by a higher intellectual appreciation of the greatness of their object." (Wm. Huggins, F.R.S., *Times*, Jan. 19, 1884.) For the later Jewish theory about the seven heavens and their contents, see *Chagigah*, 12 B.

37. *O ye angels.*] The language of this hymn does not go beyond that of the Hebrew psalms within the Canon, as may be seen by referring to the parallels (Ps. ciii. 20; cxlviii. 2; lxxviii. 25; civ. 4). There is therefore no need to discuss the doctrine of angels here. See the story quoted in the Introd. from *Pesachim*, 118 A *sq.* Gabriel, as the Prince of Fire, reminds us of Gibil, the ancient Babylonian genius or spirit of fire.

38. *ye waters that be above the heaven.*] The upper deep or celestial ocean, whose waters pour down in rain when "the floodgates of heaven are opened:" see Gen. i. 7, vii. 11; Isa. xxiv. 18. This ancient Semitic conception, so faithfully reflecting the simplicity with which primitive man regarded the phenomena of the natural world, will be a "rock of offence" to none, except to those who stickle for "the scientific accuracy of the Bible," and thereby evince a perversity of thought hard to be understood by any who perceive the glaring anachronism of the phrase.

39. *O all ye powers of the Lord.*] Δύναμις often represents חַיִל, *vis, robur, virtus, copia;* but very often also צָבָא, *militia, exercitus*, especially in the phrase (ὁ) κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, "the Lord of hosts." That the latter is the case here is plain from the archetypal passage, Ps. ciii. 21: εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ; Heb. כל צבאיו. What these powers are is defined in the following verses, viz. the principal objects, processes, and phenomena of the natural world, especially the sun, moon, and stars. The last were pre-eminently "the host of heaven." Cf. Gen. ii. 1; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Isa. xxxiv. 4; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; 1 Peter iii. 22. Fritzsche explains "the mighty denizens of heaven," "the celestial powers in general." In Syr. W. this verse precedes *v.* 38.

40. *O ye sun and moon.*] Eichhorn and others since have objected that the language of this hymn is inappropriate to its alleged occasion. We may, however, observe an ideal fitness here and elsewhere. For the Three Holy Children are martyrs, and the idolatry against which they bear their testimony of suffering is a worship of the powers of nature. Anu[m], the spirit of heaven; Êa, the spirit of earth; the Igigi or good angels, and the Annunnaki or evil angels; Sin, the moon-god, and Shamash, the sun-god; Merodach (Jupiter), Dilpad (Venus), Kaiwânu (Saturn), and the other heavenly bodies; as well as Rimmon, the god of the air, Gibil (fire), and other natural objects and processes, were worshipped in Babylon. Above all these the hymn exalts Iahweh, their Creator.

Here, as in Ps. cxlviii. 3, the order of the words is noticeable. The Assyrian inscriptions reverse it, reading Sin, Shamash, &c., in their lists of gods. The moon was the more important deity in Semitic mythology. The verse is starred as spurious in Syro-Hex.,

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41 [n] O ye stars of heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

42 O every shower and dew, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

43 [o] O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

44 [p] O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

45 O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

46 O ye dews and storms of snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[n] Ps. 148. 3. [o] Ps. 148. 8. [p] Ps. 148. 8.

whence it would appear to be an addition of Theodotion's. But the sun and moon would hardly be omitted where the stars are mentioned (see the parallel passage cited above); and the presence of the verse in the Greek MS. favours its genuineness.

41. *O ye stars.*] The worship of the stars, so often denounced in the O.T. (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3; Deut. iv. 19; Isa. xiv. 13, xxiv. 21–23), was widespread among the primitive Semites. A star was the character representing the word *ilu*, "god," in the old Babylonian writing; and star-worship was practised among the Sabeans of S. Arabia, as well as in the countries beyond the Euphrates. In an Assyrian mythological inscription the stars are called "the flock of Anu;" and in another (the Fifth Tablet of the Creation Series), it is said that the Creator "constructed the stations of the great gods," *i.e.* the positions of the stars in heaven.

42. *O every shower and dew.*] See Deut. xxxii. 2, where ὄμβρος = יְשָׁעִרִים, "showers." The reference of this verse and the following reminds us that, according to the preceding narrative, the Angel of Iahweh "made the midst of the furnace as it had been a whistling wind of dew." Rain and dew, moreover, here have that prominence which naturally belongs to them in the parched East. Some scholars have even supposed that the sacred name of Iahweh originally meant, not "He who becomes" or "causes to become," but "He who causes (the rain) to fall" upon the thirsty soil. At all events, the term *Shaddai*, rendered "Almighty" in our Bibles, may fairly be connected with the roots *'āshad*, *shādāh* (*effudit*), and be explained "He who pours forth" the rain, and waters the earth (Arab. *thadā*, madefecit, rigavit): cf. Ps. civ. 3, 13; Joel ii. 23.

43, 44. Instead of "O all ye winds," Syr. W. has "O ye waters and wind." See Ps. cxlvii. 18, "He causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow;" Ps. cxlviii. 8, "Fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word;" and Ps. civ. 3, 4, "Who appointeth clouds for his chariot, who walketh on the wings of the wind; who maketh his angels winds, his ministers flaming fire." Cf. also Gen. viii. 22 (καῦμα = חֹם. So Syr. here); Isa. xxxiii. 14; Deut. iv. 24; Exod. iii. 2, xix. 18, xiii. 21; Amos v. 6; Dan. vii. 9; Ps. xviii. 12–14. From these and other passages it will be seen that fire was first the visible element in Theophanies, and then the standing symbol of the Divine splendour and purity.

45. *winter and summer.*] *I.e.*, ψῦχος καὶ καύσων (*al.* καῦμα), the reading of Theod. Καύσων is sun or summer heat: Isa. xlix. 10; Matt. xx. 12. Sometimes it is the hot east wind: Hos. xii. 1; xiii. 15. Fritzsche edits here: ῥίγος (? ῥῖγος) καὶ ψῦχος, "O ye frost and cold." So Syr. H.; but Syr. W., "O ye souls of the righteous." In his commentary he remarks: "The text and yet more the arrangement of these verses (45–51) *apud* Theod. is unsettled. The MSS. which directly follow the LXX. deserve no consideration. After the πῦρ καὶ καῦμα of verse 43 (44) the LXX. suitably wrote ῥίγος καὶ ψῦχος, vers. 44 (45); but the objection is that πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος, 'frosts and cold,' follows as verse 46 (47) in the LXX. To judge by the evidence in Holmes and Parsons' work, verse 46 of the LXX. was struck out, and πῦρ καὶ καῦμα was altered into ψῦχος καὶ καῦμα (others better, καύσων; 147, 233, καῦσος). Whereas then, some good witnesses, like the Old Lat., place the verse after verse 43, others, as the Vatic. LXX., place it after verse 47. Internal probability favours the latter arrangement, as the alteration of ῥίγος καὶ ψῦχος into ψῦχος καὶ καύσων would have been preposterous; and, externally, the fact that some MSS. (*e.g.* 33) apparently give *only* πάγος καὶ ψῦχος (after the LXX.), but placed after verse 47. With 'Light and darkness,' verse 47, 'cold and (sun) heat' might undoubtedly be connected."

46. *dews and storms of snow.*] Gk. δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοί. Theod. omits this verse (so Syr. W.), and also that which follows it in Fritzsche's edition: εὐλογεῖτε πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος τὸν κύριον κ.τ.λ. (*vid.* last note). Fritzsche remarks: "Theodotion purposely omitted εὐλογεῖτε δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοὶ κ.τ.λ. after verse 43 (44); for the MSS. which give it are evidently interpolated from the LXX. Similarly he passed over εὐλογεῖτε πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος κ.τ.λ., vers. 46

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47 O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

48 O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

49 O ye ice and cold, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

50 O ye frost and snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

51 O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

52 O let the earth bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

(47), and then put verse 47 (50) εὐλ. *πάχναι καὶ χιόνες κ.τ.λ.* after εὐλ. *ψῦχος καὶ καύσων κ.τ.λ.* (his verse 46)."

For the collocation of "dew and snow-storm," see LXX. Deut. xxxii. 2; Mic. v. 7 (Theod.). The Heb. word rendered *νιφετὸς* is in both cases רְבִיבִים, "raindrops," "rains." The mention of "dew" twice, first with "shower" (*v.* 42) and then with "snow-storms," is curious. Perhaps it represents some other Heb. word here, as in Prov. xxvi. 1, where the LXX. renders שֶׁלֶג, "snow," by δρόσος.

47. *O ye nights and days.*] The order is that observed in the first cosmogony (Gen. i.–ii. 3). The Hebrews, as is well known, reckoned their day from evening to evening.

48. *O ye light and darkness.*] It is not clear from the Heb. of Gen. i. 2 whether *darkness* is there regarded as prior to creation or as itself a product of the Divine activity. Yet *v.* 5, where Elohim gives a *name* to the darkness, seems to imply much what the great Prophet of the Captivity meant, when he said, "I form the light and *create darkness*" (Isa. xlv. 7). Light and darkness are often symbolical of the two aspects of God. The former sets forth the Divine as revealing itself to the faith of humanity; the latter, as hiding itself in impenetrable secrecy from all attempts to fathom its transcendent nature.

49, 50. *O ye ice and cold . . . ye frost and snow.*] See notes on *vv.* 45, 46. The P.B. has: "O ye frost and cold . . . O ye ice and snow." The Greek is: "O ye frosts (*πάγοι*) and cold . . . O ye hoar frosts (*πάχναι*) and snows." Syr. W., "O ye cold and heat"—"summer and winter"; Syr. H. omits.

Dr. Child Chaplin well observes that "the services of frost and snow in Nature's economy are apt to be overlooked," owing to their more familiar associations with physical suffering. Here "they are dwelt upon as illustrations not only of Power, but also of Goodness and Wisdom." The Three Children might be supposed to remember that the great stream of "the Euphrates was still copiously fed from its snowy reservoirs on the Armenian mountains," even amid the parching heats of an Eastern summer. The beauty of ice and snow, as seen in Alpine and in Arctic regions; the utility of that cold which "brings sleep to the vegetable world, and prepares it by a period of rest to burst forth with fresh vigour in the spring,"—of those frosts which crumble the hard clods and mellow the soil and check the exuberance of insect life, and of those deep snows which shelter the tender plants from the cold which would kill them,—is well set forth and expanded in his interesting work. The Book of Job supplies instances of the wonder and admiration excited by the beauty of the phenomena of ice and snow (xxxvii. 6; xxxviii. 29).

51. *O ye lightnings and clouds.*] In connexion with lightning, we naturally think of thunder-clouds. These grand and awful phenomena of nature have been associated with the idea of Theophanies from time immemorial. The black train of storm-clouds sweeping across the sky appears to have suggested the poetic conception of the cherub as the war-horse or war-chariot of Iahweh: see Ps. xviii. 10; Hab. iii. 8; and esp. Isa. xix. 1, "Behold, Iahweh rideth upon a swift cloud." The lightnings were His arrows, or the shining lance which He hurled at His enemies (Hab. iii. 11; Ps. xviii. 14). The thunder was His terrible voice, striking the world with dismay (Ps. xviii. 13; Ps. xxix. *passim*). How inveterate this idea was among the Jewish people may be seen from the fact that down to the latest times of Rabbinism, the mysterious *Bath Qôl*, or voice from heaven, was believed to be final arbiter of disputed questions.

52. *O let the earth bless the Lord.*] Having appealed to the principal phenomena of the heavens, the Psalmist now turns to the earth, and, after a general appeal, makes successive mention of each of its more obvious features and denizens. In order to realize how fully the earth does evermore witness to the glory of God, we may recall, with Dr. Child Chaplin, that wealth of natural beauty which clothes its varied surface, and constitutes so appropriate a covering for the priceless treasures hidden in its bosom. We may consider the earth as the storehouse

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q Ps. 148. 9

53 qO ye mountains and little hills, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

54 O all ye things that grow on the earth, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

55 O ye fountains, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

56 O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

57 O ye whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

58 r O all ye fowls of the ‖air, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

r Ps. 148. 10. ‖ Gr. *heaven.*

whence all our material and many of our mental and spiritual wants are supplied; and as presenting an overwhelming abundance of riches, in which nothing is superfluous, everything precious, when once we have mastered the secret of its application. We may see in the distribution of land and water, the arrangement and dislocation of strata, and other geological characteristics, no ambiguous proofs that long before man's appearance on the scene, his heavenly Father was providing for his well-being in what was to be his earthly home. "God has encompassed us on every side with symbols that recall Him to our thoughts, and it is habitual neglect alone which makes them profitless."

53. *O ye mountains and little hills.*] Gk. *ὄρη καὶ βουνοί.* As to the latter word, Liddell and Scott remark that it is probably a Cyrenaic word (see Hdt. iv. 158, 199), adopted by Aeschylos in Sicily, and frequent afterwards. Fritzsche refers to Sturz, 'De Dial. Maced. et Alex.,' p. 153 *sq.* In LXX. it commonly renders Heb. גִּבְעָה, *collis:* Exod. xvii. 9, 10. Hills and mountains are natural types of strength and permanence. In the flat plains of Babylonia the Jewish exiles might fondly remember the Hermons and Carmel and "the hills standing about Jerusalem;" and the thought of Him whose "righteousness standeth as the strong mountains" would be their comfort in the hour of despondency. "In sublimity," writes Dr. Child Chaplin, "mountains rank with the ocean and the clouds. . . . On the one hand, their height, their mass, and the deep planting of their roots in the earth,—on the other, the beauty which rests upon their varied outlines, which clothes their sides and precipices, and lies among their valleys and deep glens, —mark them out not only as the most conspicuous, but also as among the most attractive objects in the world." In them, too, beauty and utility coincide. They play an indispensable part in the economy of Nature. "They act as loadstones to the clouds, and draw down from them the fertilising rain."

54. *O all ye things that grow on the earth.*] So Syr. H.; Syr. W., "all ye herbs of the earth." Theod., "in the earth." In the Prayer-book it is: "O all ye green things upon the earth." "Like the 'voices of the stars,' the green things upon the earth are truly a fair Hymn of Praise written all over the land, not in dull words, but in living characters of beauty." (Dr. Child Chaplin.) Syr. W. adds: "O all ye things that sprout upon the earth," &c. After this follow: "O ye seas and rivers" —"O ye sources and all fountains"—"O ye fishes and all that creep in the waters."

55. *O ye fountains.*] Prayer-book: "O ye wells." Αἱ *πηγαὶ*, "fountains" or "springs," is the Heb. מַעְיָן or עַיִן, rather than בְּאֵר "well" (*φρέαρ*). Cod. Chisian. reads *εὐλογεῖτε ὄμβροι καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ*, "O ye *rains* (or *rain-storms*) *and* fountains." Syr. H. obelizes the added words as Theodotion's. Fritzsche is wrong in stating that Syr. W. also contains them. Theod. transposes *vv.* 55, 56.

56. *O ye seas and rivers.*] Some copies of Theod. have "sea" (*θάλασσα*). Fritzsche observes that it is unlikely that Theod. changed *θάλασσαι* into the sing., as the former reading of his text is very well attested by some MSS., and the Old Lat., Vulg., Syr. W., and Arab. versions. Besides, the plur. agrees better with *ποταμοί.* If not accidental, the variant is due to the comparative rarity of the plural form (cf. Gen. i. 10).

57. *O ye whales, and all that move in the waters.*] *κήτη*, Old Lat. and Vulg. *cete*, denotes the larger denizens of the sea in general: the monsters of the deep. It represents Heb. תַּנִּינִים, Gen. i. 21; דָּג, "fish," Jonah ii. 1, 11; and לִוְיָתָן (*μέγα κῆτος*), Job iii. 8. Cf. our scientific term *Cetacea.* For *πάντα τὰ κινούμενα*, cf. Gen. vii. 14, ix. 2; Lev. xi. 46.

58. *O all ye fowls of the air.*] *πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, "all ye birds of the heaven" (Gen. ii. 19, 20). "Air" would be expressed in Heb. by שְׁמַיִם, "heavens." The Rabbinic adopts the Greek *ἀήρ*, in the form אויר. *Πάντα* is wanting in Syr. H., 147, and Old Lat. With this verse and the next cf. Ps. cxlviii. 10. The animate creation is now called upon to take its part in the great chorus of praise. It is observable that the order is the same as in Gen. i. 20–26: fish, birds, beasts, men.

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59 [s]O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

60 O ye children of men, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

61 O Israel, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

62 [t]O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

63 O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

64 O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

65 O ye ‖holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

66 O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless the Lord: praise and

[s] Ps. 148. 10.

[t] Ps. 134. 1.

‖ Or, *saints.*

59. *beasts and cattle.*] *I.e.*, wild beasts, τὰ θηρία, the "beasts of the field," חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה, Lev. xxvi. 22, and domestic animals, τὰ κτήνη, including both *jumenta* (Old Lat.) and *pecora* (Vulg.); Heb. בְּהֵמָה (Gen. i. 25; Ps. cxlviii. 10). So Syr. W.

Some MSS., *e.g.* 36, 49, read πάντα before τὰ κτήνη instead of τὰ θηρία,—according to Fritzsche, improperly. But Ps. cxlviii. 10 has τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη. Syr. H. has "quadrupeds and wild beasts of the earth." Syr. W. adds: "O everything that creepeth upon the earth," &c.

60. *O ye children of men.*] *I.e.*, בְּנֵי אָדָם, "sons of man" (Ps. xxxiii. 13; cvii. 8); the human race, human kind. The Gk. phrase occurs Mark iii. 28; Eph. iii. 5. There is a progress in vv. 60–62 from the lower to the higher rank of being, similar to that of the preceding verses.

62. *O ye priests of the Lord.*] After Israel, the chosen people, the priests or chosen representatives of that people are mentioned: just as in Pss. cxv. 9, 10; cxviii. 2, 3; cxxxv. 19, 20; in which passages the priests are addressed as the "house of Aaron." The passage Exod. xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, an holy nation," is sometimes alleged as if it contradicted the idea of any special priesthood exercised by a particular class of duly appointed persons. But what Israel collectively was to the peoples of the earth, that the Aaronic priesthood was intended to be to Israel. The two spheres of sacerdotal privilege do not clash, and are by no means incompatible with each other.

Fritzsche edits, "O ye priests," and in v. 63, "O ye servants," omitting "of the Lord," which Theod. adds, and which seems necessary to the sense: cf. Ps. cxiii. 1; cxv. 11; cxviii. 4; cxxxiv. 1; cxxxv. 1.

Syr. W. has: "O all ye of the house of Israel," &c.—"O all ye priests of the Lord," &c. Syr. H.: "O Israel, bless the Lord"—"O ye priests, bless the Lord."

63. *O ye servants of the Lord.*] Not worshippers in general, who are addressed in vv. 64, 65, but, as the priests have just been named, v. 62, the *Levites* or lower ministers of all classes, including the *Nethinim* or ἱερόδουλοι. See Ps. cxxxiv. 1, 2; cxxxv. 1, 2; 1 Chron. ix. 33.

64. *O ye spirits and souls of the righteous.*] Theodoret explained this as an appeal to the spirits in Paradise. But what precedes and follows forbids such a reference as incongruous. The righteous on earth are meant. By the terms "spirit," πνεῦμα, רוּחַ, *spiritus*, and "soul," ψυχὴ, נֶפֶשׁ, *anima*, the Bible indicates the higher and lower principles or elements of man's immaterial being. This contrast is presented, *e.g.*, in 1 Thess. v. 23, where man's composite existence is analysed as a Trichotomy of body, soul, and spirit; and in Heb. iv. 12. In Gen. i. 20 we read: "And God said, Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls;" and again, v. 24, "Let the earth bring forth living souls after their kind;" cf. also Gen. ix. 10, 12, 15, 16, where "living creature" = Heb. "living soul." This shews that *nephesh*, ψυχὴ, includes the *vegetive* and *sensitive* (τὸ θρεπτικὸν . . . τὸ αἰσθητικόν), but not the *reasonable* soul (τὸ λογιστικὸν or νοητικόν).

65. *O ye holy and humble men of heart.*] The Gk. ὅσιοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ (τῇ most MSS. of Theod.) καρδίᾳ may better be rendered: "O ye pious and heart-humbled folk," or "O ye pious ones and broken in heart." The word ὅσιος is the regular LXX. equivalent for Heb. חָסִיד, "good," "pious" (Ps. iv. 3; xii. 1; cxlviii. 14). The חֲסִידִים or ὅσιοι were, as is well known, the patriotic and religious party of the times of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Syr. W.: "perfect," *i.e.* blameless.

Ταπεινοὺς τῷ πνεύματι occurs Ps. xxxiv. 18, as the rendering of Heb. "crushed in spirit," which is parallel to "broken in heart;" and the meaning, both there and here, is "heart-broken by the oppression of enemies." Thus the appeal is to the exiles in Babylonia (Grotius, *Judaei deportati*). Another sense of ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ occurs Matt. xi. 29.

66. *O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.*] The

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exalt him above all for ever: for he hath delivered us from ‖hell, and saved us from the hand of death, and delivered us out of the midst of the furnace *and* burning flame: even out of the midst of the fire hath he delivered us.

‖ Or, *the grave.*

67 "O give thanks unto the Lord, " Ps. 136. because he is gracious: for his 1. mercy *endureth* for ever.

68 O all ye that worship the Lord, bless the God of gods, praise him, and give him thanks: for his mercy *endureth* for ever.

appeal to the three youthful martyrs is obviously suggested by the preceding appeal to "the pious and broken in heart," or the *Chasîdîm* in general, the pious patriots who clung to their ancestral manners and worship in spite of tyrannical persecution. Of such the Three Children were bright examples.

As to their names, the first means "Iah bestoweth;" the second, "Iah helpeth;" and the third, מִישָׁאֵל, Mishael, "Who is what God is?" The Babylonian designations of the three youths have occasioned much perplexity. Perhaps instead of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, they should be (Amil)-Merodach [מרדך for שדרך], Sheshach [see Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41], and Abad-Nebo. In the first two we may suppose that by some accident of transcription מ and ש changed places. The difference between מרדך and שדרך is otherwise trifling. Sheshach (ששך) occurs as a *nomen individui* in the Talmud, e.g. *Abod. Zarah*, 65 A, line 20. Perhaps, however, the ending *-ak* points to Babylonian *Âkû*, the moon-god. Then Shadrach would mean "command of Aku;" and Meshach might be *mê ša Âki*, "water (*i.e.* son) of the moon-god."

for he hath delivered us from hell.] "From Hades," i.e. *Sheol*, the place of the departed. This clause, together with the rest of the verse, certainly wears the appearance of an interpolation intended to make what is in reality a kind of General Thanksgiving more applicable to the special circumstances of the Three Children. The psalm indeed may have been adapted to its present purpose, much as portions of several psalms are adapted in 1 Chron. xvi.

saved us from the hand of death.] Cf. "God will redeem my soul from the hand of the grave," Ps. xlix. 15; and Ps. lxxxix. 48; Hos. xiii. 14; Dan. vi. 27.

delivered us out of the midst.] Fritzsche edits: "rescued us out of the midst of burning flame." Some copies of Theod. have: "rescued us out of the midst of a furnace of burning flame." But the addition (καμίνου) is wanting in Old Lat., Vulg., Syr. W., XII., 23, Tur., and other versions and MSS.

even out of the midst of the fire.] Rather, "and out of the fire he ransomed us" (ἐλυτρώσατο). Theod. reads: "and out of the midst of fire he rescued us," repeating the word ἐῤῥύσατο from the last clause. Cf. Micah iv. 10. Syr. W.: "he brought us forth."

67. *O give thanks.*] A common liturgical formula, introduced here, as in 1 Chron. xvi. 34, to form a doxology. See Ps. cvi. 1; cvii. 1; cxviii. 1, 29; cxxxvi. 1. In the latter two psalms, as in 2 Chron. v. 13, it is ἀγαθὸς for χρηστός. The Heb. word is the same in all (טוֹב).

"Give thanks" is ἐξομολογεῖσθε, "confess ye fully;" cf. Matt. xi. 25. The LXX. use the verb to render Heb. הוֹדָה properly "to confess," *e.g.* sin (Ps. xxxii. 5); then "to acknowledge" God's favours, and "to praise" Him.

68. *O all ye that worship the Lord.*] Syr. H. marks "the Lord" as added by Theod. On this ground Fritzsche thinks the original text was simply πάντες οἱ σεβόμενοι, "O all ye that worship;" σεβόμενοι being used thus absolutely in later times, *e.g.* Wisd. xv. 6; and they who are meant are the worshippers of the one God in general; not *proselytes* in particular, as Theodoret suggests, and as the word is used in Acts xvii. 4, 17. But cf. Ps. cxv. 11; cxviii. 4; cxxxv. 20: "ye that fear the Lord," יראי יהוה. The verb ירא, "to fear," is rendered σέβομαι in Josh. iv. 24, xxii. 25; Job i. 9; Jonah i. 9. Moreover, the Greek verb occurred *v.* 7 *supra* with an object. We think, therefore, that τὸν κύριον should be retained.

bless the God of gods.] See Ps. cxxxvi. 2; Deut. x. 17; Dan. ii. 47, xi. 36. At the end of this verse the Vulgate has the note: "Hucusque in Hebraeo non habetur: et quae posuimus, de Theodotionis editione translata sunt."

Syr. W. adds to the last verse "Praise him and exalt him for ever," and concludes thus: "O all ye that fear God, bless the God of gods; praise him and exalt him for ever. O give thanks unto the Lord, because he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever." Syr. H. adds, doubtfully, "and unto an age of ages" (so Cod. Chisianus). The innovations on the simple and almost stereotyped formula of the original text are obvious.

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ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

II. THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA.

THIS piece is not so intimately connected with the canonical Book of Daniel as the preceding. In fact, it rather resembles one of the separate narratives which collectively make up the first six chapters of that work, in being a whole complete in itself. It is variously entitled 'Susanna' (Syro-Hex.) or 'History of Susanna' (so Syr. W_1.), or 'Daniel' (Syr. W_2., 'The Book of little Daniel; the History of Susanna'), or 'The Judgment of Daniel,' &c. The last title is certainly that which expresses the clearest insight into the real point of the story. So far as is known, its claims to credibility and consequently to canonicity were first called in question by the historian Julius Africanus, *circ.* 240 A.D., who expressed his doubts in a letter to Origen. Africanus roundly calls it a spurious portion (*κίβδηλον μέρος*) of the Book of Daniel; and while admitting its merit as a graceful story, he declares it to be a modern fabrication (*χαριὲν μὲν ἄλλως σύγγραμμα, νεωτερικὸν δὲ καὶ πεπλασμένον*).[1] Origen, after recourse to some Rabbis of his acquaintance, wrote an elaborate reply to the objections of his correspondent. The first of these was that *vv.* 45, 46, which represent Daniel as prophesying under direct inspiration (*ἐπιπνοίᾳ προφητικῇ*), are inconsistent with what is told of him elsewhere. By way of answer to this really pertinent objection, Origen simply refers to Heb. i. 1. Not less cavalierly, as Fritzsche observes, does he set aside the second objection, that the conviction of the Elders in *vv.* 52 *sqq.* has an element of the theatrical, by appealing to the Judgment of Solomon as related in 1 Kings iii. 16 *sqq.* But he is greatly perplexed by the remark that the paronomasiæ of *vv.* 55, 59, prove that the original text was Greek. He says: "As this passage gave me no rest, and I often dwelt upon it in doubt, I had recourse to not a few Hebrews with the question what was the *πρῖνος* called in their tongue, and what was the word for *πρίζειν*, and similarly how they expressed *σχῖνος* and *σχίζειν*." Some did not know the Greek terms, but asked to be shewn the trees, which Origen accordingly pointed out, but to no purpose. One said that he could not tell what a tree not mentioned in Scripture would be called in Hebrew. Sometimes a perplexed writer would for despatch use a Syriac instead of a Hebrew term. He too asked Origen to shew him a passage of Scripture where the holm-oak and mastick-tree were certainly mentioned. Origen concludes: "As this was what the Hebrews said with whom I conversed, and so nothing is to be learned about it, I am careful not to express an opinion whether these words are preserved among the Hebrews in such a relationship and in the like significance or not."[1] It does not seem to have occurred to this learned Father that a twofold coincidence of this kind in two languages so remote from each other as Greek and Hebrew was a thing not to be expected. But what is more surprising than an ancient writer's philological perplexity is the fact that modern critics have actually found in these instances of paronomasia the clearest proof that the piece was originally composed

[1] 'Africani ad Orig. Epist.' p. 10, *apud* Migne, xi. col. 44.

[1] Migne, xi. pp. 61–65.

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in Greek. Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Grätz, and Fritzsche do not seem to have remembered how common the figure paronomasia is in Hebrew and Oriental literature, and at the same time the extreme unlikelihood that any given instance could be exactly reproduced in an alien language. Can we successfully imitate in English the prophet Isaiah's "He looked for *judgment* (משפט), but behold *oppression* (מישפח); for *righteousness* (צדקה), but behold a *cry* (צעקה)"? Whether, as Scholz supposed, the Greek translator of Susanna correctly rendered the Hebrew verbs, and then chose names of trees to match, or whether he found it necessary to give up both the verbs and the nouns of the original text, in order to produce a successful imitation, can hardly perhaps be decided. But the fact that one of Lagarde's Syriac texts (L_2.) gives a fair paronomasia in the first case between ܦܣܛܩܐ, *pāstĕqā*, "pistachio-tree," and the verb ܦܨܩ, *pĕṣaq*, "to cut off,"—and in the second, between ܪܡܢܐ, *rummānā*, "a pomegranate-tree," and ܪܡܚܐ, *rumchā*, "a sword,"—is enough to relieve us from the perplexities of Africanus and Origen. This Syriac version may, in fact, have preserved the original names of the trees: for, as Jacob of Edessa, cited by Bugati, observes, neither the σχῖνος or mastick-tree, nor the πρῖνος or holm-oak, was native in Babylonia, nor were they planted in gardens; whereas the pistachio and the pomegranate, mentioned in the Syriac version of his day, were both garden trees, although their names did not correspond in sound with the terms נסיסך, *nĕsaddĕqāk*, "he will rend thee," and נסיזך, *nessĕrāk*, "he will saw thee," used by Daniel in cursing the Elders. The Greek translator may have been reminded by *pastĕqā* of the like-sounding Greek term μαστίχη, which means "gum mastick," the resin of the σχῖνος, which last he, therefore, adopted. The Heb. *rimmôn* (Syr. *rummānā*) in like manner reminded him of πρῖνος. But what could have been the Heb. paronomasiæ thus imitated in Syriac and in Greek? Perhaps as Brüll thinks, רמון...והרים ראשך and פסתקא...יפסק ראשך: Dan. viii. 11; Ezek. xxi. 26.

But there are plenty of other possibilities, as the following will shew:—

אגוז, "nut-tree," Cant. vi. 11, and often in Bab. Talmud. יגזר, "will cut in two," 1 Kings iii. 25. Or יגז; cf. Nah. i. 12.

תאנה, "fig-tree;" "the angel will multiply thy *sorrow*," ירבה בך תאניה ואניה, Lam. ii. 5; Isa. xxix. 2. Cf. also Ps. xci. 10. See Sanhedr. 41 A, cited *infra*.

כפר, "cypress" (a Babylonian tree) לא יכפר לך, "he will not *forgive* thee."

תמר, "palm," *the* Babylonian tree *par excellence*; ימר לך, Ruth i. 20.

If Aramaic was the original language of the piece, צינתא, "a palm," and צנן, "to cool" (of passion).

Other such plays on words might be suggested; but these may suffice to shew how far those of the Greek text are from constituting an insuperable objection to the theory of a Hebrew original.[1]

Africanus next expresses suspicion of the fact implied by the narrative, that the Jews during the Exile were permitted to exercise the power of life and death among themselves, and even, as in this case, over the royal consort. If, on the other hand, Joacim was not the former king, the account of his external prosperity and high distinction is not true to the historical conditions of the time. Origen's reply is that the state of the Jewish community in the Exile was not altogether wretched; Joacim *was* the former king; and as to the *jus gladii*, even at the present day conquered peoples are sometimes allowed to live under their own native jurisdiction. Moreover, it might be that such cases were tried secretly. He is greatly perplexed by the remark that the piece is not found in the Book of Daniel as received by the

[1] "The History of Susanna was confessedly written in Greek. No other explanation can be given of the verbal allusions 54–5, 58–9. In regard to the other additions there are no data." (Pusey, 'Daniel the Prophet,' p. 378 and note.) In the same context, Dr. Pusey remarks of the LXX. version of the Book of Daniel, that "the Greek itself is, in many parts, purer and more elegant than that of any other of the Septuagint translations. The translator avoided Hebraisms, which Theodotion subsequently restored, and, in some places, substituted a classical Greek word." (*Ibid.* 378–9.) So far, then, as this applies to the Additions, it is obviously no argument against the supposition that they were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, like the rest of the book.

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Jews; and can only reply that the Jews must have intentionally omitted it, on account of its contents. Many other pieces are also found only in the LXX., and so would have to be rejected along with Susanna. But may it not be that Providence was mainly solicitous of *edification* in the Holy Scriptures; and ought we not to be mindful of the proverb, "Remove not the ancient landmark" (Prov. xxii. 28)? Africanus further objected that no prophet elsewhere makes use of a quotation in the manner of *v.* 53, for no prophet required to do so; and lastly he thinks the style different from the Book of Daniel, which Origen denies; but neither goes into detail.

For many centuries the matter lay where Africanus and Origen had left it. After the Reformation, Protestant writers, such as Ludovicus Cappellus, strongly attacked the piece, in the interests of theological controversy, calling it a "silly fable"—*fabula ineptissima*,—and the author a "trifler"—*nugator*. Houbigant replied with considerable advantage. Michaelis set himself to expose a whole mass of absurdities in the legal proceedings against Susanna and her accusers. Eichhorn again examined the question, only to prove that "the whole piece may be a moral fiction" (*eine moralische Dichtung*). Jahn saw in it a parable, shewing that "not always even to men of riper years must an unerringly right judgment be attributed." Bertholdt divined its nature far more correctly in pronouncing the piece a traditional history or *Jewish Haggada*: "Es scheint daher besser zu sein die Sache als eine Sagengeschichte, als eine jüdische Aggadah zu betrachten." The moral appended in the LXX. text, *vv.* 63, 64, which is the ground of Jahn's conclusion, is merely a reflection added by the author of that text, and is wanting in Theodotion. Fritzsche rightly remarks that the story is told as authentic history; and he adds: "It is very possible that a tradition (*Sage*) lay at the basis of the narrative, as the substance of it unhappily stands in direct contradiction to no period; but it may with more certainty be affirmed that the connexion with Daniel is arbitrary. The person of Daniel is, in our opinion, involved in much obscurity; hence it is the more remarkable that this piece is connected with him, according to the etymology of his name [Daniel, "my judge is El"], and that here, as in Ezek. xiv. 14 *sqq.*, xxviii. 3, he is represented as a model of righteousness and wisdom." And here he leaves the matter, although Plessner had already pointed to materials in the Talmud and Midrash which confirm Bertholdt's conjecture. Frankel and Geiger have referred to an old Halachah, which explains much that is surprising in the story; and lastly, Dr. N. Brüll, in an elaborate monograph, has sought to establish, by a careful combination of all available materials, the probable meaning and character of this curious relic of antiquity.[1] Among these materials are certain statements in Origen's reply to Africanus which receive an entirely new significance, when brought into connexion with the data supplied by the Hebrew sources. Thus Origen relates that a learned young Jew, the son of a Rabbi, had informed him that the Two Elders of the story were Ahab and Zedekiah, the false prophets spoken of in Jer. xxix. 20–23, and that the punishments Daniel predicts for them refer to the other world.

What else Origen heard about these Elders may be given in his own words: Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ οἶδα Ἑβραῖον, περὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τούτων τοιαύτας παραδόσεις φέροντα, ὅτι τοῖς ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ἐλπίζουσιν διὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας ἐλευθερωθήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δουλείας προσεποιοῦντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὗτοι ὡς εἰδότες τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ σαφηνίζειν. Καὶ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀνὰ μέρος ᾗ περιετύγχανε γυναικὶ καὶ ἣν διαφθεῖραι ἐβούλετο, ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δῆθεν ἔφασκεν, ὡς ἄρα δέδοται αὐτῷ ἀπὸ θεοῦ σπεῖραι τὸν Χριστόν. εἶτ' ἀπατωμένη τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ γεννῆσαι τὸν Χτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἐπεδίδω ἑαυτὴν τῷ ἀπατῶντι. καὶ οὕτως ἐμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναικὰς τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ πρεσβ. Ἀχιὰβ καὶ Σεδεκίας. To these malpractices, added the Jew, Daniel alludes in addressing the first Elder with πεπαλαιωμένε

[1] What follows is mainly an abstract of Dr. Brüll's ingenious argument, *Das apokryphische Susanna-Buch*, in his 'Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur' (Frankfurt am Main: 1877).

ἡμερῶν κακῶν (*v.* 52), and the second with οὕτως ἐποιεῖτε θυγατράσιν Ἰσραήλ κ.τ.λ. (*v.* 57). St. Jerome also was acquainted with this Jewish tradition, independently of Origen, as it would seem, for he makes the false prophets give a different reason for their conduct: "Aiunt Hebraei—quod propheta nunc loquitur, Et locuti sunt in nomine meo mendaciter, quod non mandavi eis (Jer. xxix. 20), illud significari putant, quod miseras mulierculas, quae circumferuntur omni vento doctrinae, sic deceperint, quo dicerent eis, *quia de tribu erant Juda* Christum de suo semine esse generandum; quae illectae cupidine praebebant corpora sua, quasi matres futurae Christi" ('Comm. in Jerem.' *ad fin.*). Compare with these passages Susanna 56, 57. In the *Midrash Tanḥûmâ* on Leviticus, No. 6, we read: "Ahab b. Kolaiah and Zedekiah b. Maaseiah were already sinners in Jerusalem, but that was not enough. Carried captive to Babylon, they pushed their wickedness there to even further lengths. What did they in Jerusalem? There they were lying prophets. But in Babylon they did not abdicate this their profession, and they assisted each other's guilty designs. Ahab went to one of the magnates of Babylon and said, 'God has sent me hither to speak a word to thy wife.' He said: 'She is before thee; go in.' When Ahab found himself alone with her, he said, 'God willeth that thy children be prophets. Go, therefore, and company with Zedekiah, and thou shalt become the mother of prophets.' She believed him, and did accordingly. In the same way, Zedekiah went, and acted for Ahab. . . . So they went on, until they came to Semiramis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. When Zedekiah went to her and spake as before, she answered, 'I can do nothing without my husband's consent; he must come and tell us that he wills it.' So she went to her husband Nebuchadnezzar, and said, 'Send for them.' When they were come, he asked them, 'Did ye speak thus to my wife?' They said, 'Yes, for God will cause prophets to come of her.' 'I have heard,' said N., 'that your God abhors unchastity. Did 24,000 men perish, because of Zimri's degeneracy (Num. xxv. 8, 9), and can you assert such a thing? Has your God changed his mind? Whether ye be true or false prophets, I know not; but Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah I have already proven. Although I had the furnace heated seven days for them, yet they came forth alive and well. For you I will only heat it one day. If you are not hurt by the fire, I shall have the best proof that you are true prophets, and we will do all your bidding.' They objected: 'Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were three, we are only two, and a miracle cannot be wrought save for three.' Nebuchadnezzar asked: 'Is there then a third such as you?' 'Yes, the High Priest Joshua.' They thought they would be saved for his sake. So Joshua was brought, and thrown with them into the furnace. *They* were both consumed, but Joshua remained unhurt, as it is said, Zech. iii. 2, 'Lo, that is the brand plucked from the burning.' And from Zedekiah and Ahab was the curse taken which was in the mouth of the whole captivity at Babylon: 'The Lord make thee like Zedekiah,' &c. (Jer. xxix. 22)."

The same story occurs in the Talmud Bablî *Sanhedrin* 93 A, where the same passage of Jeremiah is cited with comments. "'It is not said whom he *burnt* (ישרפם), but whom he *roasted* (קלם),' said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai, teaching that they did as it were vilenesses (בקליות)." Commenting on the next verse, "Because they have done folly in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives," the Gemara continues:—

מאי עבוד אזול לנבי ברתיה דנבוכדנצר אחאב אמר לה כה אמר ה' השמיעי אל צדקיה וצדקיה אמר כה אמר ה' השמיעי אל אחאב אולה ואמרה ליה לאבוה

"By doing what? by going to Nebuchadnezzar's *daughter*. Ahab said to her, Thus saith the Lord, hearken thou to Zedekiah; and Zedekiah said, Thus saith the Lord, hearken thou to Ahab. She went and told *her father*," &c. (The italicized variation will be noticed.) The Baraita of R. Eliezer again, c. 33, on the authority of R. Johanan, mentions neither the wife nor the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, but the Chaldean

women generally, as thus attempted by Ahab and his confederate in guilt, whom it represents, not as false prophets, but medical charlatans:—

אחאב בן קוליה וצדקיה בן מעשיה נעשו רופאי שקר והיו מרפאים את נשי בישדים ובאים עליהם בתשמיש המטה שמע המלך ואמר לישורפן.

"Ahab ben Qolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah became pretended physicians. And they used to treat the wives of the Chaldees, and debauch them. The king heard thereof, and commanded them to be burnt."

In the *Pesiqta* again (Ed. Buber), No. 25, p. 164 f., the story is further modified:—

אחאב בן קוליה וצדקיה בן מעשיה נביאי שקר היו והיו מנאפין נשי רעיהן הה"ד יען אשר עשו ונו' (ירמיה כ"ט כ"ג)

ומה הוון עבדין חד מנהון אזיל לגבי איתתא ואמר לה חמית דייתי חברי לגבך ואת מקיימת נביא בישראל.

i.e. "Ahab ben Qolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah were pretended prophets. And they used to commit adultery with their neighbours' wives, as it is written, Jer. xxix. 23. And what would they do? One of them went to a woman and said unto her, 'I have seen (in a vision) that my fellow will come unto thee, and that thou wilt raise up a prophet in Israel.'" The matter went on, until they attempted the queen in the same fashion, with the result mentioned above. Here we are at once struck with the strangeness of the implication that not only Jewesses, but *even Babylonian ladies*, *even the queen*, could be influenced by the promise of giving birth to a Jewish prophet. How are we to account for this transformation of the original tradition, which brings in Babylonian women instead of Jewesses? The reason, Brüll thinks, was probably genealogical. In the interests of purity of descent, the fact had to be suppressed that during the Babylonian Exile Jewish matrons had been misled into fornication. If the Haggada also told of an attempt upon a noble lady—say the wife of a former Jewish king—and this attempt led to the ruin of the perpetrators, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar was naturally substituted; and to make everything plausible, she was provided with a suitable name, Semiramis. And as the old tradition made the two miscreants promise the birth of the Messiah, and this could be no inducement to Babylonian women, this difficulty was got rid of by substituting *prophet* for *Messiah*. The Messianic reference, Brüll thinks, would have been pointless, unless made at a time when there was no representative of the House of David to whom such hopes could attach. This feature of the Haggada, therefore, agrees with the theory that the Joacim of Susanna is Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, the Jewish king who languished in prison throughout the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. A captive at the age of 18, he either had no children, or only such as "were made eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." The situation was one which afforded free scope to pretenders of all sorts; and it is quite possible that Ahab and Zedekiah had higher designs than the mere gratification of lust in their attempt on Susanna. In the Midrash *Wayyiqrā Rabbā*, Par. xix., a story is told indicative of contemporary Jewish fears that the House of David might become extinct with Jehoiachin's death. The Great Sanhedrin is said to have sought and obtained, through the intercession of Queen Semiramis, permission for the wife of Jehoiachin to visit him in his prison. In the sequel of the story, which it is unnecessary to translate, the wife of Jeconiah appears as preserving her purity, according to Jewish ideas, under circumstances of great temptation: and she utters an exclamation, בישושנה אדומה ראיתי, which, curiously enough, contains the name of the heroine of our Apocryphon. Dr. Brüll supposes that this cry of hers gave rise to her popular designation; a supposition which he confirms by the fact that Susanna is not known as a Hebrew proper name of earlier date. (See Bk. of Jubilees, viii. 1.) And when she leaves her husband, she takes a bath of purification, which detail coincides with the fact that Susanna in the Apocryphon is about to take a bath when the Elders attack her. On these grounds, Brüll thinks, and we are disposed to agree with him, that the

Susanna of our story is the king's wife in the Midrash. And this is borne out by other points of coincidence. Susanna was the wife of *Joacim;* and Joacim was the most prominent personage among the Exiles. The description only suits Jehoiachin-Jeconiah, the former king of Judah, who some twenty-five years after his imprisonment was restored by Evil-Merodach to kingly honours at the court of Babylon. In these changed circumstances we may be sure that the respect of his own countrymen would not be wanting; Jehoiachin would be regarded as the Prince of the Captivity, and would leave his dignity to his successors. It is beyond question, says Brüll, that the Babylonian Exilarchate, which reached in almost unbroken succession down to the second half of the 14th century, as also the Palestinian Patriarchate founded by Zerubbabel, originated in the position of honour accorded to king Jehoiachin. There is no difficulty in supposing a confusion of the names Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim such as occurs elsewhere: see S. Jerome's caution on this point ('Comm. in Dan.' i. 1). Moreover, S. Hippolytus identified Jehoiachin-Jeconiah with the Joacim of our work. See Georg. Syncell. *Chronogr.* 218: Ὁ ἱερὸς Ἱππόλυτος ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Σωσαννὰν καὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ γράμματι τρία ἔτη λέγει τὸν υἱὸν Ἰωιακεὶμ Ἰωαχεὶμ τὸν καὶ Ἰεχονίαν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα κρατήσαντα μετακομισθῆναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὡς πρόκειται. τὸν δὲ Δανιὴλ καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας τῆς παρούσης αἰχμαλωσίας λέγει. Τοῦτον δὲ λέγει καὶ τῆς Σωσαννῆς ἄνδρα εἶναι· καὶ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος. Africanus and Origen, in the correspondence referred to above, were of the same opinion, though the former suggests a possible difference. Upon the whole, then, it is highly probable that the Susanna of our story is the wife of king Jehoiachin, of whom the Midrash speaks. Amid whatever variations of outward form, an essential similarity has so far been established between the Greek History of Susanna and certain Haggadic passages in the Talmud and Midrash.

We have now to consider the intervention of Daniel, and his examination of the two false witnesses. In the Midrashic story, too, we see a third person intervening, whose moral rectitude shines out in vivid contrast with the turpitude of the two prophets, at the moment of their penal destruction. Joshua ben Josedech the High Priest is so far an adumbration of the Daniel of Susanna. But the conception of Daniel as a judge cross-questioning the witnesses is conspicuous by its absence from the Talmudic and Midrashic stories about the wicked prophets and about Susanna; that is to say, it is unknown to the popular tradition (*Volkssage*), and did not belong to the original story of Susanna. It is not, however, due to the mere fancy of the author; and as it, in fact, constitutes the kernel of the whole narrative, it deserves careful consideration. Now there happens to be preserved in the Mishna a fragmentary notice of an exactly similar examination of witnesses. In *Sanhedr.* 5, 2, it is written: מעשה שבדק בן זכאי בעוקצי תאנים, "Once upon a time Ben Zakkai put questions about fig-stems." Two other fragments of this old Halachah are quoted in Bab. *Sanhedr.* 41 A: אמרו לו תחת תאינה הרגו, "They said unto him, 'He slew him under a fig-tree.'" This informs us of the charge. אמר להן תאינה זו עוקציה דקין עוקציה גסין תאנים שחורות תאנים לבנות, "He said unto them, 'As to that fig-tree, were its stems thin or thick? were the figs dark or pale?'" This shews the nature of the cross-examination of the accusers. The deduction כל המרבה בבדיקות הרי זה משובח, "Whoso doeth much in cross-questioning witnesses, lo that man is to be praised," indicates that the cross-examination resulted in a disproof of the charge; so that the case is a complete parallel to the one before us. Here again, therefore, the proper conclusion seems to be that the author of Susanna has simply given another shape to pre-existing materials. What was his object in thus remodelling, combining, and enlarging the old popular traditions? The moral added in the LXX. text shews that it was early perceived that the aim of the piece was *didactic*, not *historical*. But the contrast between youth and age is too superficial. The contrast is between two kinds of criminal procedure, which are represented, not

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by a dry general description, but by a concrete instance of their actual working. The author's aim is to portray certain deplorable defects inherent in the administration of justice in his own time, and to suggest a radical cure.

The proofs are evident in the story itself. (1.) Ahab and Zedekiah, who elsewhere are lying prophets, or medical rogues, are here *judges* who bear false witness. (2.) Daniel too is a judge, though elsewhere he has nothing to do with things judicial. (3.) The entire action is mainly developed in the hall of judgment. (4.) The two references to Scripture which occur in the piece bear upon justice and its administrators (Exod. xxiii. 7; Zech. 5, 6, 8, 11). (5.) The indirect citation of the Pentateuchal law for punishing false witnesses with the same penalty that the accused would have suffered, would seem superfluous, if the author had not meant to shew that the application of the same was in place in the case he describes. (6.) The plan of the piece indicates that the traditions about the Babylonian false prophets and Susanna are merely the substructure for the representation of *the examination of witnesses* by which Susanna's innocence was established.

And here we may add another remarkable coincidence. Simon ben Shetach, the well-known President of the Sanhedrin, taught in words what Ben Zakkai taught by example. See *Pirqê 'Abôth*, i. 9:

שמעון בן שטח אומר הוי מרבה לחקור את העדים והוי זהיר בדבריך שמא מתוכם ילמדו לשקר׃

"Simon ben Shetach used to say, Examine the witnesses abundantly, and be cautious in thy words, lest they learn from them to give false answers." This saying appears to have been the fruit of bitter personal experience. Simon's own son is said to have been condemned to death, on the testimony of witnesses suborned by Simon's enemies. The witnesses confessed the truth just before the execution; but their victim refused to be tried again. "Father," said he, "if thou desirest that help come through thee, use me as a threshold." (Jerus. *Sanhedr.* vi. 3: אבא אם בקשת לבוא תישועה על ידך עשה אותי כאסקופה.) In other words, the son was willing to be a conspicuous example of the judicial abuse against which his father was agitating. About this time probably Ben Zakkai lived, who, as we have seen, instituted a more stringent process of inquiry; and the Story of Susanna may well be a product of the same period, intended to advocate the claims of this innovation in the practice of the courts, by a striking example of the miscarriage of justice under the old system, and of its complete vindication by the new method. But Simon ben Shetach was also the champion of another reform in connexion with the law of testimony. As the brother-in-law of king Alexander Jannæus (acc. 106 B.C.), he was able, after a long struggle, to secure the triumph of his party the Pharisees in the Sanhedrin, and of their principles in the administration of the law, over their opponents the Sadducees, who had been dominant under Hyrcanus and until the close of the reign of Jannai. According to Sadducean principles, they who had falsely accused a man of a capital crime were only put to death, if the sentence had already been executed on their victim. The legal aphorism, "life for life," was construed literally. The Pharisees, on the other hand, relying upon Deut. xix. 19, considered the *intention* of the accusers as equivalent to actual murder. According to them, the maxim "life for life" came into application as soon as, in consequence of the false depositions, sentence had been pronounced, although not yet carried out. The law at the time extraordinarily favoured informations. The witnesses, who were also the accusers, were only examined about the main fact, so that their falsehood could not easily become evident; and even if it did, they got off without punishment, though the accused had actually been executed.

This crying evil the Pharisaic party sought to remedy by the introduction of a more rigorous examination of witnesses, and by making the law more severe against false witnesses. The partiality and prejudice of the judges are attested by a saying of Judah ben Tabbai, the colleague of Simon ben Shetach; see *Pirqê 'Abôth*, i. 8. And, according to the Talmudic *Sota* 22 B, Jannai left his wife Salome the warning: "Be not afraid of

the Pharisees, nor of those who are not Pharisees (*i.e.* the Sadducees); but (be afraid of) the painted ones, who look like the Pharisees, whose works are like the work of Zimri, and who seek the reward of Phinehas." The state of things thus indicated is mirrored in our Apocryphon. The two Elders are counterparts of the "painted ones." Susanna is treated as an adulteress, without examination of the witnesses. At the right moment, Daniel, the personified *judgment of God*, appears on the scene. He knows Susanna's innocence by inspiration; but he will shew the people how a Sanhedrin ought to ascertain the truth. Each of the witnesses must be questioned separately about the details of the charge. The Sadducean interpretation of the law would have let off the guilty Elders; but the Pharisaic principle is rigorously carried out in their execution.

From all this, it appears to be a highly probable conclusion that this Apocryphon is an Anti-Sadducean *Tendenz-Schrift*, in which not unskilfully the matter of an old tradition about the punishment of some seducers of women is worked up into an instructive picture of a certain period. Its aim was twofold: (1) To illustrate the utility of an investigation of particulars such as Ben Zakkai actually practised at the time; and (2) to accentuate the necessity of a rigorous punishment of false witnesses, independently of the question whether an accused person has suffered on the ground of their evidence, or not. The former point is especially prominent, as being distinctly an innovation. The fact that the son of Simon ben Shetach was obliged to submit to death in order to secure the punishment of his lying accusers, proves that the court which tried him consisted of members of the Sadducean party. This event, which probably occurred during the bloody struggles between the persecuted Pharisees and the Sadducees favoured by Jannai, between the years 94–89 B.C., must have roused popular indignation, and powerfully furthered Simon's projects of legal reform, and the ascendency of the Pharisaic party. It also called forth the History of Susanna. If this account of the origin and tendency of the work be accepted, it must evidently be regarded as a plant of Palestinian rather than Alexandrian growth. The primary language was probably neo-Hebrew. The Greek of Theodotion falls back easily into Hebrew, and that of the LXX., although somewhat more free, and variously interpolated, is essentially Hebraising. From Babylonia the original elements of the story passed to Judæa, and the Alexandrian translator and editor may have received it thence either in the shape of an oral or a written relation. It is true that we have no direct evidence from ancient times for the existence in Hebrew or Chaldee of the Story of Susanna as we know it. Nachmani, the only old Jewish writer who mentions it, quotes part of Judith i. 7, 8, 11 from the Peshito Syriac, with the reference כמו שכתוב במגלת שושן, "as it is written in the Roll of Shushan," *i.e.* probably Susanna. Perhaps he has not so much confused Judith with Susanna, as cited the former from a 'Book of Holy Women' in which the Story of Susanna came first.

In the Greek MSS. and common editions, the narrative is commonly given as Dan. i. So also in Old Lat. and Arab. Chronological propriety suggested this arrangement, as it purports to relate an episode of Daniel's youth. But as the place is Babylonia, and the time the Captivity, a better position would obviously have been *after* Dan. i. The LXX. text, the Vulgate, and the Complutensian edition, relegate the piece to the end of Daniel, as a mere addition or appendix to the canonical work (ch. xiii.). The Syro-Hexaplar also places it, along with Bel and the Dragon, at the end of the book, separating it from the canonical portion by the note, "Finished is Daniel according to the tradition of the Seventy," and by a further note relating to the Greek codex.

The two Greek texts, that of the LXX. and that of Theodotion, differ remarkably in the opening of the story. There are four Syriac texts, of which two appear in Walton.[1] The others known to the

[1] The remarkable additions and omissions of these texts may partly depend on traditions known to the translators, but long since lost.

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writer are the Syro-Hexaplar, and a fourth text, of which Lagarde has given extracts in his 'Apocrypha Syriace.'[1]

The Syro-Hexaplar is from the LXX.; the rest apparently are based upon Theodotion's recension. In the LXX. text there is a strange *lacuna* at the outset, in which the context indicates that particulars relating to the two Elders must have been imparted. The words of Daniel to the two miscreants (*vv.* 52, 56) involve references to former misconduct not related in the existing mutilated narrative, but once probably communicated in the missing verses. Perhaps the omission was intentionally made by those who inserted the narrative in the Hagiographa, in order to avoid defaming the Jewesses of the Exile. Theodotion completed the truncated text by details about Susanna's family connexions, and this involved further changes. The expression "in that year" (*v.* 5) points to the existence of a chronological datum in what once preceded.

[1] These texts are indicated in the notes as Syr. W_1. and Syr. W_2. (the so-called Harklensian); Syr. H.; and Syr. L_2. I have used A. M. Ceriani's beautiful photo-lithograph of 'Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus' (Milan, 1874), as well as Bugati (1788). This version was made at Alexandria, A.D. 617, according to the subscription, which runs thus: "Daniel according to the Seventy. Finished is the Book of Daniel the prophet, which has been interpreted from the tradition of the Seventy and Two, who in the days of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, before the coming of the Messiah a hundred years, more or less, interpreted the Holy Scriptures out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, in Alexandria the great city. Now this book was interpreted also out of Greek into Syriac in the city Alexandria, in the month Kanûn Posterior of the year nine hundred and twenty-eight of Alexander, Fifth Indiction." It is an accurate rendering from the Greek, and contributes much to the restoration of the text.

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THE

HISTORY OF SUSANNA,

Set apart from the beginning of *DANIEL*, because it is not in the Hebrew, as neither the Narration of *BEL and the DRAGON*. ‖ Gr. *Bel's dragon.*

16 *Two judges hide themselves in the garden of Susanna to have their pleasure of her:* 28 *which when they could not obtain, they accuse and cause her to be condemned for adultery:* 46 *but Daniel examineth the matter again, and findeth the two judges false.*

THERE dwelt a man in Babylon, called Joacim:

2 And he took a wife, whose name was Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.

3 Her parents also were righteous, and taught their daughter according to the law of Moses.

4 Now Joacim was a great rich man, and had a fair garden joining

Verses 1–5*a* belong to Theodotion, and Cod. Chisian. and Syr. H. have marked them as added to the LXX. from his text. Fritzsche thinks that the LXX. either began the story with *v.* 5, or that some such words as ἦσαν δὲ δύο πρεσβύτεροι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι have been lost in their text. But see the Introduction *ad fin.* Syr. W_2.: "When Daniel was twelve years old, there was a man whose name was Joacim, and he had a wife whose name was Shushan," &c.

1. *Joacim.*] Joacim, in the Gk. Ἰωακείμ, is of course the Heb. יהויקים or Jehoiakim. Cf. Judith iv. 6. Ammonius, Hippolytus, Syncellus, and many others have identified him with the king of Judah who was carried captive to Babylon and afterwards liberated: 2 Kings xxiv. 15; xxv. 27 *sqq.* Bugati's objection that this is to confuse יהויקים with יהויכין, Jehoiakim with Jehoiachin, does not hold: see 3 Esdr. i. 39, 43, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, 9. Fritzsche observes that although Joacim is styled "more honourable than all others" (*v.* 4), his entire position in the story does not harmonize with the hypothesis that he was king; indeed, had he been so, it must have been expressly stated. But see the Introd.

2. *Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias.*] The majority of MSS. spell the first name Σουσάννα. Fritzsche notes that Cod. II. and others give Σωσάννα; and so Tischendorf has edited (LXX. Vat., 5th ed.): but Dr. Bissell says this is a mistake as regards Cod. II., which has Σουσάννα throughout. The name is a transliteration of שׁוֹשַׁנָּה (*Šōšannā*), "lily," which does not occur as a proper name in the O. T.; but see Luke viii. 3. This story of the woman who was both chaste and fair as a lily may have popularized the name. Shushan, Dan. viii. 2, the capital of Susiana, is obviously not an originally Heb. word. Chelcias, Gk. Χελκίας, is the Heb. חלקיה, "Hilkiah." So the Arab. and Syr. H. The common text (Walton, Lagarde) has חלכיה, which apparently confuses the name with Elkanah. The latter text makes him a priest, and relates that the synagogue met in the house of Joacim, and that Susanna lived in wedlock a few days only, and had spent the rest of her time as a pious widow. Compare the story of Judith. Hilkiah was a common priestly name: see 1 Chron. vi. 13, 45, ix. 11; Jer. i. 1; also 2 Kings xviii. 18, xxii. 8, 12.

a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.] The union of beauty with virtue, the ideal of womanhood, was realized in her. Verse 3, as Hippolytus notes, suggests the reason.

3. *righteous.*] δίκαιοι, צדיקים. As such, they "taught" (ἐδίδαξαν = had taught) their daughter, as the Law enjoined: Deut. iv. 9, 10; vi. 7, 20; Ex. xiii. 14.

4. *a great rich man.*] Lit., "very rich"—πλούσιος σφόδρα (Gen. xiii. 2). The term rendered "fair garden" is παράδεισος, the Gk. form of a word denoting in Persian a royal park or pleasure-ground. Xenophon brought the term into Gk. use: cf. 'Anab.' i. 2, 7; 'Cyrop.' i. 3, 12. Photius and Pollux state that the word is Persian. In Heb. it occurs in the form פַּרְדֵּס, *pardēs*, Cant. iv. 13; Eccl. ii. 5; Neh. ii. 8. The Vendidâd has it in the form *pairidaêza*, "enclosure," "park;" and in Armenian *pardēz* is "the garden round a house." Cf. the Syr. *pardaisâ*, "garden." The Old Lat. here has *viridarium*, "a plantation" or "pleasure-garden;" Vulg. *pomarium*, "orchard."

joining.] "Joining" is γειτνιῶν, "neighbour-

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unto his house: and to him resorted the Jews; because he was more honourable than all others.

5 The same year were appointed two of the ancients of the people to be judges, such as the Lord spake of, that wickedness came from Babylon from ancient judges, who seemed to govern the people.

6 These kept much at Joacim's house: and all that had any suits in law came unto them.

ing:" see Job xxvi. 5 (Symmachus); 2 Macc. ix. 25.

resorted.] "Used to resort," προσήγοντο (Josh. vii. 17, 18). Συνήγ., the reading of Codd. 34, 36, 48, &c., is more usual in this sense. As a wealthy and influential man, Joacim was accustomed to receive numbers of his countrymen, and no doubt to dispense to them his advice and assistance in case of need. Syr. W_2. adds: "and the synagogue was in his house. And few days was Susanna with her husband, and the rest of her life was she in widowhood, and day and night in the service of the Lord was she occupied."

Julius Africanus objected to the statement of this verse, that it was incredible that Joacim could have been so rich and powerful in the Captivity. Origen rightly replied that the deported Jews were not all so plundered that none were left wealthy. Besides, we know that when they had had time to settle down in their new country, they soon began to prosper as merchants and traders, just as they have done in every other foreign land throughout the history of their dispersions. Comparatively few of the exiles availed themselves of Cyrus' permission to return to Judah. The great majority remained in their adopted country; and in the Roman times Babylonia and Mesopotamia were the home of vast communities of Jews, who possessed great wealth, and dwelt in strongly-fortified cities. Cf. Tobit i. 13, 14, 22.

5. *The same year.*] "In that year;" *i.e.*, apparently, the year of Joacim's marriage, *v.* 2. For "ancients" or *elders* see note on Judith vi. 16. Cf. also Isa. iii. 14. It is clear from various passages of the O. T. that Israelite townships enjoyed a kind of municipal government under their own elders, who constituted the town council or γερουσία (*senatus*). Josephus, 'Ant.' iv. 8, ascribes to Moses the constitution of a council of seven elders or magistrates for each city. But see Ruth iv. 2, where ten elders of Bethlehem are spoken of. Grotius thinks that the two Elders of this story were appointed as assessors of the αἰχμαλωταρχὴς or ריש גלותא, the chief of the exiles. There is no reason to doubt that the scattered communities of the deported Jews were permitted, as in later times, to observe their own laws: cf. Esth. iii. 8. But it is hardly likely that their judges exercised the power of life and death, as *v.* 62 implies.

such as the Lord.] Rather, "of whom the Lord spake: Lawlessness hath gone forth from Babylon from elder-judges who were accounted to govern the people." The words purport to contain a direct reference to some prophetic utterance; and in form partly correspond with Jer. xxiii. 15: ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐξῆλθε μολυσμὸς πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. It is very probable, as Fritzsche observes, that the apparent quotation is really due to a reminiscence of Jer. xxix. 20–23. Jewish tradition, indeed, identifies the two Elders with the adulterous prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, "whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." But the tradition may have grown out of Jeremiah's words, "Because they have committed villany in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives." The objection to it is that Ahab and Zedekiah were prophets, not elder-judges; *they* were burned alive by Nebuchadnezzar, whereas the two Elders were stoned by the Jews, according to the Law (*v.* 62. The LXX., however, says: ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἔῤῥιψε πῦρ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν). Walton's Syr. 2 is unique in giving the names of the two Elders, *Amid* and *Abid* (not *Anid*, as Fuller); *i.e.*, apparently, "Drowned" and "Lost."

As regards the words "who seemed to govern"—οἱ ἐδόκουν κυβερνᾶν—we may compare Mark x. 42 (see Matt. xx. 25); Luke xxii. 24; Gal. vi. 3, ii. 9 (οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι); 1 Cor. x. 12, vii. 40, xi. 16, xiv. 37. This seems better than to understand by the words that the Jews had only the *shadow* of self-government at the time. S. Jerome: "Qui injuste praesunt populo tantum nomen habent judicum: regere videntur populum magis quam regunt." (So Ammonius: ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ κυβερνῆσαι, καὶ εἰς ναυάγια ἐποίουν ἐμπεσεῖν τὰς ψυχάς.) Syr. W_L.: "who were ministering in the temple" (!). Syr. W_2.: "who are accounted heads of the people."

6. *These kept much.*] The Gk. verb is προσεκαρτέρουν; Vulg. *frequentabant:* see Num. xiii. 20; Acts i. 14, ii. 46. Render: "These would (or were wont to) abide . . . and all . . . would come."

and all that had any suits.] οἱ κρινόμενοι, *litem agere;* Job xxxv. 14, xiii. 19; Matt. v. 40; 1 Cor. vi. 6: ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται. LXX.: "and suits (*caussae*) used to come from other towns unto them," viz. for hearing. Cf. Exod. xxii. 9; xxiv. 14.

7 Now when the people departed away at noon, Susanna went into her husband's garden to walk.

8 And the two elders saw her going in every day, and walking; so that their lust was inflamed toward her.

9 And they perverted their own mind, and turned away their eyes, that they might not look unto heaven, nor remember just judgments.

10 And albeit they both were wounded with her love, yet durst not one shew another his grief.

11 For they were ashamed to declare their lust, that they desired to have to do with her.

12 Yet they watched diligently from day to day to see her.

13 And the one said to the other, Let us now go home: for it is dinner time.

14 So when they were gone out,

7, 8. *Now when the people departed away.*] Lit. "And it came to pass (so also *v.* 19), when the people used to run away, Susanna would go in and walk about in her husband's garden. And the two elders used to watch her," &c. (The verbs are imperfects.) The LXX. uses ἀποτρέχειν, "to run off," as = Heb. הָלַךְ, *abiit:* Gen. xiii. 19. Syr. W_1. adds, "with her maidens;" Syr. W_2. omits the verse.

Instead of *v.* 8, Syr. W_2. has: "And these two heads of the people loved Susanna, without each other's knowledge; and desire of her beauty held them."

The LXX. text of these two verses runs thus: "These having seen a woman of a goodly countenance (ἀστείαν τῷ εἴδει: cf. Jud. viii. 7), wife of a brother (*i.e.* fellow-countryman; Exod. ii. 11. Heb. usage, Acts iii. 22) of theirs, one of the sons of Israel, by name (ὄνομα, as in Xen. 'Anab.' i. 2, 23, &c.; cf. Matt. xxvii. 57) Susanna, daughter of Chelcias, wife of Joacim, walking in her husband's garden at eventide (τὸ δειλινὸν, Lev. vi. 20; Exod. xxix. 39, 41; Gen. iii. 8; 1 Kings xviii. 29), and having desired her (Matt. v. 28) they perverted their own mind," &c. It is, in fact, evident from that part of this text which corresponds to *v.* 28 *ap.* Theod. that the Elders are not conceived as living in the same town as Joacim, and that Susanna's trial was held neither in his house nor even in his place of residence. Nor does the older text allege the fact that Joacim's house was a meeting-place for his fellow-countrymen as the occasion of the Elders seeing Susanna. It simply states that they did happen to see her walking in her husband's garden.

9. *they perverted their own mind, &c.*] Theod. has retained this verse from the older text.

turned away their eyes that they might not.] Cf. Dan. ix. 11: ἐξέκλιναν τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς φωνῆς σου. Contrast Dan. ix. 3: "I set my face unto the Lord God," &c.; and Ps. cxix. 37, Heb. xii. 2. The "just judgments" are those of Heaven against evil-doers. (Syr. W_2. adds "of God.") Cf. Ps. cxix. 120. The last clause clearly defines the preceding one more accurately; or else we might take the words in the sense of *right decisions* or *resolves*. See John ix. 39; Acts xxiv. 25; Ps. cxix. 75. There is something pictorial, too, in making these men *look downwards*, like the brute beasts whose example they were following. "Heaven," however, is doubtless here, as in Luke xv. 18, a metonym for *God*—cf. Dan. iv. 23—which became quite common in later Hebrew, *e.g.* in Maccabees, and the Mishna.

10, 11. *And albeit they both.*] Lit. "And they were both sorely pricked about her, and they declared not to one another their pain," &c. κατανενυγμένοι is "sore pricked," or "stung;" cf. Acts ii. 37, κατενύγησαν τῇ καρδίᾳ. But the words that follow seem to indicate that another meaning—that of stupefaction or silence—may be intended here: see Lev. x. 3; Isa. xlvii. 5; Ps. iv. 4; and especially Dan. x. 9, 15. For the sense of being *stung* with pain, remorse, &c., see Gen. xxxiv. 7; Ecclus. xii. 12, xiv. 1, xx. 21, xlvii. 20.

The Vulg. has: *vulnerati amore ejus.*

For *vv.* 10, 11, Syr. W_1. has: "And they both desired her, to be with her after the manner of women; and they revealed not their stroke, one to another, because they were wishing to be with her in secret." Syr. W_2.: "But they two were watching for her, and were wishing to disgrace her."

After the words, "And both were sorely pricked about her," the LXX. text continues: "and one to the other would not admit the evil (οὐ προσεποιεῖτο τὸ κακόν) which possessed them about her, nor did the woman know this matter." Οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, *dissimulabat*, i.e. made as if the thing were not so—masked or disguised his real state of feeling. (Thucyd. iii. 47. 3.)

12. *Yet they watched diligently.*] "And they kept close and rival watch" (παρετηροῦσαν φιλοτίμως). For the form of the aorist, see εἶδοσαν, *v.* 18; ἐξῆλθοσαν, *v.* 19; ἐκλαίοσαν, *v.* 33 in LXX.; ὡμίλουσαν, *v.* 57. At the end, Syr. W_2. rightly adds: "alone."

13. *And the one said.*] Something seems to have fallen out of the text. Syr. W_2. fills

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they parted one from the other, and turning back again they came to the same place; and after that they had asked one another the cause, they acknowledged their lust: then appointed they a time both together, when they might find her alone.

15 And it fell out, as they watched a fit time, she went in ‖as before with two maids only, and she was desirous to wash herself in the garden: for it was hot.

Gr. *as esterday nd the ay efore.*

16 And there was no body there save the two elders, that had hid themselves, and watched her.

17 Then she said to her maids, Bring me oil and washing balls, and shut the garden doors, that I may wash me.

18 And they did as she bade them, and shut the garden doors, and went out themselves at ‖privy doors to fetch the things that she had commanded them: but they saw not the elders, because they were hid.

‖ Or, *side doors.*

19 Now when the maids were gone forth, the two elders rose up, and ran unto her, saying,

20 Behold, the garden doors are shut, that no man can see us, and

up the apparent lacuna thus: "Now it happened one day, when the assembly broke up, they were waiting to see her when she entered the garden, and they parted not the one from his fellow." Then follows *v.* 13.

Instead of *vv.* 12–21, the LXX. has: "And when it was early morning (*i.e.* on the day of the elders' wicked attempt), they tried to steal a march on each other, making haste to see which would present himself to her first, and address her (*ἐρχόμενοι ἔκλεπτον ἀλλήλους σπεύδοντες, τίς φανήσεται αὐτῇ πρότερος κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Mark xvi. 9). And, behold, she, according to her custom, was walking about, and the one of the elders was come; and, behold, the other arrived, and one questioned the other, saying, Why wentest thou forth thus at early morning by thyself, without taking (Matt. iv. 5) me along with thee? And they fully confessed to one another each his pain. And one said to the other, Let us go unto her; and having agreed (*συνθέμενοι*), they came to her, and began to press her hard (*ἐξεβιάζοντο αὐτήν*, Ps. xxxviii. 12; Wisd. xiv. 19; Esth. vii. 8 (B)). And the Jewess said to them," &c. (*v.* 22).

14. *asked one another.*] *Ἀνετάζοντες ἀλλήλους τὴν αἰτίαν.* The rare *ἀνετάζειν* (here used c. dupl. acc.) occurs Judges vi. 29 (Alex.), where the Vatic. MS. has the common *ἐπιζητεῖν*, and in Acts xxii. 24, 29, in the sense of questioning a man by torture.

The Syriac texts vary much from the other versions and from each other in this verse.

appointed they a time.] *Συνετάξαντο καιρόν.* For the verb, see Polyb. ix. 17. 1; Job ii. 11 (varr.). "Both together" is *κοινῇ* (Codd. 34, 230, 245 add *γνώμῃ*): Ecclus. xviii. 1.

15. *as they watched a fit time.*] See *v.* 12 for the verb. With *ἡμέραν εὔθετον* cf. *ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ*, Ps. xxxii. 6 (Heb. "at a time of finding").

she went in as before.] Lit., "she went in once, as yesterday and the day before;" *i.e.* as aforetime (*εἰσῆλθέ ποτε καθὼς χθὲς καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας.* Codd. XII. 26, 34, *τρίτην ἡμέραν*, which is the more usual Gk. form of this common Hebrew phrase. See Gen. xxxi. 2; Exod. v. 7, 14; Josh. iv. 18. Homer's *χθιζά τε καὶ πρωϊζά*, and the Attic *ἐχθὲς καὶ πρώην*, are similar). Syr. W_2.: "according to the custom she had."

16. *that had hid themselves, and watched her.*] "In hiding, and watching her closely;" like evil beasts biding their time for a spring. The verb is *παρατηρέω*, which is almost equivalent to *insidiari:* see *vv.* 12, 15, *supra.* Syr. W_2. calls them "chiefs of the synagogue."

17. *washing balls.*] Gk. *σμήγματα* (III. 23, 26, *al. σμῆγμα*). The more Attic form is *σμῆμα.* In the LXX. (Esth. ii. 3, 9, 12) the word renders Heb. תַּמְרוּקִים, *abstersiones*, a term denoting the cleansing of the person by means of *cosmetics*, which was customary on reception into the harem. Here, too, the sense seems to be the same, viz. perfumed *unguents*, *cosmetics*, rather than *soap* (Jer. ii. 22). Syr. W_1. has ܫܡܡܐ, the same word (*σμῆμα*) apparently; Syr. W_2. ܐܫܢ, which is said to mean the herb alkali. Fritzsche refers to Athenaeus and Galen for proof that the *Greek* term was used in three senses: (1) *soap;* (2) *perfumes;* (3) in medical writers, vegetable *saps*, and *ointments.*

Susanna wanted the oil and cosmetics for use *after*, not *before* or *in*, the bath.

18. *shut.*] "Shut fast" (*ἀπέκλεισαν*).

at privy doors.] "By the side doors"—*κατὰ τὰς πλαγίας θύρας.* Vulg. *per posticum*, "through a back door." Arab.: "side doors."

because.] Rather, "that." The construction is like that of Gen. i. 4; Exod. ii. 2.

19. *ran unto her.*] "Ran upon her," in the sense of assault: see 1 Macc. vi. 45.

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we are in love with thee: therefore consent unto us, and lie with us.

21 If thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee, that a young man was with thee: and therefore thou didst send away thy maids from thee.

22 Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands.

23 It is better for me to fall into your hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord.

24 With that Susanna cried with a loud voice: and the two elders cried out against her.

25 Then ran the one, and opened the garden door.

26 So when the servants of the house heard the cry in the garden, they rushed in at a privy door, to see what was done unto her.

27 But when the elders had declared their matter, the servants were greatly ashamed: for there was never such a report made of Susanna.

28 And it came to pass the next day, when the people were assembled

20, 21. *consent unto us.*] *συγκατάθου ἡμῖν.* Cf. Exod. xxiii. 1, 32; Luke xxiii. 51. Old Lat. *consenti nobis.* For the following phrase (Gk. *γενοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν*), see Gen. xxxix. 10; 2 Sam. xiii. 20; Tobit iii. 8; and *v.* 54 *infra* (LXX. text). Having resolved on the deed, these Elders and these Judges make no scruple about words. Cf. the scene in which Angelo declares his purpose to Isabel, 'Measure for Measure,' Act ii. sc. 4, towards the end:

"I have begun;
And now I give my sensual race the rein:
Fit thy consent to my sharp appetite.
* * * *
As for you,
Say what you can, my false o'erweighs your true."

22. *sighed.*] Or, "groaned aloud" (*ἀνεστέναξε*). Cf. Lam. i. 4; Eccles. xxv. 18.

I am straitened on every side.] For this phrase—*στενά μοι πάντοθεν*—see 2 Sam. xxiv. 14 (1 Chron. xxi. 13), where it is used by David. It expresses the sense of a *dilemma.* Susanna felt her choice restricted to two alternatives, either of which would destroy her. If she yielded, she would be liable to death as an unfaithful wife (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; John viii. 5); and if she refused, false witness would bring about the same result, and upon the same ground. She does not, like Shakspere's Isabel, in the first moments of surprise and indignation at the discovery of their shameful purpose, break out into threats of exposure. The lamb knows itself in the power of the wolves.

Old Lat. *angustiae mihi undique.* The phrase is wanting in the LXX. text, where Susanna's words begin: "I know that if I do this thing," &c., as in Theod. After "it is death to me," Syr. W_1.: "because I (shall) have dishonoured my husband Joacim's bed; and if I do it not, I shall receive an evil death at your hands, with an evil name that beseemeth not my rank; and shame I shall leave to all my family, from the false witness of wicked men, who add to the breach and evil of Israel with derision among the strange peoples."

23. *It is better.*] Compare Joseph's reply to his tempter, Gen. xxxix. 9; and David's words, 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

S. Jerome objects, that to say continency is *better* is to allow some sort of goodness to the sin itself. But the comparison is not here instituted of the *morality* of the actions, but of the *danger* attending them; in other words, she argues that it is better to suffer a temporal than an eternal punishment.

24–27. These details are wanting in the text of the LXX. and in Syr. H. Theodotion has developed the story considerably.

24. *cried out against her.*] "Over against her;" "before her." Gk. *κατέναντι αὐτῆς.* Vulg. *adversus eam.* It is the Heb. נגד, לנגד, or לפני; the Chaldee לקבל, Dan. v. 1. (So Syr.)

25. *Then ran the one.*] Lit. "and the one ran and opened the doors:" *nempe quasi adulterum persequens*, as Grotius rightly explains.

26. *the servants of the house.*] *οἱ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.* A well-known idiom, expressing in brief that the servants *in* the house rushed out *from* the house. Syr.: "sons of the house."

rushed in at a privy door.] "Leaped in through the side door," or "postern." Cf. *v.* 18 *supra;* Gen. vi. 16: *τὴν δὲ θύραν τῆς κιβωτοῦ ποιήσεις ἐκ πλαγίων.* For the verb, Amos v. 19.

27. *declared their matter.*] "Spoken their words;" *i.e.* their accusation of Susanna, which Syr. W_1. gives at length, beginning: "It happened, *as we were passing by outside of the*

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to her husband Joacim, the two elders came also full of mischievous imagination against Susanna to put her to death;

29 And said before the people, Send for Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, Joacim's wife. And so they sent.

30 So she came with her father and mother, her children, and all her kindred.

31 Now Susanna was a very delicate woman, and beauteous to behold.

32 And these wicked men commanded to uncover her *face*, (for she was covered) that they might be filled with her beauty.

33 Therefore her friends and all that saw her wept.

34 Then the two elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head.

35 And she weeping looked up toward heaven: for her heart trusted in the Lord.

36 And the elders said, As we

garden, we looked over to see the garden, and we saw Susanna," &c. The italicized words do not agree with *vv.* 36, 38 *infra*. Syr. W_2. is briefer: "Susanna has committed adultery, and we caught her with a young man in the garden." At the end it adds: "And they threw chains upon Susanna, and she was in the house of ward three days." The confusion of the slaves, and the reason assigned for it, is a natural touch. Had their mistress been subject to ill report, they would hardly have been so strongly affected in the present instance.

28. *full of mischievous imagination.*] "Full of their (τῆς) lawless (*i.e.* iniquitous) intent." They sat as judges frequently in Joacim's house: *vv.* 4, 5 *supra*. (Syr. W_1. adds the purpose of the assembly: "to inquire concerning Susanna; that if she had indeed done this uncleanness . . . she might be put to death.") The two miscreants determined to destroy Susanna, not only to protect themselves from possible consequences of their villany, but also because foiled passion is apt to turn to deadly hate. The cool audacity of their behaviour reminds us again of Shakspere's Angelo:

"'Tis not impossible
But one, the wicked'st caitiff on the ground,
May seem as shy, as grave, as just, as absolute,
As Angelo; even so may Angelo,
In all his dressings, characts, titles, forms,
Be an arch-villain."

After the words of Susanna (*v.* 23), the LXX. proceeds thus: "But the men of Belial (οἱ παράνομοι ἄνδρες, Deut. xiii. 13; 1 Macc. i. 12, 36; Wisd. iii. 16) departed, threatening in themselves (Gen. xxvii. 42), and plotting (ἐνεδρεύοντες, Ecclus. xi. 31. Hesych. explains, δόλον μηχανᾶται), that they might put her to death; and they came to the synagogue of the city where they were dwelling, and they who were there, all the sons of Israel, held a council (συνήδρευσαν). And the two elders and judges stood up, and said, Send for Susanna, &c. (*v.* 29), and straightway they called her."

29. *Send for . . . so they sent.*] Ἀποστέλλω ἐπί τινα in this sense is rare: Deut. xxviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxx. 1; Neh. vi. 3.

31. *very delicate.*] τρυφερὰ σφόδρα. The word is here used in a good sense, of personal beauty: cf. Deut. xxviii. 54, 56. Often it means "voluptuous," "luxurious," "effeminate:" Isa. xlvii. 1, 8. Syr. W_1. adds: "and she was gentler than all women, and her attire was very sober"

32. *commanded to uncover her face.*] Or, "that she be unveiled:" see Num. v. 18 (LXX.). The act was according to law, but the Elders had another motive, as the verse declares. The LXX. text states this even more plainly: ἵνα ἐμπλησθῶσι ἐπιθυμίας κάλλους αὐτῆς (so Syr. H. and W_2.). To strip off the veil was to treat her as a common courtesan.

33. *her friends and all that saw her.*] "Now her friends (οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς, Xen. 'Anab.' i. 1, 5), and all who saw (XII. 23, *et multi*; εἰδότες, 'knew:' LXX. ὅσοι ᾔδεισαν, Dan. vi. 5, 8; Mark i. 34; Vulg. *qui noverant*) her were weeping" (or, "began to weep," at the sight of the degradation done to her). In the LXX. *v.* 30 runs thus: "Now when the woman arrived with her father and mother, her men-servants also and her maids, being in number five hundred, arrived, and the four children (παιδία) of Susanna." Syr. H. also gives the number 500 (not "fifty," as Fuller).

34. *laid their hands upon her head.*] The symbolical act which the law prescribed for witnesses in criminal cases. See Lev. xxiv. 14; Deut. xiii. 9, xvii. 7; Acts vii. 58. Dr. Bissell wrongly refers to lifting up the hand as a sign of adjuration (Gen. xiv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 40). The LXX. text is: "But the elders and judges (see *vv.* 29, 41: their usual designation. On the present occasion they were witnesses, not judges) stood up and laid their hands upon her head."

35. *looked up toward heaven.*] At the moment when the accusers laid their hands upon her head. Comp. Matt. xiv. 19; Luke ix. 16;

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walked in the garden alone, this woman came in with two maids, and shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away.

37 Then a young man, who there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her.

38 Then we that stood in a corner of the garden, seeing this wickedness, ran unto them.

39 And when we saw them together, the man we could not hold: for he was stronger than we, and opened the door, and leaped out.

40 But having taken this woman, we asked who the young man was, but she would not tell us: these things do we testify.

41 Then the assembly believed them, as those that were the elders and judges of the people: so they condemned her to death.

42 Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said, O everlasting God, thou knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be:

43 Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me, and, behold, I must die; whereas I never did such things as these men have maliciously invented against me.

44 And the Lord heard her voice.

Mark vi. 41, vii. 34; and contrast *v.* 9 *supra*. The upward look referred the cause to a higher tribunal, and expressed entire confidence in its righteous dealing. The lesson taught is essentially the same as that of Dan. iii. 17, 18; vi. 16, 22.

The LXX. gives the verse thus: "But her heart was trusting upon the Lord her God, and having thrown her head back (*ἀνακύψασα=ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, Theod.) she wept in herself, saying, O Lord, the eternal God," &c. (*v.* 42). Fritzsche, after Bugati, inserts *τρὶς* before the participle, remarking, "non legitur in c. Chis. sed habet Syr. B." But the Syriac word wrongly rendered *τρὶς* by Bugati means "she lifted up" (ܩܡ).

37. The meaning of *ἀνέπεσε* (*μετ' αὐτῆς*) is not noticed in the last ed. of Liddell and Scott. Vulg. *concubuit cum ea*. The usual meaning of the word is "to recline at table," like *ἀνακεῖμαι*: Tobit ii. 1; Judith xii. 15; Ecclus. xxxii. 1. In Gen. xlix. 9, however, the word is used of "lying down to sleep"—*ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων*.

39. *hold.*] Lit., "get the mastery of," *ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι*. The phrase occurs 2 Macc. viii. 30, x. 17, xiii. 13; Ecclus. vi. 27. Cod. III. reads *περικρατεῖς*; see Acts xxvii. 16, *περικρ. γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης*. For the next phrase, cf. Exod. i. 9.

40. *having taken this woman.*] "Having laid hold of her;" *ἐπιλαβόμενοι ταύτης*: cf. Judges xii. 6; xvi. 3, 21; xix. 25, 29; Isa. iv. 1.

41. *Then the assembly.*] Lit., "And the synagogue believed them, as elders of the people and judges" (Syr. W_2.: "chiefs of the priests"). The elders had the same advantage over Susanna, as Angelo over Isabel in the play. See 'Meas. for Meas.,' Act ii. sc. 4, where Angelo demands:

"Who will believe thee, Isabel?
My unsoiled name, the austereness of my life,
My vouch against you, and my place i' the state,
Will so your accusation overweigh,
That you shall stifle in your own report,
And smell of calumny."

they condemned her to death.] *Κατέκριναν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν*, "they gave sentence that she be put to death:" the *absolute* use of the verb, as in Mark xiv. 64. Cf. Esth. ii. 1.

Syr. W_2. adds: "saying, Whoso committeth adultery is worthy of death, and to be stoned with stones. And the ninth hour was Susanna delivered up, to be cast down from the place whence adulteresses are thrown headlong, and many were gathered together to behold it."

42. *O everlasting God.*] *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος*. Isa. xxvi. 4, *ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος*; Gen. xxi. 33. Compare also Dan. iii. 34, iv. 31, vii. 14, 27; Gen. ix. 16; Exod. xii. 14; Mic. ii. 9. The term *αἰώνιος*, applied to the mountains, to the divine covenant with Abraham and his seed, to the Mosaic institutions, to the kingdom of the Messiah, to the Deity himself, denotes "age-long," "enduring," "perpetual." Sometimes the meaning falls very far short of "everlasting," "eternal," in our stricter sense of the words: *e.g.* Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10; Isa. lxi. 4, lxiii. 11; Job xl. 23: where "immemorial," "ancient," "permanent," sufficiently express it.

that knowest the secrets.] *Ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης* (not in LXX.). In 2 Kings xxi. 6, and elsewhere, *γνώστης* is "a wizard." With its use in the present passage, cf. the epithet *καρδιογνώστης*, Acts i. 24, xv. 8 (so Syr. W_2. here); and Deut. xxix. 29, "The secret things (*τὰ κρυπτὰ*) belong unto the Lord our God." In Dan. ii. 29, 47, God is called *ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια*, "He that revealeth mysteries."

43. *maliciously invented.*] *Ἐπονηρεύσαντο*

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45 Therefore when she was led to be put to death, the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young youth, whose name was Daniel:

46 Who cried with a loud voice, [a] I am clear from the blood of this woman.

47 Then all the people turned them toward him, and said, What mean these words that thou hast spoken?

48 So he standing in the midst of them said, Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel?

[a] Matt. 27. 24.

κατ' ἐμοῦ. Cf. *v.* 62; Gen. xxxvii. 18 (=*they were plotting* to kill him); Deut. xix. 19 (זמם). See also 1 Chron. xvi. 22, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύεσθε. Old Lat. *Quae hi maligni finxerunt adversum me*; Vulg. *Quae isti malitiose composuerunt adv. me.*

The LXX. text now gives the formal accusation of the Elders: "But the two elders said, We were walking in her husband's garden, and as we rounded the course (κυκλοῦντες τὸ στάδιον) we saw this woman reposing (ἀναπαυομένην) with a man, and we stopped and were watching them dealing with one another. And *they* did not know that we were standing (there). Then we made agreement (συνειπάμεθα, Dan. ii. 9) with one another, saying, Let us learn who they are. And we approached and recognised her; but the young man fled in disguise (or muffled up, συγκεκαλυμμένος, 1 Sam. xxviii. 8; 1 Kings xxii. 30). But having laid hold of this woman," &c. (*v.* 40). "And all the synagogue believed them, as being elders, and judges of the people (ὡς πρεσβυτέρων ὄντων κ.τ.λ.)." Then follows, instead of Susanna's appeal to Heaven, which has already been given, a verse corresponding to (Theodotion's) *v.* 45: "And behold, an angel of the Lord, as she was being led forth to perish,—and the angel gave, as he was commanded, a spirit of understanding to one yet a youth (νεωτέρῳ ὄντι, Jud. viii. 20; Ps. cxlviii. 12), Daniel."

45. *the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young youth.*] Rather, "God roused (or woke) the holy spirit of a young boy." According to the LXX., this was done through the instrumentality of an angel, who gave Daniel "a spirit of understanding" (πνεῦμα συνέσεως, Isa. xi. 2; Deut. xxxiv. 9), *i.e.* a power to discern the true relations of things. Theodotion modified this statement, as not consistent with Dan. iv. 9, 18; v. 11: according to which passages Daniel was endowed with "the spirit of the holy gods;" in virtue of which no secret was hidden from him. The account of the LXX. is, however, consistent with such passages as Dan. ix. 21; x. 5 *sqq.*, in which the angel Gabriel communes with Daniel. (Syr. W_1.: "And God stirred up his Holy Spirit in Daniel, a youth;" W_2.: "And straightway the Holy Spirit abode upon young Daniel, who was twelve years old.")

46. *I am clear.*] Gk. ἀθῶος ἐγὼ ἀπό, which is equivalent to Heb. אני נקי מן: see Gen. xxiv. 41; Num. v. 19; and cf. Matt. xxvii. 24 (the cry of Pilate). Codd. III., XII., 23, *al.* have the synonymous καθαρὸς, "pure"= טהור מן, Job xiv. 4; cf. Acts xx. 26. So Old Lat. and Vulg. *mundus.* The impulse under which the holy youth proclaimed aloud that he would be no partner in the wrong that was about to be done is fittingly ascribed to an inspiration from above. The potency of his witness must, of course, be considered from an ethical and religious rather than from a strictly historical standpoint. In the latter case, the thing may appear wholly improbable; in the former, it is a good illustration of the Psalmist's words: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine adversaries; that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." This verse is not in the LXX., which continues the narrative thus, after the passage translated above: "But Daniel having put asunder (διαστείλας) the crowd, and taken his stand in the midst of them, said," &c. (as in *v.* 48, save that for κατεκρίνατε, "ye have condemned," the reading is ἀπεκτείνατε, "ye have killed"—a more graphic expression). "And now put them me asunder one far from another, that I may examine (ἐτάσω) them. But when they had been put asunder, Daniel said to the synagogue, Now regard it not that these are elders, saying, They will never lie; but I will interrogate (ἀνακρινῶ, Thucyd. i. 95) them, according to what things occur to me" (κατὰ τὰ ὑποπίπτοντά μοι. Cf. Polyb. i. 68. 3; xx. 9, 10). Syr. H., "according as it appears to me."

48. *standing in the midst.*] Or, "having taken his stand in the midst." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 12; 1 Kings viii. 22.

Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel.] Before this question, Syr. W_2. interpolates: "And when Daniel had risen amongst them, he prophesied and said: 'Hear ye the word of the Lord, and hearken to the voice of his prophet! and condemn not the innocent in the righteous judgment of God. Judge the judgment of truth, that the Lord send not upon you the heat of his anger; for fearful is

49 Return again to the place of judgment: for they have borne false witness against her.

50 Wherefore all the people turned again in haste, and the elders said unto him, Come, sit down among us, and shew it us, seeing God hath given thee the honour of an elder.

51 Then said Daniel unto them, Put these two aside one far from another, and I will examine them.

52 So when they were put asunder one from another, he called one of them, and said unto him, O thou that art waxen old in wickedness, now thy sins which thou hast committed aforetime are come *to light:*

53 For thou hast pronounced false

its stroke (Ecclus. xxiii. 11), and ye cannot bear it.'" It omits *v.* 49.

49. *place of judgment.*] Or, "tribunal." Τὸ *κριτήριον* is so used in Plat. 'Laws,' 767 B; Polyb. ix. 33. 12. See Dan. vii. 10, 26; Exod. xxi. 6; Judges v. 10; James ii. 6.

they have borne false witness.] The emphasis lies on the word "false." Daniel's positiveness is natural, on the assumption that he was guided in the manner stated, *v.* 45 *supra.* This also explains the sudden revulsion of popular feeling caused by his words (*v.* 50).

50. *the elders said.*] Hardly the two culprits; but other elders of the people, who would naturally preside over an inquiry in which the conduct of the two who had been appointed judges was called in question. This seems clear from Daniel's reply, *v.* 51: "And Daniel said unto them (*i.e.* to the presiding elders), Put these two (the criminals) asunder, one far from another." Besides, it is not to be supposed that when, at Daniel's bidding, the people returned to the place of judgment to reconsider the case, they would suffer the very persons whom Daniel accused to sit in judgment on their own cause. Walton's Syr. texts, however, have "those two elders," "those rulers of the synagogue;" and the Arabic has "the two sheikhs." Syr. W_2. adds: "And they brought a throne out of the treasury, and set it up (Dan. vii. 9) for Daniel to sit upon; and Daniel began to judge those wicked judges. Then they released Susanna. And Daniel said: 'I will not judge Susanna sitting, but standing on my feet.'"

seeing God hath given.] Lit., "because to thee hath God given the eldership." This seems to imply that Daniel was already known as a subject of inspiration. But perhaps it is better to understand the words as an inference from the words he had just spoken and their magical effect upon the minds of the people. Cf. also Num. xi. 24–30. Any indication of the will of the Invisible King was sufficient in the Theocracy to supersede the operation of ordinary rules and restrictions: the theory being that the Divine Sovereign chose His own ministers when and how and whence He pleased. The term τὸ *πρεσβεῖον* denotes "age," Ps. lxxi. 18; and then the respect or honour which naturally belongs to age, the privilege of age: Demosth. 1003. 10; Gen. xliii. 33, *ὁ πρωτότοκος κατὰ τὰ πρεσβεῖα αὐτοῦ.* Here the function of judging is chiefly in view. Vulg. *honorem senectutis.* Codd. III., 35, 36, &c. read *πρεσβυτέρων*, a term which first occurs in the N.T., and always bears the sense of "a senate" or "college of elders;" *e.g.* Luke xxii. 66. In ecclesiastical writers it denotes the office of a presbyter.

52. *O thou that art waxen old in wickedness.*] Gk. *πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν*, "aged (or grown hoar) in evil days." The genitive is *relative:* cf. Dan. vii. 22, *ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*, "the Ancient of (*i.e.* in respect of) Days."

The LXX. text runs thus: "And he called the one of them, and they brought the elder to the younger, and Daniel said unto him: Hearken, hearken, O thou that art waxen old," &c. (53), "when thou wert trusted with hearing and judging capital cases (*κρίνειν κρίσεις θάνατον ἐπιφερούσας*), and the innocent thou didst condemn, but the guilty (*ἐνόχους*, Mark xiv. 64) thou usedst to let go (*ἠφίεις*, Mark i. 34), though the Lord said," &c., as below.

now thy sins which thou hast committed.] Lit., "now are come (*ἥκασιν* = *ἥκουσιν*) thy sins, which thou usedst to commit aforetime" (*ἐποίεις τὸ πρότερον*). The term *ἥκασιν* does not mean "are come to light" (Schleusner's *patefiunt*), but rather, "are come home to thee;" thy present miserable situation is the consequence, as it is the climax, of a life of sin. There is nothing unreal in this assertion. The deliberate and flagrant wrong of which this Elder had just been guilty, using the sanctity of office for a cloke of malignity and lust, could not be interpreted as a sudden and unaccountable aberration of conduct. It rather was an index of a corrupt character, whose principle was selfish advantage, and whose practice judicial injustice. But we must not forget that the invective of the youthful speaker is supposed to be divinely prompted (*v.* 45), and his insight into fact inspired.

It is curious that the Syriac versions get rid of the quotation (Syr. W_1.: "And the

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judgment, and hast condemned the innocent, and hast let the guilty go
[b] Exod. 23. 7. free; albeit the Lord saith, [b]The innocent and righteous shalt thou not slay.

54 Now then, if thou hast seen her, tell me, Under what tree sawest thou them companying together? Who answered, Under a
[‖] Gr. *lentisk tree.* [‖]mastick tree.

55 And Daniel said, Very well; thou hast lied against thine own head; for even now the angel of God hath received the sentence of God to cut thee in two.

56 So he put him aside, and commanded to bring the other, and said unto him, O thou seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thine heart.

57 Thus have ye dealt with the

Lord is righteous and innocent;" Syr. W_2. omits).

54. *Now then, if thou hast seen her.*] The emphasis is on *her:* "Now then, if her thou sawest." His conviction of *her* innocence is absolute. LXX.: "Now then, under what tree and at what sort of (ποταπῷ = ποίῳ, Mark xiii. 1) place of the garden hast thou seen (ἑώρακας) them together? (ὄντας σὺν ἑαυτοῖς). And the impious one (ἀσεβὴς) said, Under a mastick tree."

mastick tree.] See the margin. The σχῖνος is the *Pistacia lentiscus* of Linnæus: see Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xiv. 20, xv. 6, xxiv. 6, &c. This tree or shrub yielded a resin or gum which was much used, and oil also was prepared from its berries. See further Dioscor. i. 50; Hdt. iv. 177. Of the versions Old Lat. rightly gives *lentiscus;* Vulg. and Syr. H. keep the Greek word; Syr. W_1. has "terebinth;" W_2. and L_2. have "pistachio-tree." Mastick is the odoriferous gum of the tree (Gk. μαστίχη).

55. *Very well; thou hast lied against thine own head.*] Rather, "Well hast thou lied against (εἰς, Luke xii. 10) thine own head" (*i.e.* thyself, thy person, Gen. xl. 13; 1 Sam. xxviii. 2; 2 Sam. i. 16; Prov. x. 6; Dan. i. 10). LXX. "against thine own soul." In Heb. "soul" (נפשׁ) is a common periphrasis for "self." Cf. also Acts v. 3, 4. The "well" (ὀρθῶς = εὖ) is ironical.

for even now the angel of God.] "For presently will an angel, having received God's sentence (or bidding) from God, cleave thee asunder" (cf. Matt. xxiv. 51). So, according to Fritzsche's text. Codd. III., XII., 26, *al.*, order the words differently: "for presently will an angel of God, having received a sentence from God," &c. Φάσις (from φημὶ) is "judgment," "sentence," not "apparition" (from φαίνω), as Tromm gives it. See Acts xxi. 31. Old Lat. *praeceptum;* Vulg. *sententia.* LXX.: "For the angel of the Lord will cleave thy soul (*i.e.* according to Heb. use, "thyself," "thee") to-day." Cf. Luke ii. 35: "A sword shall pierce through thine own soul (thyself) also." There is a paronomasia in the Greek, or play on the assonance between the words σχῖνος, "mastick-tree," and σχίσει, "will cleave thee;" and a similar one in *vv.* 58, 59, on πρῖνος, "a holm-tree," and the verb πρίσαι, "to cut (saw) thee." Such a conceit may seem to us far-fetched and inappropriate; but the Oriental mind delights in such *lusus verborum,* and the peculiar force of many passages of the Hebrew prophets is lost in our version, because they have not been preserved in translation. See, for instance, Isa. v. 7; Mic. i. 10–15. In the present case, the Vulgate has: "Sub *schino*—Ecce enim Angelus Dei *scindet* te medium." But it neglects the paronomasia in *vv.* 58, 59. Luther imitates thus: "'Unter einer Linden.'—Der Engel des Herrn wird dich finden. 'Unter einer Eichen.'—Der Engel des Herrn wird dich zeichen." In English we might write: "'Under a *clove*-tree.'—For presently will an angel . . . *cleave* thee asunder. 'Under a *yew*.'—The angel will *hew* thee asunder." The *cleaving* and *sawing* of the text are, of course, metaphorical, and the terms used are conditioned by the necessities of the paronomasia. The legal punishment was death by stoning. See note on *v.* 62 *infra.*

56. *seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda.*] If character were the criterion of race, then this Elder belonged to the nations that were extirpated for their religiously sanctioned immoralities, rather than to the house of Judah which had dispossessed them. Cf. St. Paul's argument, Rom. iv. 12, 16. The LXX. gives the verse thus: "Why was thy strain (lit., *seed;* the vital principle in thee: 1 John iii. 9) perverted (διεστραμμένον, Deut. xxxii. 5; Matt. xvii. 17) like that of Sidon (Gen. x. 15; Matt. xi. 21), and not like that of Judah? (Ezek. xvi. 3). Beauty deceived thee, paltry desire" (ἡ μικρὰ ἐπιθυμία. Perhaps, "transient, shortlived lust").

beauty hath deceived thee.] Cf. Judith ix. 10; xiii. 16; xvi. 8.

57. *Thus have ye dealt.*] Lit., "So used ye to do to the daughters of Israel, and they, for fear, would company with you (be your

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daughters of Israel, and they for fear companied with you: but the daughter of Juda would not abide your wickedness.

58 Now therefore tell me, Under what tree didst thou take them companying together? Who answered, Under an ‖holm tree.

‖Or, *kind of oak.*

59 Then said Daniel unto him, Well; thou hast also lied against thine own head: for the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee in two, that he may destroy you.

60 With that all the assembly cried out with a loud voice, and praised God, who saveth them that trust in him.

61 And they arose against the two elders, for Daniel had convicted them of false witness by their own mouth:

62 And according to the law of Moses [c]they did unto them in such sort as they maliciously intended to do to their neighbour: and they put them to death. Thus the innocent blood was saved the same day.

[c] Deut. 19. 19. Prov. 19. 5.

63 Therefore Chelcias and his wife praised God for their daughter Su-

paramours)." The former Elder was charged by the young prophet with corrupting justice; this one is upbraided with habitual corruption of his countrywomen—a reminiscence, probably, of 1 Sam. ii. 22, where the two sons of Eli are represented as guilty of such debauchery. The contrast of the noble firmness of "a daughter of Juda" (Susanna) with the weak submission of "the daughters of Israel" (the women of the Northern kingdom, or the Ten Tribes) is curious. Cf. Hos. iv. 15.

58. *Under an holm tree.*] The Gk. term πρῖνος denotes the "ilex" or "evergreen oak:" see Theophr. 'Hist. Plant.' iii. 16; Dioscor. iv. 48. According to Liddell and Scott, πρῖνος is also the name of a small species, with prickly leaves, bearing berries; from the kermes of which a scarlet dye was made, i.e. *Quercus coccifera* (Theophr. 'Hist. Plant.' iii. 7. 3), which is still called πρινάρι in Greece. The Vulg. and Syr. H. keep the Greek word; Old Lat. has *ilex* (so Syr. W_1. and Arab.); but Syr. W_2. and L_2. "pomegranate."

59. *Well; thou hast also lied.*] Rather, "Well hast thou also lied." See *v.* 55 *supra.*

the angel of God waiteth.] Or, "the angel of God is waiting, sword in hand, to saw thee asunder, that he may utterly destroy you (both)." Cf. Num. xxii. 31; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Chron. xxi. 16. 27. LXX.: "And Daniel said, Thou sinner, now the angel of the Lord standeth with the sword—until the people shall destroy you—that he may saw thee up" (ἵνα καταπρίσῃ σε). "And all the synagogue cried out over the youth (ἐπὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ), that out of their own mouth he had brought them both to confessing their false witness" (ὁμολόγους αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἀμφοτέρους ψευδομάρτυρας: cf. Eurip. 'Androm.' 635). "And as the law orders (διαγορεύει), they did unto them, according as they had maliciously intended against their sister" (so Syr. H.).

62. *maliciously intended.*] See *v.* 43 *supra.* As to the law referred to, see Deut. xix. 16–21. Death by stoning was the penalty for adulterers: see Deut. xxii. 24 *sq.* Cod. 34 expressly notes that the two Elders were stoned, both here and at *v.* 45 *supra.*

Thus the innocent blood.] "And innocent blood was saved on that day." See Deut. xix. 10; xxi. 8, 9. This phrase and the two following verses are not read in the LXX., which concludes the piece thus: "And they gagged them (ἐφίμωσαν, Mark i. 25; Matt. xxii. 34), and having led them forth threw them into a ravine. Then the angel of the Lord threw fire between (διὰ μέσου) them, and innocent blood was saved on that day. Therefore the young men of Jacob are beloved in their simplicity (ἁπλότητι), and, for ourselves, let us guard as sons virtuous young men (so Fritzsche). For young men are pious, and there will be in them a spirit of knowledge and understanding for ever and ever." But 2 Sam. ii. 7, υἱοὺς δυνατοὺς = בני חיל, suggests a doubt of Fritzsche's emendation of the harsh and, as he says, unexampled construction φυλασσώμεθα εἰς υἱοὺς δυνατοὺς νεωτέρους into φυλ. ὡς υἱοὺς κ.τ.λ. The meaning may be: Let us guard youths for (= that they may become) sons of valour (men of valour or worth, *virtus*). But perhaps we should translate: "Let us watch over (Heb. נישמרה אל, 1 Sam. xxvi. 15) capable sons *when young.*" It is difficult to imagine that Greek was the original language of this closing sentence. As Greek it is intolerable as well as unintelligible; as a bald rendering from a Semitic tongue its peculiarities are intelligible enough.

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sanna, with Joacim her husband, and all the kindred, because there was no dishonesty found in her.

64 From that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people.

63. *dishonesty.*] Lit., "unseemly act"—ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα. In Gen. xxxiv. 7, "folly" (= unchastity) is rendered ἄσχημον, and in Deut. xxiv. 1 we read ὅτι εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα (Heb. ערות דבר = *turpe quid*), "because he hath found some shameful thing in her."

64. *From that day forth, &c.*] Lit., "And Daniel became great before the people, from that day and onward" (ἐπέκεινα, *ultra*). Cf. Luke i. 15, where it is said of St. John Baptist, "He shall be great before the Lord;" and Gen. x. 9. Syr. W_2. prolongs the verse.

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ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

III. BEL AND THE DRAGON.

כל ליצנותא אסירא חוץ מליצנותא דעכו"ם דשריא דכתיב כרע בל קרס נבו

"All mockery is bound (forbidden) save mockery of idolaters, which is loose (allowed), as it is written, Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth."—*Sanhedr.* 63 B, l. 30.

THE Midrashic literature supplies evidence that the stories of Bel and the Dragon existed in Aramaic, and probably in Hebrew, at a very early date. Thus Raymund Martini (A.D. 1250) cites *vv.* 28–42 from a Midrash Bereshith Rabba. He introduces the passage thus: "Habacuc vero prophetam fuisse contemporaneum Danieli inde colligitur ubi *in Bereschit Rabba* hoc modo scribitur de Joseph." Then follows the extract from the Midrash, written in what may perhaps be called Syro-Chaldee, in default of a better description: "'And they cast him into the pit' [Gen. xxxvii. 24]. This is as it is written in Daniel: 'And the Babylonians gathered themselves together against the king, and turned against him, and were saying one to another, The king has become a Jew; Bel he has broken in pieces, and the dragon he has killed, and the priests he has killed,'" &c. &c. to the end of the story, where Martini adds: "Hucusque Traditio." *Vid.* his 'Pugio Fidei,' fol. 742 (ed. of Voisin, Paris, 1651, p. 742; ed. of J. B. Carpzov, Lipsiae, 1687, p. 956). The extract agrees generally, though not *verbatim*, with the corresponding portion of the Syriac text in Hebrew characters, published by Dr. Neubauer in the Appendix to his 'Book of Tobit' (Oxford, 1878), as part of an extract from the Midrash Rabbah de Rabbah, which he identifies with Martini's Bereshith Rabba. The whole section, as given by Dr. Neubauer, may be thus translated:—

"*Midrash Rabbāh dĕ Rabbāh*, Parashah 'And Jacob dwelt' [Gen. xxxvii. 1], at the verse 'And they cast him into the pit' [Gen. xxxvii. 24]. 'I called upon thy name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit' [Lam. iii. 55]. This is Daniel, who prayed before the Holy One (blessed be He!) out of the pit, and the Holy One (blessed be He!) heard the voice of his prayer, and delivered him from the lions. This is what is written: 'Thou hast heard my voice,' &c. 'Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee,' &c. [Lam. iii. 56, 57]. And so he saith: 'My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me; forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me' [Dan. vi. 23]. And it sufficed not that he delivered him, but he avenged him of his enemies. This is what is written: 'O Lord, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul, thou hast redeemed my life' [Lam. iii. 58]. And so he saith: 'And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den (pit) of lions; them, their children, and their wives: and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of the den' [Dan. vi. 25]. Behold, we find that Daniel was delivered out of the pit, from the Scripture (המקרא), and our Rabbis have said, 'A tradition (מסורת) is in our hands that another time Daniel was delivered out of the pit of lions, in the days of Cyrus the Persian, because he had denied the idol (ע"ז, lit. strange worship) and destroyed it. They have

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said: 'The king Astîgôs (marginal gloss: *He is Darius the Mede*) was gathered unto his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom,' &c." The Midrash here introduces the stories of Bel and the Dragon from the Syriac version, but in Hebrew characters. The text coincides, save in a few minor variations, with the Syriac of Walton's Polyglot. After *v.* 22 follows the subscription in Hebrew: "Ended is the story of Bel, the image of the Chaldeans." The story of the Dragon is introduced by this superscription: "The matter of the destruction of the Dragon (תנינא), which is called *The Burden* (or *Story*) *of the Dragon* (משא התנין)." After the telling of it in Syriac, the Midrash resumes, of course in Hebrew: "Therefore it is said, 'They have cut off my life in the pit, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off. I called upon thy name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit' [Lam. iii. 53–55]. It is found that Daniel was twice cast into the pit: once, in the days of Darius the Mede, and another time in the days of Cyrus the Persian his son-in-law (חתנו). And on the former occasion he remained not therein but one night, and was delivered; and on the second, he remained therein seven days, and was delivered. And this, the second history, is not written in the Holy Books (בספרי הקדש). It was perceived that, as the Righteous Man (*i.e.* Daniel) was accustomed to this miracle, it sufficed to mention it once."

The transcriber of the MS. added the following note:—"These two histories—to wit, the History of Bel, the Image of the Chaldeans, and the Burden of the Dragon—the Nazarenes [*i.e.* Christians] comprise them in the Canon of the Twenty-four Books of the Prophets, along with three other books. And the translator of them saith that he found them not in the Sacred Tongue [*i.e.* in Hebrew]."

The stratagem by which Daniel successfully exposed the trickery of the priests has its duplicate in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Bechoroth*, 8 b).

The Midrash *Bĕrêshîth Rabbāh*, § 68, contains the following reference to the story of the Dragon. "Another word. 'And behold the Lord stood above it.' 'And behold the angels of God'—this is Daniel—'ascending and descending on it' [see Gen. xxviii. 12, 13], who ascended and brought forth that which it had swallowed out of the midst of its mouth. This is what is written: 'And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up' [Jer. li. 44]. For Nebuchadnezzar had a dragon (תנין), which would swallow up whatever they cast before it. Quoth Daniel to him, 'Give me leave; and I extirpate him' (אני מתישו). He gave him leave. What did he do? He took straw, and hid nails in the midst thereof. He cast it before it, and the nails pierced its bowels. This is what is written: 'I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up.'"

In the great prophecy against Babylon (Jer. li.) the following words are put into the mouth of the subverted Jewish people: "Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, *he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly;* from my delights he hath pushed me away" (*v.* 34); and these into the mouth of God, "*I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up;* and the nations shall not flow together any more unto him: yea, the wall of Babylon is fallen" (*v.* 44). In the former part of the prophecy the omnipotence of the Creator is finely contrasted with the powerlessness of dead idols: "The Lord of hosts hath sworn by himself . . . He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heaven by his understanding. When he uttereth a voice (*i.e.* thundereth), there is a tumult of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: lightnings for the rain he maketh, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures. Every man is become brutish, without knowledge: every founder is ashamed of the image: *for his molten image is a lie, and there is no breath in them. They are vanity, a butt for mockeries; in the time of their punishment they shall perish. The portion of Jacob* [*i.e.* Jehovah] *is not like them; for he is*

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the fashioner of all things . . . Jehovah Sabaoth is his Name." Here, then, we have the original germs of the two strange narratives before us. Just as the nucleus of the Story of Susanna is found in a passage of the great prophet of Judah's decline and fall, so the legends of Bel and the Dragon find their ultimate source in another oracle of the same prophet. Jeremiah furnishes the motive, which the Haggada has developed in its own fashion, turning the prophet's poetic imagery and metaphor into coarsely concrete matter of fact; but at the same time illustrating in a highly effective manner the prophet's own moral of the utter futility of idols, and the sole sovereignty of the God of Israel.

It is natural to ask whether the cuneiform inscriptions contribute anything to the elucidation of these curious narratives: for although, as we have seen, the Haggadic exposition or expansion of Jer. li. 34, 44 is sufficient to account for the growth of the two fables, it is still possible that the phraseology of the prophet himself is coloured by mythical conceptions of Babylonian origin. Dr. Bissell refers to 'Records of the Past,' ix. 137, for the story of "a contest between Bel and the Dragon." That legend, however, like the others of the same series, is exceedingly difficult to understand, and the translation referred to is now quite antiquated. I give portions of the text, transliterated into Roman characters, with a version which is the result of a careful comparison of my own translation with another generously communicated by Professor Sayce. The passages illustrating our Apocryphon are tolerably clear.

TABLET K 3437, BRIT. MUS. ASSYRIAN DOCUMENTS.

Obverse.

. . . baṭ-ṭa imnasu usaḫiz
. u ispatᵘ idussu ilul
. . . . (is)cun birka ina panisu
. . . . mustaḫmeṭu zumursu umtalli
(e)busma śapara sulmū pispis Ti'āmat
(ir)bitti sāri ustiçbita ana la açē mimmisa
sâru iltanu sâru sutu sâru sadu sâru aḫarru
idus śapara ustakriba cisti ADSU DINGIR Anim
ibni imḫulla sâru limna meḫā asamsutum
sâri arba sâri vii sâru GUGU sâru NU-DI-A
useçamma sâri sa ibnū śibittisun
pispis Ti'āmat sutluḫu tibū arcisu
issima belum abuba IZCU-su GAL.a
narcabta si culla maḫri galitta ircal›
içbatsimma irbit naçmadi idus sa ilul
* * * * *
* * * * *

Reverse.

. ana ADAD-e'a limuttaci tuctinni
. . . dat ummatci luritcuśu sunu IZCUMES-ci
endimma anacu u cāsī nibus sasma
Ti'āmat annita ina semisa
maḫḫur itemi usanni ṭensa
iśśima Ti'āmat sitmuris elita
sursis malmalis idrura isdā . . .
imanni sipta ittanamdi tā(sa)
u ilāni sa taḫazi usahilu sunu IZCUMES su(nu)
innin̆duma Ti'āmat NUN ME DINGIR MES DINGIR AMAR UT
sasmis idlubu kitrubu taḫazis
usparirma belᵘ śaparasu usalmisi
imḫulla çabit arcati panussu umtassar
iptema pīsa Ti'āmat ana lahātisu (or sa)
imḫulla usteriba ana la catam saptisa
izzuti sāri carsasa izanuma
innikud libbasa ma pāsa uspalci
iśśuk mulmulla iḫtepi carassa
kirbisa ubattika usalliṭ libba

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icmisi ma napsatas uballi
salamsa iddā elisa izaza (or iziza)
ultu Ti'āmat alic pani inaru
ciçrisa uptarrira buḫarsa issapḫa
u DINGIR MES riçūsa alicu idisa
ittarru iplaḫu usaḫḫiru* arcatsun
useçuma napsatus ediru
ittalamū naparsudis la lihē
. . . bu sunuti ma IZCUMES sunu usabbir

TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

(a weapon) his right hand he made grasp;
. . . . and the quiver at his side he slung (from his shoulder: cf. 'Il,' i. 45).
He shot lightning with his countenance.
With whirling (wrath?) his body he filled.
He made also a net,* to throw round* the monster Tiamat.
The four winds he seized, that nothing* of her might go forth:
The north wind, the south wind, the east wind, the west wind.
By his side he placed the net, the gift of his father Anu.
He created a stormwind, a baleful wind, a hurricane, a whirlwind,
Four winds, seven winds, a destroying wind, a wind not to be stilled.
He sent forth also the winds which he had made, the seven of them.
The monster Tiamat coileth herself, cometh after him.
The Lord also raised the Flood, his mighty weapon;
That chariot which levelleth all enemies, he rode.

.

Reverse.

". . . . against my fathers thine enmity thou didst harden.
Let thy people , let them marshal thine arms!
Stand, I and thou will do battle."
Tiamat, on hearing this,
Encounter ordered she, she repeated her command.

* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

She rehearsed a spell, she poured forth her charm;
And the gods of battle called for their arms.
Then Tiamat assailed the prince of the gods Merodach;
In battle she came on, she closed in conflict.
The Lord also spread his net, he threw it around her;
A stormwind, taking the rear, before him he let loose.
Tiamat opened her mouth to draw it in:
The stormwind she received within her, so that she could not close her lips.
With violence the winds filled her belly, and
She was pierced through her heart, and her mouth she opened wide.
She bit the shaft; her belly was stricken through.
Her inside he thrust through, he mastered the heart;
He bound her, and her life he swallowed up.
Her carcase* he cast down, upon her he stood.
When Tiamat the leader he had vanquished,
Her might he broke, her army was routed;
And the gods her helpers, marching beside her,
Wheeled round, were terrified, turned* their back.

* * * * * * *

They clung together in flight, powerless.
. . . . them, and their weapons he brake in pieces.

The above rendering is far from being equally certain throughout. In many places the writer has greatly doubted whether it would not be the more prudent course not to attempt the interpretation of these enigmas of speech. Nothing indeed could more forcibly bring home to the mind the great uncer-

* The terms marked with an asterisk were suggested by Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, who kindly read through this portion of the sheet with me.

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tainty which still clogs the progress of students of Assyrian, than the attempt to wrest an intelligible meaning out of the mythological tablets.

The reader will notice the curious coincidence between the mode in which the Dragon is slain by Daniel, and Tiamat by Merodach. This can hardly be accidental. The legends which form the basis of our Apocryphon must have originated among the Jews of Babylon, who, as the Talmud shews, were more or less acquainted with Babylonian myths about dragons and sea-monsters. It is not of course necessary to suppose that the Jewish authors of these stories were versed in cuneiform writing, or even that they had any accurate knowledge of the mythus of The Combat of Marduḳ and Tiamat. They could hardly, however, have been wholly ignorant of the popular legends; and the common representations on seals, of which so many examples are preserved in the Museums of Europe, would afford the inexact sort of knowledge which finds its expression in the Haggada. Dragons and serpents of huge size are often referred to in the Babylonian Talmud. Thus in the Mishna (*Abōdāh Zārāh*, 42 B) we read: "Whoso findeth vessels whereon is the form of the sun, the form of the moon, the form of a dragon (צירת דרקון), let him throw them into the Sea of Salt. Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel saith, Those which are upon valuable vessels are forbidden; those which are upon common vessels are allowed." In the Gemara (*ib.*, 43 A, line 15) R. Joshua ben Levi is related to have said: "I was once walking after R. Eliezer haQafar Beribbi in the way, and he found there a seal-ring, whereon was an image of a dragon. And he met a young pagan, and spake not to him at all. He met an adult pagan, and said to him, Desecrate it; but he would not. He beat him, and (then) he desecrated it" (by breaking off a bit of the image). The Jews in Babylonia must have often found such objects graven with the images of Bel-Merodach and Tiamat, and other mythological subjects, and doubtless their fanaticism destroyed many. The idol Bel-Merodach, the tutelar deity of Babylon, had a famous temple there, which is mentioned thus in *Abōdāh Zārāh*, 11 B, *med.*: "R. Hanan son of R. Hisda says that Rab said—or, according to others, R. Hanan son of Rabba says that Rab said—Five houses of idols are pre-eminent (קבועין). These are the house of Bel at Babel, the house of Nebo at Cursi, Tra^{sh}ta which is at Mepheg [Ashtoreth-Derceto at Hierapolis-Mabûg], Çaripha which is at Ascalon [Hdt. i. 105, Aphrodite], Nashra which is in Arabia [*i.e.* the Eagle, which in Arabic as in Assyro-Babylonian is the name of a star or star-group]. When R. Dimi came (from Palestine to Babylon), they added to them Jarid [*Jārūd*, serpent] which is at Ain Beci, Nidbaca which is at Accho—there are some who say, *Nithbara* which is at Accho. R. Dimi of Nehardea hands down the converse, viz. Nidbaca in Ain Beci and Jarid in Accho." It is noteworthy that serpent-worship is here recorded of a Palestinian town.

But although this long tractate has strange worship, *i.e.* idolatry, for its topic, it does not again mention Bel; and it is curious how little of correct reminiscence of this kind is to be found in Jewish literature. Bel-Merodach is one of the numerous solar figures of Oriental mythology, and his adversary Tiamat is the primeval chaos or darkness, out of which all things emerged. She had her dwelling in the sea, and is represented on the seals and cylinders as a winged monster with horns, hooves, sharp talons, and a scaly tail. She and her demon troops waged unceasing war against the god of light. The student of universal mythology will be familiar with such conceptions. Night, the clouds, the sea, are in turn described as monstrous serpents or dragons, now vanquishing and now vanquished by the god of day. The resolution of almost all genuine products of the mythopoeic faculty into variations of this one theme will surprise nobody who recollects that the mental infancy of man is characterised, not by exuberant fertility, but by a uniform barrenness of imagination. Tiamat may be compared with Apepi, the great dragon of the Egyptian mythus, who is called *Hemhemti*, "the Roarer" (*i.e.* the thunder-cloud), before whom Ra is "in a flutter"; "Seb standeth still in terror,

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and the company of the mighty gods is in a quake." Apepi is at last "overcome by the fire and flinty sword of the Sun-god, and is forced back into his cavern, and over him is placed a stone of forty cubits, while the devouring flame preys upon his bones" (Renouf). A trace of the like symbolism may perhaps be seen in Job xi. 13.

It is evident from Gen. i. 21, Ps. lxxiii. 13, that תנין (dragon) usually meant any kind of aquatic monster (κῆτος). In Isa. li. 9, Ezek. xxxii. 2, it is "the crocodile," as an emblem of Egypt. In Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12, it denotes "serpent," the etymological import of the term being apparently "that which is much extended." For Talmudic stories about huge serpents, see *Baba Bathra*, 73 B, *et seq.*; *Chullin*, 127 A; *Sanhedr.* 59 B. Compare also the legends about the Leviathan, which in Scripture means the crocodile (Isa. xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 14, civ. 26; Job xl. 21), but in the Talmud a mysterious monster, created male and female on the fifth day (*Bab. Bathra*, 74 B). Fearing that if they multiplied they would ravage the earth, God emasculated the male and killed the female, and preserved her flesh for the great banquet of the righteous in the world to come. A similar tale is added about the Behemoth (hippopotamus). Cf. also *Abōd. Zārāh*, 3 A. The following extracts from *Abōdāh Zārāh* (Mishn. 7, Per. 4) are good instances of the mingled shrewdness and sarcasm with which the old Rabbis could argue against idolatry. "They asked the Elders in Rome, If his (God's) good pleasure be not in idol-worship, why does he not put an end to it? They answered, If they (*i.e.* the heathen) worshipped a thing that was not necessary to the world, he would put an end to it. As it is, they worship the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, and the Zodiacal Signs; must he destroy his world for the sake of the fools? They answered, If so, let him destroy anything (any object of idolatry) that is not necessary to the world, and let him leave anything that is necessary. They (the Jews) answered, Then we should be strengthening the hands of the worshippers of these things, who would say, Ye see that they *are* gods, for they are not put an end to." The Gemara has the following wise remarks:—"Lo, he that stealeth a *seah* of wheat, and soweth it in a field—it were right that it should not come up (being stolen goods). But the world goes on in its wonted course; notwithstanding, the fools who deal corruptly will have to pay the penalty. If a man go in unto his neighbour's wife, she ought not to conceive. But the world goes on in its wonted course, and fools who deal corruptly will have to pay the penalty. A philosopher asked R. Gamaliel, It is written in your law, The Lord thy God is a consuming fire, he is a jealous God (Deut. iv. 24): why is your God jealous at the worshippers and not at (the idol) itself? He said unto him, I will tell thee a parable wherefore it is so. The matter is like the king who had a son, who reared a dog, and named it after his father's name, and whenever he swore would say, By the life of the dog Abba. When the king heard thereof, with whom would he be angry, with the son or with the dog? He said, With the son. He said (also) unto him, Thou art calling it (the idol) a dog; and is there no reality (מַמָּשׁ) in it? He (R. Gamaliel) saith, And what hast thou seen? He saith unto him, Once a fire broke out in our city, and the whole city was burnt, but the idol-house was not burnt. He saith unto him, I will tell thee why, by a parable. The matter is like the king against whom a province had rebelled. When he made war, did he make it with the living or with the dead? He saith unto him, Dog thou callest it, dead thou callest it. If it be so, let him destroy them (the idols) out of the world. He saith unto him, If the heathen served only a thing that the world had no need of, he would abolish it. As it is, they serve the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Zodiacal Signs, the Rivers, and the Valleys: must God destroy his world for the sake of fools?"

After what has been said, it is hardly worth while to notice the objections raised by matter-of-fact critics against the two closely-connected stories of our Apocryphon. "Anachronisms," "literary extravagances," "a legendary character," are obvious on the face of the narratives; but such faults as these,

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though valid against any pretensions to the rank of authentic history, do not render the stories less effective as pieces of Haggadic satire, or less interesting as preserving vestiges of a cycle of popular legends relating to Daniel. In the LXX. the piece bears the curious title ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί: "From the prophecy of Habakkuk son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi." (So also the Syro-Hexaplar.) Bertholdt supposed that this Habakkuk was an Egyptian Jew, who worked up a *Volkssage* about Daniel into the present narrative. It is more likely that the prophet Habakkuk, who probably flourished in the last decade of the 7th cent. B.C., and may well have been a Levite (see the subscription to chap. iii. 19), is the author intended (so S. Jerome);[1] in which case, as Fritzsche observes, the piece may be an extract from a pseudepigraphic writing attributed to that prophet. This partly explains the language of S. Athanasius ('Synops. Script. Sacr.;' in Migne, 'Series Græc.' tom. xxviii. 432): Βαροὺχ Ἀμβακοὺμ Ἐζεχιὴλ καὶ Δανιὴλ ψευδεπίγραφα. The fact that in the LXX. Daniel is introduced as a *priest*, and as a person otherwise unknown, points in the same direction.

[1] Eusebius supposed another Habakkuk and another Daniel.

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THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION

OF

‖ BEL AND THE DRAGON,

‖ Gr. *Bel's dragon.*

Cut off from the end of *DANIEL.*

19 *The fraud of Bel's priests is discovered by Daniel,* 27 *and the dragon slain, which was worshipped.* 33 *Daniel is preserved in the lions' den.* 42 *The king doth acknowledge the God of Daniel, and casteth his enemies into the same den.*

AND king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.

2 And Daniel ‖conversed with the king, and was honoured above all his friends. ‖ Or, *lived with the king.*

3 Now the Babylonians had an idol, called Bel, and there were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine.

1. *king Astyages.*] See Hdt. i. 107, according to which passage Cyrus was son of Mandane, daughter of Astyages the Mede, and Cambyses the Persian. Hdt. i. 130 relates that Cyrus deprived Astyages of his kingdom, and kept him at his court until the old king died. Our text appears to assert that Cyrus only assumed the sovereignty on the death of his grandfather. Ancient authorities are not agreed as to whether Cyrus was the immediate successor of Astyages (Diod., Justin, Strabo, Canon of Ptolemy), or not (Xen. 'Cyrop.' i. 19, Cyaxares; Joseph. 'Ant.' x. 11. 4, Darius); nor as to the manner in which the Persian sovereign got possession of the Median realm. The recently discovered cuneiform records of Nabonidus and Cyrus himself have thrown unexpected light upon difficulties which were the despair of bygone generations of scholars. Cyrus relates that Astyages "assembled (his forces), and against Kurash king of Anshan (Cyrus king of Persia) to take him he marched . . . Ishtuvēgū (Astyages), his forces rebelled against him, and with hands seized (took him prisoner), to Kurash they ga(ve him up). (Marched) Kurash to the land of Agamtanu, the royal city; silver, gold . . . of the land of Agamtanu he carried off, and to the land of Anshan he took the plunder." This generally confirms the statements of Herodotus on the matter. (See 'Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.' vii. 155.) Nabonidus (*Nabû-náhid*) states that his god Merodach "Kuras king of Anzan, his young servant, with his clansmen caused to march; the far-reaching people of Manda (the Medes) he defeated; *Ishtuvêgû* king of the people of Manda he captured, and his hoards to his own land he took." ('Cylinder of Nabonidus,' lines 27–29.) In the Vulgate, this is the concluding verse of Susanna.

2. *And Daniel conversed with the king.*] Lit., "and Daniel was a companion of the king." Συμβιωτής, *conviva*, is a term so used in Polyb. viii. 12. 3; and Cic. 'Fam.,' ix. 10. Plutarch has the word of the *confidants* of the Emperors ('Jul. Caes.' 21). Συμβίωσις occurs in Wisd. viii. 3, 9, 16. Syr. W. prefixes the statement: "And Daniel —his glory was equal with that of the king."

was honoured above all his friends.] Comp. the favour which Daniel is said to have enjoyed with Darius the Mede (Dan. vi. 3). In ch. i. 21 we read that Daniel "continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus," *i.e.* remained in Babylon until the year when permission was given for the Jewish exiles to return. Ch. x. purports to relate a vision seen by Daniel "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia."

The LXX. and Syr. H. begin the narrative thus: "A man there was, a priest, whose name was Daniel son of Abal, a companion of the king of Babylon." Thus the particular king is left undetermined. See Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 7, for a priest named Daniel, contemporary with Ezra. According to Dan. i. 3, 6, the prophet of this name was hardly a priest. The name Ἀβαλ is probably corrupted from some word like Ἀβιήλ or Ἀβιχαίλ (Num. iii. 35). This seems better than to regard it as a variant of Ἄβελ, הבל, Abel, Gen. iv. 2. Epiphanius ('Advers. Haeret.' lv. 3) speaks of Σαβαὰν (? שבעון = שמעון, Simeon) as the father of the prophet Daniel.

3. *Bel.*] Βήλ, in Herod. Ζεὺς Βῆλος, the Assyro-Babylonian *Bêlu, Bêl;* that is, Bel-

4 And the king worshipped it, and went daily to adore it: but Daniel worshipped his own God. And the king said unto him, Why dost not thou worship Bel?

5 Who answered and said, Because I may not worship idols made with hands, but the living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh.

Merodach, the tutelar god of Babylon. Cf. Isa. xlvi. 1, בֵּל, which reproduces this foreign name accurately. It answers to the Heb. בַּעַל, Aram. בַּעַל, Baal. This Bel, who is identified with Merodach, the god of the planet Jupiter, is distinct from the old Bel of the first triad of gods, who is called the "father of the gods," and whose consort is Bêlit (Beltis), "the mother of the gods." Bel-Merodach is, in fact, styled "Bêlu the son of Bêlu." His consort is Zarpanitum or Zirbâniti, called "mistress (bêlit) of the countries" and "mistress of the gods," and "firstborn of Anum." She is the planet Venus (Dilbad). See also Hdt. i. 131; Μύλιττα = Bêlit.

there were spent upon him every day.] It appears from Herodotus that the god was honoured in this fashion with what the Romans called *lectisternia:* Hdt. i. 183. Cf. also Diod. Sic. ii. 9. The Phillipps' Cylinder gives us Nebuchadnezzar's testimony to the same fact:

"When Merodach, mighty lord, to the lordship of the land
Raised me, and
Widespread peoples for shepherding gave me;
To Merodach, the god my maker, I was reverently obedient,
To follow his laws I bowed the neck.
His rich oblations,
His splendid freewill offerings,
Above the former amount I increased.
For one day an ox, fine (?), fat, ...
Fish, fowl, spices (?)
Honey, curd, milk, the best of oil,
Sweet wine (?), mead (?), strong drink, . . .
Costly wine, wine of Izallam,
Of Tu'immu, of Çimmini, of Helbon,
Of Aranabanum, of Suham,
Of Bit-kubatim and Bitatim,
Like the waters of a river, numberless,
In the chalices of Merodach and Zarpanitu,
My lords, I made to abound."
(1 R. 65, col. 1, 8 *sqq.*)

great measures of fine flour, . . . vessels of wine.] Σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβαι . . . οἴνου μετρηταί. The first word, which means "the finest wheaten flour" (Lat. *simila, similago*), represents Heb. מִנְחָה, "meat-offering," A.V.: see Lev. ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7; Isa. i. 13. Cf. also Gen. xviii. 6. Ἀρτάβη occurs Isa. v. 10, for Heb. חֹמֶר, "homer," A.V. The *Artaba* was a Persian measure, containing 1 medimnus 3 choenices, according to Hdt. i. 192; or 1 medimnus, according to Suidas and Hesychius. The former assignment is probably the more exact. The μετρητὴς was the common Athenian liquid measure (= ἀμφορεύς), holding about 9 gallons. The Vulg. gives *amphorae;* but the Roman *amphora* = $\frac{2}{3}$ Attic *metretes.* In 2 Chron. iv. 5 the term renders Heb. בַּת, "bath;" in 1 Kings xviii. 32 סְאָה, "seah." σατόν. It is the "firkin" of John ii. 6. For another account of Bel's daily allowance, see Josippon ben Gorion, *apud* Selden, Syntag. 2, 'de Belo et Dracone.'

Instead of "40 sheep," LXX. and Syr. H. have the disproportionate 4; and "oil" instead of "wine." See *vv.* 10, 14, 21 (LXX.). Syr. W.: "40 rams."

4. *the king worshipped.*] The verb is ἐσέβετο, *venerabatur* (Josh. iv. 24) = יָרֵא, *timuit* (Jon. i. 9; Job i. 9). Cyrus, perhaps, was not a monotheist; if he was, he displayed a politic toleration of the religions of his foreign subjects, not unlike that which afterwards distinguished the Roman empire. In the annals of *Nabû-nâhid,* he represents himself as enjoying the special favour of Merodach, who foretells his march upon Babylon, and accompanies him thither. Cyrus even asserts that he has made daily prayers to Bel and Nebo that they might intercede with Merodach on his behalf. The legend before us, therefore, in its representation here, happens to coincide in part with the facts of history.

Daniel worshipped.] προσεκύνει, "used to fall down before," often in LXX. as = הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה, *se procubuit,* an act of homage to God or man (1 Chron. xxix. 20; Gen. xviii. 2, xxiv. 26). In Daniel = Chaldee סְגִד (ii. 46; iii. 5, 6, 7, &c.). (The same verb as "to adore" *ante.*)

LXX., Syr. H.: Δανιὴλ δὲ προσηύχετο πρὸς κύριον, "but Daniel used to pray unto Jehovah." A similar contrast is presented in Dan. iii.; cf. also Dan. vi. 11. So Syr. W.: "God," absolutely. At the end it adds rightly, "my god."

5. *Who answered and said, &c.*] Lit., "But he said, Because I worship (σέβομαι) not idols," &c. (Isa. ii. 8, xxxi. 7; Deut. iv. 28; 2 Kings xix. 18; Ps. cxv. 4).

who hath created the heaven.] τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ. So the LXX. Gen. xiv. 19, 22, for Heb. "possessor of heaven and earth." The word here may have been בּוֹרֵא, *creans* (Isa. xlv. 7, 8; Amos iv. 13).

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6 Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day?

7 Then Daniel smiled, and said, O king, be not deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass without, and did never [a]eat or drink any thing.

[a] Ecclus. 20. 19.

8 So the king was wroth, and called for his priests, and said unto them, If ye tell me not who this is that devoureth these expences, ye shall die.

9 But if ye can certify me that Bel devoureth them, then Daniel shall die: for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. And Daniel said unto the king, Let it be according to thy word.

10 Now the priests of Bel were

hath sovereignty over all flesh.] ἔχοντα πάσης σαρκὸς κυρείαν. The uncommon term κυρεία, *imperium*, = Chaldee יְשְׁלְטָנָא, Dan. iv. 19, vi. 27; and in Dan. xi. 3, 4, 5 = Heb. מֶמְשָׁל and מִמְשָׁל.

The LXX. has: "And Daniel said unto the king, None worship I save Jehovah (κύριον anarthrous), the God who created the heaven," &c. Theod. is more antithetical. He contrasts idols which are manufactured, and therefore lifeless objects, with the living God who made all things and is the rightful Lord of all living. Cf. Num. xvi. 22: "El, god of the spirits of all flesh." This is, of course, written from the Jewish standpoint. *We* may remember that the Bel of the first triad was called the "Creator" (*bânû*); and Merodach, to whose worship the great Nebuchadnezzar was especially devoted, is styled by him and others "king of heaven and earth," "exalted ruler," "the god my Maker," "the god of gods," &c.

6. *Thinkest thou not that Bel.*] LXX.: "This one, then, is he not a god? Seest thou not how much is spent upon him (*vid. v.* 3 *supra*) every day?" The second question in Theod. is ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς κ.τ.λ., "Or (if thou dost not) seest thou not," &c. There is something intensely ironical in the proof alleged for Bel's real existence—no other or higher function of life than "eating and drinking," the almost mechanical process of nutrition (τὸ θρεπτικόν) which man shares with the brute creation. Cf. Ps. l. 7–13. The stress laid on the *quantity* of food consumed shews that the god is regarded merely as a sort of giant or magnified man. A necessity of eating is a proof not of divinity but of mortality; it is a contradiction of the *autarkeia* of deity (Arnald).

7. *smiled*—γελάσας—is added by Theod. For the compound of "clay and brass," cf. Dan. ii. 32, 34.

be not deceived.] μὴ πλανῶ, "do not go on deceiving thyself." Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14; Wisd. ii. 21. The LXX. is more emphatic: "By no means let any man mislead thee by false argument" (μηδαμῶς μηδείς σε παραλογιζέσθω. Gen. xxix. 25; Josh. ix. 22); "and I swear unto thee by Jehovah the God of gods (Syr. H. obelizes the oath), that this one hath never eaten anything." For the expression "God of gods," see Dan. xi. 36, ii. 47; Deut. x. 17; Ps. cxxxvi. 2; and the note on *v.* 5 *supra*.

8. *his priests.*] *I.e.* the priests *of Bel*, as Syr. W. explains. LXX., "the overseers of the temple"—τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

If ye tell me not.] Cf. Dan. ii. 5. LXX. and Syr. H.: "Shew (παραδείξατε, Ezek. xxii. 2; Exod. xxvii. 2) who eateth the things prepared for Bel; otherwise ye shall die—or Daniel, who allegeth that the things (αὐτὰ) are not eaten by him" (*i.e.* Bel). The king means to say, One or the other must die, and the issue will depend on your answer. The brevity of expression is remarkable. εἰ δὲ μήγε ἀποθανεῖσθε, ἢ Δανιὴλ ὁ φάσκων κ.τ.λ.: "or (if ye do shew it) Daniel (shall die), who pretendeth," &c. The LXX. text continues: "But they said, 'Bel himself is he that devoureth them.' But Daniel said unto the king, 'Let it be thus: If I shew not that it is not Bel that devoureth these things, I will die (= let me be put to death) and all my friends'" (οἱ παρ' ἐμοί. Susann. 33, οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς. This seems to shew that οἱ παρ' ἐμοῦ should be read here. See *v.* 14 *infra*, where for "his servants" LXX. has τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ).

expences.] δαπάνη. Hesychius explains the word by τροφή, "keep." Cf. Ezra vi. 4, 8; and δαπάνημα, 2 Macc. xi. 31. The Syr. W. and Arabic versions have a term which literally means "outgoing" (cf. "income"). Perhaps the Heb. was the late הוֹצָאָה. See the verb in 2 Kings xii. 13.

10. *Now the priests of Bel.*] The number assigned looks small beside that of Ahab and Jezebel's Baal-priests (1 Kings xviii. 19, 22). After this statement of the sum of the priests, LXX., Syr. H. proceed as follows: "But they led the king into the idol's chamber (εἰδωλεῖον, 1 Macc. i. 47; 1 Cor. viii. 10), and the meats were set on in the presence of the king and Daniel, and wine mingled was brought

threescore and ten, beside their wives and children. And the king went with Daniel into the temple of Bel.

11 So Bel's priests said, Lo, we go out: but thou, O king, set on the meat, and make ready the wine, and shut the door fast, and seal it with thine own signet;

12 And to morrow when thou comest in, if thou findest not that Bel hath eaten up all, we will suffer death: or else Daniel, that speaketh falsely against us.

13 And they little regarded it: for under the table they had made a privy entrance, whereby they entered

in and set on for Bel. And Daniel said, Thou thyself seest that these things are here (*κεῖται*), O king. Thou, then, shalt seal the bolts (*τὰς κλεῖδας* = *κλεῖθρα* here) of the temple, when it shall be shut. But the saying pleased the king. But Daniel ordered his people (*τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ*) to put all men out (*ἐκβαλόντας*, Mark v. 40) of the temple, and sprinkle all the temple with ashes, without the knowledge of any of those who were outside of it. And then having sealed the temple, he bade seal it with the king's seal and with the seals of certain honoured priests. And it was done so." The word "sprinkle"—*καταπάσαι*—is Fritzsche's emendation of *καταστῆσαι* (Cod. Chisian.): cf. 2 Macc. x. 25. He also suggests *καταστρῶσαι* and *κατασεῖσαι* (see note on *v.* 14 *infra*). Syr. H.: "to prepare."

"Temple" is "house," *οἶκος*, בית (1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Kings xix. 37). The specific Heb. term for "temple" or "palace," *hêkāl* (היכל), Assyr. *Êkallu*^{m}, is said to be of pre-Semitic origin, and is referred to the Accadian *ê-gal*, "great house." At Babylon the chief temple of Bel crowned a pyramid built of brick in eight stages, now represented by the mound called *Bâbil*.

11. *we go out.*] Gk. *ἀποτρέχομεν ἔξω*. See note on Susanna 7.

set on the meat.] *παράθες τὰ βρώματα*. *Παρατίθημι* is the usual expression for "setting food before" guests, from the Homeric poems downwards. Cf. Gen. xviii. 8; Luke x. 8; 2 Kings vi. 22.

make ready the wine.] Gk. *τὸν οἶνον κεράσας θές*, "mingle the wine and set it (on):" cf. John ii. 10, *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πρῶτον τὸν καλὸν οἶνον τίθησι*. Fritzsche observes that it was a Greek and Roman, but hardly an Oriental, and least of all an old Jewish custom, to mingle wine with water, as here represented. But such passages as Prov. ix. 2, 5; Isa. i. 22, may be alleged in favour of a contrary opinion; and Gesenius ('Thesaur.,' p. 808, *s. v.* מסך) declares that the Hebrews and Arabs sometimes followed this practice. Moreover, the red wine of the Passover cups was tempered with water—usually in the proportion of two parts of water to one of wine; whence was derived the custom of the early Church in the matter of mixing the Eucharistic chalice. It appears to have been also an Oriental practice to flavour wines with spices, honey, and other condiments; and some understand the passages Prov. ix. 2, 5 in this sense: cf. Isa. v. 22; Mark xv. 23; and the Talmudic *Abôd. Zâr.* 58 B; *Maaser sheni*, 2 A; *Pesach.* 108 B (where wine is distinguished as חי, *vivum*, i.e. *purum*, and מזוג, *mixtum*. The same root in Arab. means "to mix wine with water," and is used here in the Arab. and Syriac versions). Gesenius explains the word מָזֶג in Cant. vii. 3 thus: "*vinum* idque poculo infusum ibique aqua *temperatum*."

In an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar no fewer than eight kinds of "costly" wines—one that of Helbon, so highly prized by the Persian kings afterwards—are mentioned as used in libations. See Schrader, 'Keilinschr.,' p. 426.

shut the door fast.] *ἀπόκλεισον*. *Vid.* Susanna 18.

seal it with thine own signet.] According to the LXX. (*vid. supr.*) the door was sealed also with the signets of some of the principal priests. In like manner the lions' den was sealed with the signet of the king, and with that of his lords (Dan. vi. 17). Seals were of peculiar importance in Babylonian business of all kinds; and great numbers of royal and other seals, made of carnelian, agate, jasper, alabaster, &c., have been found in Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, inscribed with mythological subjects and sometimes inscriptions in cuneiform.

12. *that speaketh falsely against us.*] *ὁ ψευδόμενος καθ' ἡμῶν*: cf. James iii. 14. The sense involves "shall die," which Syr. W. adds.

13. *they little regarded it.*] That is, the danger. So De Wette: "they were careless." The Gk. is *αὐτοὶ δὲ κατεφρόνουν*, "but they, on their part, were disdainful," or "behaved scornfully." Vulg.: *contemnabant autem*. The verb is used *absolutely*, as in Thucyd. ii. 11. It hardly means "reflecting," either here or in Hdt. viii. 10, as Fritzsche suggests: *vid.* also Dan. iii. 12, xi. 37. "Continually" is *διόλου*; *vid.* Ezek. xxxviii. 8. The verbs are imperf.: "they used to enter and consume" (*ἀνήλουν*). Syr. W.: "But they, be-

in continually, and consumed those things.

14 So when they were gone forth, the king set meats before Bel. Now Daniel had commanded his servants to bring ashes, and those they strewed throughout all the temple in the presence of the king alone: then went they out, and shut the door, and sealed it with the king's signet, and so departed.

15 Now in the night came the priests with their wives and children, as they were wont to do, and did eat and drink up all.

16 In the morning betime the king arose, and Daniel with him.

17 And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? And he said, Yea, O king, they be whole.

18 And as soon as he had opened the door, the king looked upon the

cause they were confident—for there was made for them an entry," &c.; an anacoluthon. *Ad fin.*: "they would eat everything that was set on for Bel, and carry off anything that was left."

14. *So . . . the king set.*] Lit., "and it came to pass . . . and the king set"—a common Hebraism: ויהי ויתן. "*The* meats," *i.e.* the customary viands, which had been prepared. Syr. W. is again fuller, and looks more original: "When, then, the priests of Bel had gone forth, the king brought meats, *and filled the table*, and set it before Bel; *and he filled the vessels with wine, after their custom*, and went forth." What follows is literally: "and Daniel commanded his young men (παιδαρίοις) and they brought ashes (τέφρα, Tobit vi. 17; viii. 2: LXX. has σποδός) and shook down all the temple" (κατέσεισαν ὅλον τὸν ναὸν, a singular and isolated use of κατασείω. *Vid.* 1 Macc. vi. 38). Syr. W., "and he sifted it in a sieve before the king, in all the house of Bel;" Vulg., *cribravit per totum templum.* A.V. follows the reading of Codd. 34, 49, *al.*: κατέστρωσαν. Another reading is κατέπασαν, "besprinkled" (Cod. 148); cf. LXX. καταπάσαι, and Arist., 'Clouds,' 177.

with the king's signet.] Syr. W. adds, "and with the seal of Daniel." *Vid.* note on *v.* 12 *supra.*

16. *In the morning betime the king arose.*] "And the king arose early in the morning." A common Heb. phrase. Cf. Josh. iii. 1; viii. 10. Syr. W. adds: "and they went thither."

17. *whole.*] "Intact," "untampered with," *integer, incolumis;* σῶος = שָׁלֵם.

The narrative in the LXX. is again considerably different: "And it came to pass on the morrow they came unto the place, but the priests of Bel through secret doors (ψευδοθυρίδων, *v.* 20 τὰ ψευδοθύρια, *semel dicta*=Theod. ἡ κρυπτὴ θύρα. Cf. ψευδόθυρον; Cic. 'in Verr.' ii. 2, 20) had entered and eaten up all the things which lay before Bel (τὰ παρακείμενα τῷ B. *vid.* Ecclus. xxxiv. 16; Polyb. iii. 57. 8) and the wine. (Syr. H. gets rid of the zeugma by supplying "drunk" before "the wine.") And Daniel said, Look upon (ἐπεῖδον, Exod. ii. 25; 1 Macc. iii. 59) your seals, whether they remain (unchanged), O ye priests; and thou, O king, consider whether aught hath taken place not according to thy will (σκέψαι μή τί σοι ἀσύμφωνον γεγένηται, Wisd. xviii. 10; Acts xxviii. 25. A covert allusion to what had really happened in the temple). And they found that the seal had lasted" (εὗρον ὡς ἦν [ἡ Fr.] σφραγίς; cf. Dan. i. 21). The words cannot mean: "they found it as it was *yesterday*," for "yesterday" is not in the Greek. They might be rendered: "They found how the seal (really) was;" or if σφραγὶς be struck out, as Fr. suggests, "they found how it was." But Syr. H. has the word. "And they cast away the seal, and on opening the doors saw all things consumed (*v.* 3, δεδαπανημένα) that had been set on, and the tables empty; and the king was glad and said to Daniel, Great is Bel, and there is not with him deceit (cf. John i. 48). And Daniel laughed much, and said to the king: Hither! behold the deceit of the priests. And Daniel said, O king, these footsteps—whose are they? And the king said, Of men and women and children. And he came unto the house wherein the priests were abiding (ἦσαν—καταγίνομενοι), and found (Syr. H. "they found") the meats of Bel and the wine; and Daniel shewed the king the secret doors, whereby the priests used to enter and consume (ἐδαπάνων) the things set on for Bel. And the king brought them forth from the *Belium* (βήλιον, "temple of Bel;" here only. Cf. Πύθιον, Thucyd. ii. 15), and delivered them to Daniel, and that which was expended (τὴν δαπάνην, *v.* 8) upon him (*i.e.* upon the god) he gave to Daniel, but Bel he overthrew." With the king's cry of "Great is Bel," cf. Acts xix. 28. In the words "Hither, behold *the deceit* (δόλος) *of the priests*," there is an intentional antithesis to the king's exclamation, "Great is Bel, and there is not *with him* deceit," which Theod. has eliminated (*v.* 19).

table, and cried with a loud voice, Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no deceit at all.

19 Then laughed Daniel, and held the king that he should not go in, and said, Behold now the pavement, and mark well whose footsteps are these.

20 And the king said, I see the footsteps of men, women, and children. And then the king was angry,

21 And took the priests with their wives and children, who shewed him the privy doors, where they came in, and consumed such things as were upon the table.

22 Therefore the king slew them, and delivered Bel into Daniel's power, who destroyed him and his temple.

23 ‖And in that same place there was a great dragon, which they of Babylon worshipped.

‖ Some add this title, *Of the dragon.*

20. *And then the king was angry.*] This clause—it is not a sentence in the Greek—belongs to the next verse. "And in a rage (ὀργισθείς) the king then seized (συνέλαβε) the priests and their wives, &c. and they (the priests, in fear of their lives) shewed him the secret doors whereby they used to enter, and consume (ἐδαπάνων, Judith xi. 13; xii. 4) the things upon the table" (τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. Codd. III., XII., 26. *al.*, τῇ τραπέζῃ. Fritzsche compares 2 Sam. ix. 7, 10, 11, 13; Luke xxii. 30; but those passages speak of *persons* eating *at* a table. The dative, or the reading of Codd. 34, 49, *al.*, ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ, seems better). For a parallel to the doings of the priests, see Aristoph. 'Plutus,' iii. 2. The scene is the temple of Aesculapius. "At length the sacristan, having put out the lights, ordered us to go to sleep; and charged us, if we heard any noise, not to cry out. We then lay down all of us in a very orderly manner; but I could not sleep. . . . Then looking up, I saw the priest greedily snatching away the cakes and figs from the sacred table; after which, he took his rounds about the altars, to see if there was any loaf left, and consecrated all he found—into a wallet which he carried for that purpose." (Fielding and Young's translation, p. 214.)

22. *delivered Bel into Daniel's power.*] ἔδωκε τὸν βὴλ ἔκδοτον τῷ Δ. For the Gk. phrase, see Demosth. 648. 25; and cf. Acts ii. 23. The present passage is the only reference in Trommius. Syr. W., Arab.: "gave Bel as a gift to Daniel."

who destroyed.] "And he overthrew." "Temple" is τὸ ἱερὸν, which sometimes denotes the edifice as distinct from the τέμενος or sacred *enclosure*, and sometimes the *group of sacred buildings* as contrasted with the ναὸς or temple proper. Here the word is used as equivalent to ναὸς (which Codd. XII., 26, 34, read). Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 18, xlv. 19; 1 Macc. x. 43, 84; xi. 4. Of course the assertion that Daniel was thus permitted to destroy Bel and his temple is merely part of the Haggada. According to Hdt. (i. 183), Xerxes plundered the temple; according to Strabo (xvi. 1) and Arrian ('Exped. Alex.' vii. 17), he destroyed it. Alexander intended to restore it. We know also from authentic inscriptions of the period that the historical Cyrus assumed a very different attitude towards the gods of Babylon from that here supposed in the interest of the legend. The slaughter of the priests may be compared with that of the "wise men of Babylon" (Dan. ii. 12), and that of Daniel's accusers (Dan. vi. 24).

23. *great dragon.*] Homer uses δράκων =ὄφις, 'Il.' ii. 200–208; and this appears to be the fundamental conception, which becomes so greatly distorted in the fabulous dragon. The serpent is a very ancient figure in mythology. Thus Egyptian myth tells of a great dragon Apepi ("he who mounts up"), who has no eyes, nose, or ears, but *roars* as he comes along. Apepi is the storm-cloud, and he is overcome by the fire and flinty sword of the Sun-god, and is forced back into his cavern, and over him is placed a stone "of forty cubits," while the devouring flame preys upon his bones. (*Vid.* a learned and interesting article by Mr. Le Page Renouf in 'Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.,' vol. viii. pt. 2.) We find traces of similar ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures, where they are apparently used consciously as mere poetic imagery, *e.g.* Job xxvi. 13, "By his breath (wind) the skies are beauty; his hand pierceth the fugitive serpent;" Isa. li. 9, xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14; Ezek. xxix. 3. Among the Babylonian inscriptions preserved in the British Museum there is a fragmentary account of a fight between Bel and the monster Tiâmat (the sea—תהום—personified); and Berosus (*apud* Euseb. 'Chron.' i.) describes how Belus cut Ὁμόρωκα Θαλάτθ in two, and formed heaven and earth out of the two halves, destroyed the sea-monsters who were the offspring of the union of the primeval waters of Apsû and Tiâmat, and then struck off his own head. The other gods mixed the blood that flowed from Bel with earth, and so fashioned man.

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24 And the king said unto Daniel, Wilt thou also say that this is of brass? lo, he liveth, he eateth and drinketh; thou canst not say that he is no living god: therefore worship him.

25 Then said Daniel unto the king, I will worship the Lord my God: for he is the living God.

26 But give me leave, O king, and I shall slay this dragon without sword or staff. The king said, I give thee leave.

27 Then Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together, and made lumps thereof: this he put in the dragon's mouth, and so the dragon burst in sunder: and Daniel said, ‖Lo, these are the gods ye worship.

‖ Or, *Behold what ye worship.*

28 When they of Babylon heard that, they took great indignation, and

The "dragon" of our text is not described, but is obviously intended to be understood of a living creature, probably a large sacred serpent. It is true that such worship is not known to have been practised at Babylon; but the purpose of our Haggada is to ridicule idolatry and to magnify Daniel, not to teach history. (Cf. Wisdom xv. 18.) At the same time, we know from the monuments that the Babylonians had a snake-deity, whom they called *ilu Çir*, "the Serpent-god" (1 R. 70, col. 1, 13. 21); and that, side by side with the winged man-headed bulls, at the gates of cities, temples, and palaces, huge serpents of stone and bronze were erected as protecting powers. (Nebuch. India House Inscr. vi. 5, 16, 17; Phillipps Cyl. i. 44; Nerigl. i. 21 *sqq.*; Diod. Sic. ii. 9.) Living serpents, like crocodiles, cats, and other animals, were worshipped in Egypt (Aelian. 'de Animal.' xi. 17); and a sacred serpent was kept in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus (Val. Max. i. 8), which the Romans sent to fetch on occasion of a plague. It will be noticed that both in East and West the serpent symbolised a beneficent, not a malignant power.

24. *thou canst not say . . . god.*] Added by Theod. Cf. note on *v.* 6 *supra*. Verse 25 is also wanting in the LXX. Cf. Deut. vi. 13; Matt. iv. 10; Dan. vi. 20, 26 ("living god"); 1 Thess. i. 9.

26. *give me leave.*] "Leave" is ἐξουσία, "delegated authority," as in N. T. of the authority Christ received from His Father. For "slay" (ἀποκτενῶ) the LXX. has "take off," "get rid of" (ἀνελῶ); and for "sword" (μαχαίρας), "iron" (σιδήρου), which in Job v. 20 renders חרב, "sword;" cf. *ferrum*. For the combination "sword or staff," cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 40, 43, 45, 47; Matt. xxvi. 47, 55.

I give thee leave.] Δίδωμί σοι, *scil.* ἐξουσίαν. LXX., "And the king yielded to him (συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ), and said to him, It is given thee" (δέδοταί σοι).

27. *pitch.*] LXX., "of pitch thirty minas." The μνᾶ was originally a Babylonian weight —the *mana* of the inscriptions, and the מנה, *mānèh*, of the Bible. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 24. Theod. omits the weight, probably because it seemed too large a dose; but then the "dragon" is conceived as large.

lumps.] μᾶζας. Cod. Chis. μᾶζαν; Vulg., *massas*. The Gk. term means "cakes" (Arist., 'Knights,' 55). Trommius cites the present passage only. The Syr. texts have a Syriacized form of σφαῖρας, i.e. "*round* cakes." Syr. W. adds: "and the dragon swallowed them." According to Josippon ben Gorion, Daniel fastened a number of iron combs together, back to back, and baited the teeth with lumps of flesh and fat, smearing the parts of them that remained visible with pitch and sulphur, to hide them. This mass he threw into the mouth of the dragon, which swallowed it; and when the bait had dissolved, the iron teeth pierced its stomach, and the creature died miserably on the following day. This may represent an older, as it certainly is a more reasonable, form of the story. "Lumps of pitch and fat and hair" would not make an animal "burst," though they might perhaps choke it.

Lo, these are the gods ye worship.] ἴδετε τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν, "behold ye your deities!" (objects of reverence and worship): cf. Acts xvii. 23; Wisdom xiv. 20, xv. 17. The LXX. has: "And he shewed him to the king, saying, Is it not these things (such helpless, crazy objects) that ye worship, O king?" A stinging question (οὐ ταῦτα σέβεσθε; *nonne haec veneramini?*). The *plural* generalizes the term; and this remark applies to Theodotion's ἴδετε. Or we may explain, "Behold, thou and thy people!" Ἴδε, ἰδού are therefore needless corrections. Syr. W.: "O Babylonians!"

28. *When they of Babylon.*] "And it came to pass, when the Babylonians heard, they were sore displeased (ἠγανάκτησαν λίαν: cf. Wisdom xii. 27), and they conspired . . . (συνεστράφησαν, "united," "clubbed together," 2 Kings ix. 14, xxi. 23; Thucyd. iv. 68, viii. 54) and said." LXX.: "and they of the country (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας) came together all against Daniel and said."

conspired against the king, saying, The king is become a Jew, and he hath destroyed Bel, he hath slain the dragon, and put the priests to death.

29 So they came to the king, and said, Deliver us Daniel, or else we will destroy thee and thine house.

30 Now when the king saw that they pressed him sore, being constrained, he [b]delivered Daniel unto them : [b] Dan. 6. 16.

31 Who cast him into the lions' den : where he was six days.

32 And in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day ‖two carcases, and two ‖ Or, *two slaves.*

The king is become a Jew.] So Syr. The context is against Grotius' rendering, "A Jew has become king" (he strikes out the article). The saying put into the mouth of the people is perfectly just and suited to the supposed circumstances. For "Jew," cf. Dan. iii. 12; 2 Kings xxv. 25; Esth. viii. 17 (*ἰουδαΐζω, Judaizo*, התיהד). "Destroyed" is *κατέσπασε*, "dragged down" (2 Kings x. 27; 2 Chron. xxiii. 17). The LXX. has *κατέστρεψε*, as in *v.* 22.

and put the priests to death.] *κατέσφαξε*, "slaughtered" them. The clause is suitably added by Theod.

29. *destroy thee and thine house.*] "*Kill* thee and thy family." The LXX. text of the verse is: "And the king seeing that the mob (*ὄχλος*) of the country had come together against him (*ἐπ' αὐτὸν*, against Daniel), called his fellow-livers and said, I give Daniel unto destruction" (*δίδωμι τὸν Δ. εἰς ἀπώλειαν*. Ezek. xxix. 10, xxxii. 15; cf. Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29). We have to think of a popular rising; but even so, the menace addressed to the Great King hardly appears probable when we remember the strength of Oriental despotism. The Haggadist is profoundly unconscious of the absurdity of supposing that the recently subjugated Babylonians could venture thus to threaten their conqueror.

30. *Now when the king.*] With the king's unwillingness to sacrifice Daniel, cf. Dan. vi. 14, 15. The verse is added by Theod. The LXX. continues: "Now there was a den (*λάκκος*, "pit;" גב, Dan. vi. 8, &c.) in which seven lions were kept (Dan. iv. 12), unto which they that plotted against the king (*οἱ ἐπίβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως*) used to be delivered up, and there were provided (*ἐχορηγεῖτο*, Judith xii. 2) for them day by day of the condemned (*τῶν ἐπιθανατίων*, Dionys. Hal. vii. 35) two bodies" (*σώματα*. The term need not denote "corpse." It is used for the "*living* body," "person," "human being," and in later usage for "slave." Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 6; Tob. x. 10; Rev. xviii. 13; Polyb. xii. 16. 5).

The number *seven* is noticeable, as also the reference to "plotters against the king." Here as elsewhere it would be easy to decide in favour of the priority and higher originality of the LXX. text, even in the absence of external evidence.

31. *Who . . . where.*] "But they . . . and he was there." As to the lions' "den," Fritzsche observes that in Dan. vi. it is a mere cistern, whereas here it is a proper den or vivarium, into which people looked down from above. We fail to see the difference he suggests. Both accounts seem to indicate a partly subterranean chamber; and it is certainly difficult to understand how lions could live for any length of time under such cramped conditions as Dan. vi. 17 implies. LXX.: "And the throngs (*οἱ ὄχλοι*) cast Daniel into that pit, in order that he might be devoured, and might not even meet with burial." The last particular, omitted by Theod., is important in several respects. The ancients generally considered the lack of customary obsequies to be the greatest calamity and dishonour. (Cf. the plot of Sophocles' 'Antigone;' and Horace, 'Carm.' I. xxviii. See also 2 Macc. xiii. 7; ix. 15.) In the latter place it is said of Antiochus Epiphanes that he had not judged the Jews worthy of burial, but "to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts." Dr. Neubauer, in the preface to his 'Book of Tobit,' mentions "the frequent and strange allusion to a secret burial of dead men, the special demand of Tobi to bury him and his wife in honour, the lamentation of Sarah that she had no one to bury her parents," as special phenomena of that beautiful story, whence he concludes that it belongs to a time when the Jews were prohibited from practising their peculiar rites of burial. We agree with this, though we cannot accept the date which, after Grätz, he assigns to the work in question. But we think that we may in like manner conclude from the present indication, taken along with 2 Macc. ix. 15, that this story of Bel and the Dragon belongs to the times following upon the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.

six days.] On the occasion Dan. vi. 19, he "continued not in the pit save one night," as the Midrash remarks. (See Introd.)

32. *every day.*] *τὴν ἡμέραν*, an unusual expression. Properly "during the day," *i.e.* during *each* day, the article being distributive in sense.

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sheep: which then were not given to them, to the intent they might devour Daniel.

33 Now there was in Jewry a prophet, called Habbacuc, who had
Or, *sod.* [b]made pottage, and had broken bread in a bowl, and was going into the field, for to bring it to the reapers.

34 But the angel of the Lord said unto Habbacuc, Go, carry the dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

35 And Habbacuc said, Lord, I never saw Babylon; neither do I know where the den is.

36 Then the angel of the Lord
Ezek. 8. took him by the crown, and [c]bare him by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den.

37 And Habbacuc cried, saying, O Daniel, Daniel, [d]take the dinner
[d] 1 Kings 17. 4. which God hath sent thee.

38 And Daniel said, Thou hast remembered me, O God: neither hast thou forsaken them that seek thee and love thee.

39 So Daniel arose, and did eat: and the angel of the Lord set Habbacuc in his own place again immediately.

40 Upon the seventh day the king went to bewail Daniel: and when he came to the den, he looked in, and, behold, Daniel was sitting.

41 Then cried the king with a

two carcases.] "Bodies," "persons;" perhaps condemned criminals or slaves: cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

which then were not given.] This aggravation of the lions' natural ferocity reminds us of the sevenfold heating of the furnace above what was requisite (Dan. iii. 19).

33. *Now there was . . .*] Lit. "and Habakkuk (Gk. *Ambakoum*) the prophet was in Judea, and he had seethed a seething" (ἥψησεν ἕψεμα, Gen. xxv. 29; 2 Kings iv. 38; Hagg. ii. 12). LXX., Syr. H.: "And it came to pass on the sixth day that Habakkuk had loaves (so Theod. ἄρτους) broken (ἐντεθρυμμένους, "crumbled;" the proper word for making sop) in a bowl, in a seething (ἐν ἑψήματι), and a jar (στάμνος, Arist. 'Plut.' 545; 1 Kings xiv. 3) of wine mingled, and was going into the field unto the reapers."

34. *the angel of the Lord.*] This is right, though the Gk. is ἄγγελος κυρίου, for that expression = מלאך יהוה. Susanna 42. As to "dinner"—ἄριστον—see Susanna 13, note. LXX.: "And the angel of the Lord spake unto Habakkuk, saying, Thus saith the Lord God unto thee," &c.; and in the next verse Habakkuk replies, "Lord *God*."

36. *through the vehemency of his spirit.*] ἐν τῷ ῥοίζῳ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 5; Wisdom v. 11; for ῥοῖζος, which may mean any *whistling* or *rushing* sound, as of arrows, wings, winds, &c.; and (2) a rushing *motion, rush.* Syr. W. and Midrash Bereshith Rabba: "in the might of the Holy Ghost;" but the Vulg. comes nearer, *in impetu spiritus sui.* The reference is to the *swiftness* of the angel's panting flight. Cf. Dan. ix. 21; Ezek. viii. 3: "And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and a spirit (or *a wind*) lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem." LXX.: "And the angel of the Lord having laid hold of him, to wit, of Habakkuk, by the hair of his head, set him over the den in Babylon." Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 11, 16; Ezek. iii. 12, 14; Acts viii. 39: "The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip," where Cod. A has "an angel of the Lord." Ps. civ. 4.

37, 38. LXX., Syr. H.: "And Habakkuk said unto Daniel, Arise and eat the dinner which the Lord God hath sent thee. And Daniel said, Yea, for the Lord God, who forsaketh not them that love him, hath remembered me" (ἐμνήσθη γάρ. So Theod. ἐμνήσθης γάρ. Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 20).

39. LXX., Syr. H.: "And Daniel did eat. But the angel of the Lord conducted (κατέστησε, Acts xvii. 15) Habakkuk (to the place) whence he took him, on the same day: but the Lord God remembered Daniel."

set . . . again.] ἀπεκατέστησε, "restored," "carried back" (Jer. xvi. 15; Gen. xxix. 3; Judith vi. 10).

40, 41. LXX.: "But the king went forth after these things, bewailing Daniel, and having stooped down to peep into the pit (ἐγκύψας εἰς . . .) he seeth him sitting." Cf. Dan. vi. 26. Syr. W. omits the last clause of *v.* 41.

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loud voice, saying, Great art thou, O Lord God of Daniel, and there is none other beside thee.

42 [e]And he drew him out, [f]and cast those that were the cause of his destruction into the den: and they were devoured in a moment before his face.

[e] Jer. 37. 17.
[f] Dan. 6. 24.

42. *drew him out.*] "up"—ἀνέσπασεν. So Syr. W.; but LXX., Syr. H.: "And the king brought Daniel forth out of the pit."

before his face.] *I.e.* Daniel's. See LXX.: "And those that were the cause of his destruction he cast into the pit before Daniel, and they were devoured." Cf. Dan. vi. 24. The Vulgate adds: *Tunc rex ait: Paveant omnes habitantes in universa terra Deum Danielis: quia ipse est salvator, faciens signa et mirabilia in terra; qui liberavit Danielem de lacu leonum.* This conclusion, borrowed from Dan. vi. 26, 27, fitly expresses the moral of both stories—a moral of which the sterling value is not sensibly diminished by the historical improbability of a Median or Persian monarch decreeing universal homage to the God of Israel.

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THE PRAYER OF MANASSES.

א״ר יוחנן כל האומר מנשה אין לו חלק לעה״ב מרפה ידיהן של בעלי תשובה :

"Said R. Johanan: Whoso saith, 'Manasseh hath no part in the world to come,' discourageth the penitent."—*Sanhedr.* 103 A, line 1.

IN 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 *seq.* we are told that Manasseh, the son and successor of Hezekiah, king of Judah, zealously restored the polytheism abolished by his father, even setting up "the graven image of the idol which he had made in the house of God" at Jerusalem (*v.* 7). "And the Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people [by prophets]; but they would not hearken. Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh with the hooks [Amos iv. 2; Isa. xxxvii. 29], and bound him with the double chain of copper, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers, and prayed unto him: and he vouchsafed him grace, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God" (*vv.* 10–13). The narrative then describes the amends made by the restored sovereign, and concludes with an explicit reference to the sources of the story: "Now the rest of the history of Manasseh, *and his prayer unto his God*, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the Lord God of Israel, behold, they are written in the *History of the Kings of Israel.* And his prayer, and the grace vouchsafed him, and all his sin and his treachery (to God), and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the *Ashērim* and the graven images, before he was humbled: behold, they are written in the *History of the Seers*" [or Hozai = Hozaiah; a particular seer. In any case a section of the great *History of the Kings of Israel*]. Eminent scholars and critics, like De Wette, Graf, and Nöldeke,[1] have thrown suspicion upon this account, basing their objections partly on the silence of the Book of Kings, and partly upon supposed internal evidence. The former argument is hardly worth noticing. As to the latter, it was asserted that history was against the implied supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia at the period in question (the first half of the 7th cent. B.C.); exception was taken to the statement that the officers of an *Assyrian* king had carried their captive to *Babylon*, and not to Nineveh, the Assyrian capital; and, apart from these supposed errors of fact, it was declared to be wholly improbable that Manasseh should first have been loaded with chains and treated with such indignity as the text represents, and then restored to his former kingly state. But these difficulties, which used to be asserted with such confidence by assailants of the Chronicler's historical veracity, have disappeared in the light unexpectedly contributed by cuneiform discovery. We now know that *Ashûra-ḥiddîn* (Esarhaddon), the son of *Sana-ḥîrîb* or Sennacherib, king of Assyria (681–668 B.C.), rebuilt Babylon, which his father had razed to the ground (B.C. 691), and held his court there during six months of the year.[2] Further than this, "Manasseh, king of the land (or city) of Judah"—*Menasê* (*Minsê*) *shar mât* (or *âl*) *Ya'ûdî*—is actually mentioned in a list of twenty-two kings of Phœnicia-Palestine and Cyprus, who, as vassals of Esar-

[1] See Schenkel's 'Bibellexicon,' *s. v.* Manass. According to Nöldeke, the story is an edifying fiction, intended to moderate the impression produced by the otherwise unbroken prosperity of so wicked a king.

[2] *Vid.* Sayce, 'Herod.' App. ii. p. 382.

haddon, contributed materials for the building of his palace at Nineveh.[1] Professor Sayce thinks that it was Esarhaddon who had Manasseh conveyed as a prisoner to Babylon, after crushing his revolt.[2] But the inscription referred to, as Schrader observes, says nothing of any rebellion in *Palestine;* and, upon the whole, it appears more probable that Manasseh either participated, or was suspected of participating, in the general rising of *Shamash-shum-ukin*, viceroy of Babylon and brother of *Ashûrbânapli* (Assurbanipal), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, *circ.* 648 B.C. Assurbanipal himself informs us that not only Elam, Guti, and Meluḫḫê (Meroe or Ethiopia), but also *mât Aḫarri*, "the land of the west," or Phœnicia-Palestine, was implicated in this revolt.[3] After the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukîn (Gk. Saosduchinos or Sammughes), and the assumption by Ashurbanapli of the Babylonian sceptre, it is natural to suppose that the Great King sometimes resided at his second capital, and that on one of these occasions Manasseh was brought in chains before him, to answer the charges laid against him. The inscriptions expressly state that Ashurbanapli received a Cypriote embassy at Babylon after his victory.

The last objection of the critics is met by an exactly parallel case. In Smith's 'Abp.' 43, 45, we read: "*Shar-lûdâri* (and) *Nîkû* they seized; with bands of iron, (and) fetters of iron, they made fast (their) hands and feet." Afterwards, when *Nîkû* (Necho) had been carried thus to Nineveh, Ashurbanapli "granted him grace," and allowed him to return to his vassal-kingdom of Saïs and Memphis in Egypt. Schrader supposes that Manasseh was taken to Babylon in the year 647 B.C.[4]

Assuming, then, as we are fully entitled to do, the good faith of the Chronicler, it is evident from the references in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, that a Prayer of Manasseh, written in Hebrew, lay before that writer; and we may perhaps venture to add that there is nothing in the form or substance of the prayer before us which can fairly be alleged against the possibility of its having been ultimately derived from that lost Hebrew original. The ancient Church believed the prayer to be authentic, and read it with other Scriptures. Fritzsche, however, declares that though the Greek style of the piece is Hebraizing (*hebraisirende*), it is evidently not a translation. He considers the prayer to be a later production based upon the story in Chronicles, and in this respect to be classed in the same category with the Additions to Esther, ch. ii.–iv. 6, and the Addition to Dan. iii. 23 (Prayer of Azarias and Song of the Three Children). We hesitate to accept Fritzsche's dictum on this point without reserve: for although the Greek proves the writer to have possessed a fair command of that language, such proficiency as it evinces was not impossible to an Hellenistic Jew; and the writer may have taken pains to soften down the harshness of a baldly literal version. Besides, it seems unlikely that so short a piece should have survived for so long a period as Fritzsche allows, if it had from the first stood isolated, as it stands at present, from any historical context. We incline to think that the Greek is a free translation from some lost Haggadic narrative, which was itself perhaps founded upon the older document from which the Chronicler derived his peculiar details of the history of Manasseh. Fritzsche himself has given certain references to Jewish and Christian sources, to which we may add one or two others from the Talmud, which seem to indicate the former existence of a more copious and in part legendary account of Manasseh's captivity and deliverance. In the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' ii. 22—the earliest known citation of the Prayer—it is given with the addition: "And the Lord hearkened to his voice, and there became about him a flame of fire, and all the irons about him melted." In S. John Damascene[1] we read: "Scholion. It is related in [Julius] Africanus that while Manasseh was saying a psalm [ᾠδὴν,

[1] See 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,' vol. i. 47. 5, 11; vol. iii. 16. 12 *sqq.*;—and Mr. E. A. Budge's 'Hist. of Esarhaddon,' pp. 78, 102 *sqq.*

[2] 'Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments,' p. 152.

[3] Smith's 'Abp.' 154. 33 *sqq.*

[4] *Vid.* 'Die Keilinschr. und das Alt. Test.' 2nd edit., pp. 369–372.

[1] 'Parall.' ii. 15 (Opp. ii. p. 463).

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i.e. his Prayer], his bonds, though of iron, burst asunder, and he escaped." Anastasius in Ps. vi. writes: "The ancient historiographers affirm that Manasseh, the king of Israel, when carried away by the Chaldeans, in Babylon of Persis was confined in a brazen figure [κατεκλείσθη εἰς ζώδιον χαλκοῦν—like the Bull of Phalaris], by the king of the *Persians*, and being within, in such a figure, he prayed with tears."[1] Suidas (from Cedrenus), *s. v.* Μανασσῆς: "Wherefore . . . by Merodach [Marduḵ, the tutelar god of *Babylon*] he was carried away captive in bonds to the city of *Nineveh* [the *Assyrian* capital: *vid. supra*], and was shut into the Brazen Statue [κ. ἐς τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα καθείρχθη] . . . he besought the Lord . . . and the statue by divine power burst asunder, &c. . . . But to him bound, being in prison in brazen fetters in Babylon, they used to give scant bread made of bran, and a little water with poor wine measured out (σὺν ὄξει μετρητῷ), to keep him alive, and no more. [This last sentence occurs also in the 'Apost. Constit.'] And then he prayed to the Lord, 'O Lord Almighty,'" &c. (See Targum, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.)[2]

In the Talmud, Manasseh is adduced as a gross example of the scoffer, the idolater, the unclean person, and as an extreme case of the value of penitence. *Sanhedrin*, 99 B: "Our Rabbis have taught (Num. xv. 30), 'And the soul that dealeth with a high hand'—This is Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, who was sitting and delivering offensive expositions. He said: 'What! had Moses nothing else to write but (Gen. xxxvi. 22) "And the sister of Lotan was Timna, and Timna was concubine to Eliphaz;" (or Gen. xxx. 14) "And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field"?' Came forth the *Bath Qol*, and said unto him: 'Thou sittest, against thy brother thou speakest; against thy mother's son thou utterest offence. These things thou hast done,' &c. (Ps. l. 20, 21). And of him is interpreted by tradition, 'Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity,' &c. (Isa. v. 18)." See also *Sanh.* 103 B.: "Our Rabbis have taught that Manasseh made fifty and five changes in the Law of the Priests, according to the years of his reign." [Rashi explains: "He innovated in the Book of Leviticus every year, and expounded it captiously"—ודורשו מפילפולו.]

A few lines below, 2 Kings xxi. 16 is quoted, with the remark, "This they interpret of his having killed Isaiah." Further on it is said that Rabbi Johanan explained the "graven image" and "graven images" of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 19, in this wise: "At first he made for it (the idol) one face, and in the end he made for it four faces, that the Shekhina might see and be provoked." "Manasseh erased the *Azkarôth* [the Divine Name, יהוה, wherever it was written], and overturned the Altar." "Manasseh went in unto his own sister."

The manner of Isaiah's death is described, *Jebamoth*, 49 B.

According to Rabbi Aha bar Amê, the fire that came down from heaven in Solomon's days was not withdrawn [לא נסתלקה] from the Brazen Altar until Manasseh came. Then it departed.

In *Sanhedr.* 103 A, line 3, it is gathered from comparison of 2 Kings xxi. 1, 3, with 1 Kings xvi. 29, that "Manasseh wrought repentance thirty-three years." It is added that, according to R. Johanan, the Lord "made a kind of aperture [מחתרת] in the firmament, in order to receive him in repentance, because of the Property of Justice" [מפני מידת הדין]: in other words, the Property of Mercy could only be indulged surreptitiously, in the case of so flagrant a sinner. The argument turns on the substitution of ויחתר לו, "and he made a hole for him," for ויעתר לו, "and he vouchsafed him grace" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13).

Lastly, in *Sanhedr.* 101 A, we read the following story: "Our Rabbis have taught that when R. Eliezer was sick, four Elders went in to visit him, viz. R. Tarphôn and R. Joshua and R. Eliezer ben Azariah and R. Aqîba. Answered R. Tarphôn and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than a drop of rain, which is a drop of rain in this world; but Rabbi

[1] Canisius, 'Thesaur. Monum.' ed. Basnage, i. 495, date 1725.

[2] Translated at the end of the commentary. See also Fabricius, 'Bibliotheca Graeca,' ed. Harless, iii. p. 733, *hh*.

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(is better) in this world and in the world to come.' Answered R. Joshua and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than the sun's orb, which is such in this world, but Rabbi (is better) in this world and in the world to come.' Answered R. E. ben Azariah and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than father and mother, who are father and mother in this world, but Rabbi,' &c. Answered R. Aqîba and said: 'Precious are chastisements.' (The sick Rabbi) said to them, 'Prop me up, that I may listen to the words of my disciple Aqîba, who hath said, Precious are chastisements.' Aqîba said unto him: 'How can you prove that saying?' He said, 'I explain the text (2 Kings xxi. 1) "Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem. And he did the Evil in the eyes of the Lord:" and the Scripture (Prov. xxv. 1): "These are also Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." Could Hezekiah teach the Law to all the world universally, and fail to teach the Law to Manasseh his son? but after all the pains he took with him, and after all the labour he bestowed on him, nothing brought him to well-doing, but chastisements: as it is said (2 Chron. xxxiii. 10–13), "And the Lord spake to Manasseh . . . And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord, &c. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God." There! Thou hast learned that chastisements are precious.'"

I am tempted to translate what immediately follows this story. "Our Rabbis have taught, Three are they who came (before God) with cunning (באו בעלילה): they are Cain, Esau, and Manasseh. Cain, as it is written (Gen. iv. 13), 'My sin is too great for pardon.' Quoth he, before the Lord of the World, 'What! is my sin greater than that of the 600,000 who will hereafter sin before Thee, and Thou wilt pardon them?' Esau, as it is written (Gen. xxvii. 38), 'Hast thou but one blessing, my father?' Manasseh at first called upon many gods, and at last called upon the God of his fathers." [Rashi: "He said, 'If thou save me not, what doth it profit me that I have called on thee, more than the other gods?'"] This passage contradicts others, in that it implies that Manasseh did not really repent, but prevailed upon God by challenging His superiority to idols.

Some of the added details in these passages (Manasseh's incest, his cavilling at Scripture, murder of Isaiah, &c.), taken along with those from the Greek writers cited above, appear to strengthen the supposition of the former existence of a Haggadic legend or group of legends about Manasseh, with which the Prayer before us may have been connected. However this may be, the Prayer is certainly the work of a Jew, and belongs, not as Bertholdt supposed, to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., but to a much earlier period. The ideas throughout are Jewish, and the same may be said of the distinctive form, which is that of a Hebrew *Tephillah*. As a psalm of penitence, it might perhaps have been composed in the stirring times of the Maccabean revolt, to which other portions of the so-called Apocrypha belong. In those trying times the Prayer would obviously suggest that the sincere penitence and trust in Jehovah which had been so effectual for Manasseh's deliverance might again prove similarly effective to the deliverance of the nation. Fritzsche refers the Prayer to about this period. Dr. Bissell follows him, asserting that "there are no traces whatever of its being a translation." Perhaps not, if we conclude thus from the absence of awkward and clumsy expressions, and obvious misunderstandings of Hebrew terms and phrases, such as may be pointed out in other Apocryphal texts; and from the presence of participial constructions, and the use of certain particles, which are not common in highly Hebraized Greek. But all this, as we have said, may only prove that the possible translator knew both languages well. Fürst believes the Prayer to be a version of the lost Hebrew original; and Ewald thinks it not impossible that it is a survival from the דברי חוזי (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19). Bertholdt, on the other hand, found proof of its late origin in the exaggerated idea it expresses of the merits of the Three Patriarchs, and in such non-biblical phrases as ὁ θεὸς τῶν δικαίων and θεὸς τῶν μετανοούντων. It is true that the first of

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these conceptions is peculiarly characteristic of Rabbinism. Yet the later Jewish theology, in laying such stress upon the merits of the Fathers, built at least upon a biblical foundation. Such a passage as Exod. xxxii. 13, where Moses prays, "Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants," might easily suggest, taken along with its context, that the merits of the Patriarchs could avail for their posterity. Even the self-revelation of God as "the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham," &c. (Exod. iii. 6) might be so understood; and the conception would be further strengthened by such passages as Gen. xviii. 26 *sqq.*, xix. 29; 1 Kings xi. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 35, xli. 8, li. 1, 2; Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; Ps. cxxxii. 1, 10; 2 Chron. xx. 7. Anyone who remembers the frequent and emphatic assertions of personal integrity made in the Psalms, and such passages as Gen. vi. 9, xvii. 1 (cited in the Talmud *Nedarim*, 32 A; *Sanhedr.* 108 A; *Erubin*, 18 B), will hardly be much surprised at the Rabbinical inference of the sinlessness of the three patriarchs, and other great personages of antiquity, such as Moses and Aaron (*Shabbath*, 55 B), David and Solomon, and even others of less worthy fame (*Shabbath*, 55 B, 56). Cf. also *Baba Bathra*, 17 A, where it is declared that the יצר הרע, or innate inclination to evil, had no power over Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

As for the other two phrases, although neither occurs in the O. T., it would be easy to shew that each merely formulates O. T. ideas. The Psalmists constantly base their appeals for Divine help on the ground that the righteous God cannot but favour the righteous, and frown upon the wicked. In their thought, and almost in their words, Jehovah is emphatically "the God of the righteous."

Similar remarks would apply to the second phrase; a fact which was fully perceived by Rabbi Johanan when he said (*Berach.* 34 B): כל הנביאים כולן לא נתנבאו אלא לבעלי תשובה, "All the prophets prophesied not but with reference to penitents." Cf. the Penitential Psalms, and Isa. lvii. 15, lxvi. 2, among a host of other passages.

Clearly, then, the internal evidence of the Prayer does not necessitate the late origin supposed by Bertholdt. The fact that 'Apost. Constit.' ii. 22 contains the earliest citation of it led J. A. Fabricius to conjecture that the author of that work was the author of the Prayer. But, as already observed, the writer of the Prayer was a Jew, not a Christian; and the text as given in the 'Apost. Constit.,' though mostly conciding with that of the biblical MSS., is inferior in one or two places (ed. P. A. Delagarde, Lipsiae—Londinii 1862).

A Hebrew version from the Greek may be seen in Wolf's 'Bibl. Hebr.' i. 778.

The usual position of the Prayer in Greek MSS. is among the Hymns appended to the Book of Psalms; it is so, for instance, in the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Zürich Psalter, and in the Ethiopic version of the Psalms edited by J. Ludolf (Frankfort, 1701, 4to). The Prayer is also given in the Ethiopic version of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' which was made from the Greek (ed. Thomas Pell Platt. London, 1834). Its genuine worth, as being no mere cento of scriptural phrases, but an original composition in the manner of the Penitential and Supplicatory Psalms, would naturally lead to its adoption into liturgical use, and its transference from the original setting to the appendix to the Psalter. Since the Council of Trent, it has been relegated along with 3 and 4 Esdras to the end of the Vulgate. In my copy (Paris, 1860) it is given after some indexes, with a prefatory note that, though excluded from the Canon by the Council of Trent, it and the two Books of Esdras are here added, "lest they should become altogether lost; inasmuch as they are occasionally cited by some Fathers, and are found in some Latin MSS. of the Bible, as well as printed copies."

The common Greek text is good, and is supported by the well-executed Latin version, which, as not due to S. Jerome, may be designated *Old Lat.*, though it is later than and superior to that version elsewhere. There are, besides, Arabic MSS. of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' containing the Prayer. *Vid.* the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

THE

PRAYER OF MANASSES

KING OF JUDAH,

When he was holden captive in Babylon.

B. C. cir. 676. O LORD, Almighty God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed; who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof; who hast bound the sea by the word of thy commandment; who hast shut up the deep, and sealed it by thy B. C. cir. 676.

In the Greek the heading is "Prayer of Manasses, son of Ezekias."

O Lord, Almighty God, &c.] The stopping is wrong. The comma should follow the word "Almighty." The words "O Lord, Almighty, &c. . . . importable" constitute the opening address or invocation of the prayer. (The following "but" should be cancelled.) "Lord Almighty" is the Gk. equivalent of *Jahweh Sabaoth*. Cod. III. adds ἐπουράνιε, "Heavenly One!" Cf. Dan. iv. 23. The term renders "Shaddai," Ps. lxviii. 14; cf. also Matt. xviii. 35. The "fathers" are named, because their merits were and are supposed by Jews to be efficacious for their descendants.

and of their righteous seed.] An advanced theological idea, according to which Jehovah is not the God of the Jews in general, but only of the righteous remnant. Below, He is addressed as "God of the just" or "righteous." Cf. also Rom. ix. 6–8; Ecclus. x. 19.

with all the ornament thereof.] Gk. σὺν πάντι τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν, "with all the order of them;" an equivalent of the Heb. "with all the host of them" (Gen. ii. 1). Κόσμος represents צבא, the ordered host of heaven (*i.e.* the stars) in Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; Isa. xxiv. 21, xl. 26. The Ethiopic has "world," which indicates a Greek original.

who hast bound the sea.] Or, "fettered," Job xxxvi. 8 (אסר). It was done with a mere word: Job xxxviii. 8–11; Gen. i. 9 (Ps. civ. 9). Ethiopic: "rebuked."

the deep.] τὴν ἄβυσσον = תהום (Gen. i. 2, vii. 11, viii. 2). The Gk. term seems to answer to the Assyrian *Apsû*, as תהום to Assyr. *Ti'âmtu*[m] or *Ti'âmat*. According to the Heb. conception, the earth rests on the fathomless deep: see Ps. xxiv. 2, xxxiii. 7, cxxxvi. 6; Job xxxviii. 6. The "sealing" of the deep signifies that its bounds are firmly secured, or inviolable. Cf. Rev. xx. 3, "Cast him into the bottomless pit (τὴν ἄβυσσον) and shut him up, and set a seal upon him;" Dan. vi. 17; Matt. xxvii. 66; Bel 14; Job ix. 7, "which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not; and sealeth up the stars." God sealed up the deep "with his terrible and glorious name;" in connexion with which, it may be remembered that a magical efficacy was attributed by the later Jews to the Divine Name or Tetragrammaton (יהוה). Solomon especially was credited with working many wonders by means of it. His seal was graven with the Ineffable Name. In the Talmud (*Gittîn*, 68 A) it is said that *Ashmĕdai* (Zend. Aeshmadaeva), the king of the demons (שידי), lived on a mountain, where was a well full of water, which was covered with a stone and sealed with his seal. "And every day he goeth up to the firmament. And the session (school) of the firmament endeth, and he comes down to the earth. And the session of the earth endeth, and he cometh and inspecteth his seal, and uncovereth it, and drinketh, and covereth it, and sealeth it, and departeth." Solomon having obtained this information from demons, "sent Benaiah ben Jehoiada, having given him a chain whereon was engraven the NAME, and a seal-ring (עזקתא) whereon was engraven the Name, and fleeces of wool, and skins of wine. He went and digged a cistern below, poured into it water, and concealed it with the fleeces of wool; and he dug a cistern above, and poured into it wine, and hid it. Then he went up and sat in the tree. When he (the demon) came, he inspected the seal, removed it, found the wine, said: It is written, 'Wine is a mocker,' &c., and it is written, 'Whoredom, wine, and new wine take away the heart:' I will not drink, for my thirst is not great. He drank, became drunk, and fell asleep. Benaiah came down (from the tree), and went and threw upon him the chain and sealed it.

B. C. cir. 676. terrible and glorious name; whom all men fear, and tremble before thy power; for the majesty of thy glory cannot be borne, and thine angry threatening toward sinners is importable: but thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable; for thou art the most high Lord, [a] of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful, and repentest of the evils of men. Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised B. C. cir. 676. [a] Ps. 86. 15. Joel 2. 13.

When he woke, he was in irons. Said Benaiah to him, 'The name of thy Lord is upon thee! The name of thy Lord is upon thee!'"

whom all men fear.] Rather, "all things" (*πάντα*). "Fear" is *φρίσσει, horret*, Job iv. 15; which takes an *accus. pers. vel rei*, in the sense of "to shudder at" ('Il.' xi. 383; Judith xvi. 10).

tremble before thy power.] Τρέμειν also, like *φρίσσειν*, may take an *accus. rei* (Isa. lxvi. 2, 5); so that Fritzsche may be wrong in his remark, "Zu *τρέμει* ist *ὀν* nicht mehr zu beziehen;" and Schleussner right in explaining *ἀπὸ προσώπου* = *propter*, in which sense the Heb. מִפְּנֵי sometimes occurs (Gen. vi. 13; Judg. vi. 6; Isa. x. 27). As however verbs of *fearing* are usually joined with מִפְּנֵי = *ἀπὸ προσώπου τινος*, perhaps, after all, Fritzsche is right (so A. V.): see Judg. v. 5; 1 Sam. vii. 7.

the majesty . . . cannot be borne.] *ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια* (Ps. cxlv. 5, 12, where the term is associated with "glory;" Ps. viii. 1, lxxi. 7). It represents other but synonymous Heb. terms. Cf. Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iv. 2, 5. *Ἀστεκτος*, "insufferable;" Old Lat. *importabilis*. The word is rare. Trommius does not give it. Ethiopic: "For there is no end of the greatness of thy glory."

thine angry threatening.] Lit., "the anger of thy threatening against sinners;" a Hebraism. *Ἀπειλὴ* = זַעַם and זַעַף, *ira*; Hab. iii. 11; Prov. xix. 12. Also נְעָרָה, *increpatio*; Prov. xiii. 8, *πτωχὸς δὲ οὐχ ὑφίσταται ἀπειλήν*; compare *ἀνυπόστατος*, "importable," *i.e.* "insupportable," *insustentabilis*; 2 Macc. i. 13; Ps. cxxiv. 5, *τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνυπόστατον* (Heb. "the proud waters"). Ethiopic: "Fearful is the chastisement of thy wrath against sinners."

but thy merciful promise.] The "but" (*δὲ*) is due to the later editions. The MSS. have *τε*. The reading *δὲ* was, no doubt, suggested by the apparent need of a clause contrasting formally with *v.* 5: "Intolerable is the splendour of thy glory, &c. But immeasurable and unsearchable the mercy of thy promise" (so lit.). The Old Lat. thus has *vero et*. The reading *τε* implies the beginning of a direct sentence, after the manifold invocation of God by His different attributes: "O Lord Almighty, &c. Who madest, &c. Of whom all things are in awe, &c. Because the splendour of thy glory is intolerable, &c. Both immeasurable and unsearchable is the mercy of thy promise. For," &c. However, we cannot help thinking that the mention of mercy is really co-ordinate with that of "anger" in the former clause; and besides, God's mercy, as well as His wrath, may be properly alleged as a ground of the fear of Him: Ps. cxxx. 4. We may, therefore, assume that *vv.* 5–7 are subordinate to *v.* 4; and that the invocation really concludes with *v.* 7.

unmeasurable and unsearchable.] See Ecclus. xvi. 15; Rom. xi. 33; Isa. xxii. 18; Job v. 9, ix. 10.

for thou art the most high Lord.] Cf. Ps. xlvii. 2, xcvii. 9. Instead of *σὺ γάρ*, Cod. III. *ὅτι σύ*; Old Lat. *quoniam tu*; ? Heb. כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה עֶלְיוֹן; Old Lat. *altissimus super omnem terram* (as Ps. xcvii. 9).

of great compassion.] *εὔσπλαγχνος*, a term of which Trommius gives no instance. See Eph. iv. 32; 1 Pet. iii. 8. For the next two epithets, *μακρόθυμος κ. πολυέλεος*, see Ps. lxxxvi. 15; Exod. xxxiv. 6; and the passages from Joel and Jonah *infra*. Ethiop. "merciful."

and repentest of the evils of men.] Fritzsche omits *καὶ* ("duce T."). But the words are really a quotation either from Joel ii. 13, *μακρόθυμος κ. πολυέλεος καὶ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις*, or from Jonah iv. 2, where the same expressions recur. The meaning is, "remorseful at the calamities of men," which He inflicts on them for their sins (Amos vii. 3, 6; 1 Chron. xxi. 15). The opening invocation ends here.

Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness.] Lit., "the multitude of thy goodness." Cf. Neh. xiii. 22; Ps. cxlv. 7. As to promises of repentance and forgiveness to "them that have sinned," the expression does not take away the moral initiative from the sinners themselves: but, as the next clause makes evident, it simply means to say that God's gracious promise has coupled forgiveness with repentance, making the one consequent upon the other: cf. Isa. i. 16 *sqq.*; Ezek. xviii. 21 *sqq.*; Hos. i. 10; ii.; vi. 1, 2; xiv. From another point of view, of course it is true that God gives the impulse to repentance, as well as the ensuing pardon. And in the present instance, as in that ideal one contemplated in Hos. ii., it was God's chastise-

B.C. cir. 676. repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee: and of thine infinite mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved. Thou therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, hast not appointed repentance to the just, as to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee; but thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner: for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea. My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied: my transgressions are multiplied, and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities. I am bowed down B.C. cir. 676.

ment which gave it. See Wisdom xii. 19: "Thou givest repentance for sins." Perhaps, however, "repentance" in this line refers to God, in the sense of "relenting." The participle was so used in the line before: "Thou hast promised that thou wilt relent and pardon." Then, in the next line, we have repentance on man's part: "And in the multitude of thy tender mercies"—an expression occurring in Ps. li. 1, lxix. 16—"hast appointed [or "didst appoint," "appointedst." The Heb. *perfect* = Gk. aor. and perfect] repentance to sinners for salvation" (*εἰς σωτηρίαν*. Rom. x. 1, 10; Exod. xv. 2; Job xiii. 16). Cf. our Lord's word: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." The two lines, "Thou, O Lord . . . may be saved," are omitted in Codd. III., T. The text of the 'Apost. Const.' is here confused, and the Ethiopic version omits.

Thou therefore.] *σὺ οὖν*. The particle is equivalent to עתה (Exod. iii. 18, x. 17).

appointed.] Or "ordained"—*ἔθου*; Old Lat. *posuisti*; שמת (Job xxviii. 3; 2 Sam. vii. 10). In the former verse, the term was *ὥρισας* (Rom. i. 4). With the idea, compare our Lord's words just quoted, and Luke xv. 7, "ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance." But our Lord obviously used the term "righteous" or "just" in a *relative* sense; whereas here the mention of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the qualification *τοῖς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκόσιν σοι*, plainly indicates something more. The truth is that, although the failings of the Patriarchs are not concealed in their histories (Gen. xii. 13, &c.), the Jewish mind of later times idealised them as perfect characters, whose merits were sufficient, not for themselves only, but also for their entire posterity. According to the Talmud, *all* Israel has part in the world to come (*Moed Qaton*, 9 A; *Ketubb.* 111 A; *Sanhedr.* 10 A, &c.); and "everything comes to Israel on account of the merits of the Fathers" (*Siphrî* on Deut., p. 108 B). The Jews appear, in fact, to have felt secure of the future, on the ground of their descent from Abraham (Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 33, 39). He sits at the gate of hell, to save any Israelite from entering it; for his merit avails even for the wicked (*Ber. Rab.*, 48; *Shabbath*, 55 A). The merits of the Fathers, however, do not avail outside the land of Israel (*Baba Bathra*, 81 A). The language of this verse, therefore, proves the Jewish origin of the prayer.

unto me.] *ἐπ' ἐμοί*, as if "put repentance upon me." But Cod. III. omits *ἐπί*.

Ethiopic: "but turn thou (unto) the repentance of me a sinner."

that am a sinner.] Rather, "*the* sinner," above all others, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Luke xviii. 13: "God be merciful *to me the sinner*."

for I have sinned.] Or, "I sinned" (*ἥμαρτον*). For what follows, cf. Ps. xl. 5, 12; Job vi. 3. Instead of *ψάμμος*, the more classical form, the LXX. usually has *ἄμμος*. See Wisd. vii. 9 (Ecclus. xxii. 15) for the former.

The clause amplifies the expression *τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ*, with which the preceding clause terminates.

My transgressions.] Gk. *ἐπλήθυναν αἱ ἀνομίαι μου, κύριε, ἐπλήθυναν*. (Fr. omits *αἱ ἀνομ. μου* the second time, after Cod. Tur. Cod. III. and Apost. Const. omit *κύριε ἐπληθ.* as well. The Ethiopic has only: "and many are my sins," which it connects immediately with the preceding clause.) The verb *πληθύνω* is generally transitive in LXX., as in classical usage. But later writers confuse it with *πληθύω*, which is intrans. Cf. Acts vi. 1. In *v.* 10 *infra*, "multiplied offences" (*πληθύνω*) occurs in its usual sense. With the emotional and emphatic repetition, comp. *vv.* 12, 13 *infra*; Ps. lxxv. 1, lxxvii. 1, cxxiii. 3. For the thought, see Isa. lix. 12.

to behold and see the height of heaven.] The first verb—*ἀτενίσαι*—means "to gaze earnestly:" Luke iv. 20. Trommius refers to 3 Esdr. vi. 28 only. Aristotle has the term constructed with *εἴς τι* ('Meteor.' i. 6, 12) and *πρός τι*. "The height of heaven" (Ecclus. xvii. 32; Ps. ciii. 11) is mentioned as God's abode: Isa. xxxviii. 14 ("Mine eyes failed *τοῦ βλέπειν εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον*"). Cf. also Luke xviii. 13; Susanna 9; Ps. cxxiii. 1; and the proper name Elioenai, "unto Jah are mine eyes."

for the multitude.] *ἀπ' πλήθους*. See Job xxxv. 9; *ἀπὸ* = מן, "from," *i.e.* owing to, because of. Gen. xxxvi. 7, מפני: see note on

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B.C. cir. 676. with many iron bands, that I cannot lift up mine head, ‖neither have any release: for I have provoked thy wrath, and done evil before thee: I did not thy will, neither kept I thy commandments: I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences. Now therefore I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching thee of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, B.C. cir. 676.

‖ Or, either like my wrath.

v. 4 *supra.* "Iniquities," *ἀδικίαι*, עונות (Jer. xi. 10); or the sing. עון (Jer. ii. 22; Hos. iv. 8).

I am bowed down with many iron bands.] Lit., "being bowed down with many an iron band, so that," &c. The words are wrongly divided from what precedes by the English punctuation. There should be a comma only after "iniquities." For *σιδηρῷ* (adj.), Cod. III. and 'Apost. Const.' have *σιδήρου*, "of iron." Cf. Dan. iv. 15, 23. According to the narrative in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, Manasseh was bound with a double chain of copper by his captors. Here he is represented as loaded with chains of iron, as a captive in a dungeon. But the sense is perhaps rather metaphorical, and refers to the chain of sin and misery: cf. Ps. cvii. 10, 14; Lam. i. 14; and the Ethiopic version: "I have laboured in fetters of iron, that I might get rest from sin for my soul: and by this also I have not gotten rest."

that I cannot lift up.] *εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀνανεῦσαι.* The word usually means "to throw the head back in token of denial," as we shake the head. Then sometimes "to throw the head up," whence *ἀνανενευκὼς*, "upright," "with the head erect;" Polyb. xviii. 13. 3; cf. bk. i. 23. 5; Lucian, 'Necyom.' 4. Old Lat. well: *ut non possim attollere caput meum.* Cf. Ps. xl. 12; cx. 7. The reading of Cod. III. is remarkable: *εἰς τὸ ἀνανεῦσαί με ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μου*, "so that I throw back (my head) over my sins," as if "shake my head over them." But this reading probably rests on misapprehension.

neither have any release.] *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἄνεσις*, "and I have no remission or respite:" Old Lat. *respiratio.* Cf. 3 Esdr. iv. 62; Ecclus. xv. 20; 2 Cor. vii. 5. The next clauses are closely connected with this one, and a comma would be better than a colon after "release:" "Because I provoked thy wrath, and did that which was evil before thee (Ps. li. 4; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2), by not doing (*μὴ ποιήσας*) thy will, and not keeping thy commandments, by setting up abominations, and multiplying objects of offence" (*στήσας βδελύγματα κ. πληθύνας προσοχθίσματα*). The words are an expansion of what is said of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 6): *ἐπλήθυνε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ παροργίσαι αὐτόν.* Cod. III. and the 'Apost. Const.' (Gk. and Ethiop.) omit *μὴ ποιήσας . . . προστάγματά σου*, and Tur. omits *στήσας . . . προσοχθίσματα.* Fritzsche pronounces against the former clause as needless and almost disturbing; and further, because it is also omitted in the Latin MSS., and because, if it were genuine, we should expect *καὶ* before *στήσας.* But *καὶ* before *στήσας* would destroy the symmetry of the two compound clauses; and both are suitable as defining Manasseh's provocation of God on the *negative* and *positive* side—his sins of omission and commission. Cf. Dan. ix. 5, 6, 11; and the General Confession, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done," &c. For the second clause, the Ethiopic has: "While I observed vanities, and multiplied that which profited me not."

The phrase "done (the) evil before thee" refers especially to idolatry: see Deut. iv. 25; and the use of the phrase as a fixed formula in the annalistic epitome of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 17, &c.). Idols and idolatrous rites are called *βδελύγματα*, "abominations," תועבות (Deut. xxxii. 16; 2 Kings xvi. 3; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2, and elsewhere often). Cf. Dan. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 15. *Προσόχθισμα, offendiculum*, שקוץ, is similarly used (2 Kings xxiii. 13; Ezek. vii. 20).

Now therefore.] "And now"—*καὶ νῦν* = ועתה; a common concluding formula in Heb. prayers (Dan. ix. 15, 17;—2 Chron. xx. 10; vi. 16, 17, 40, 41); and in other addresses (1 Chron. xxviii. 8, xxix. 13;—2 Chron. ii. 13, 15).

I bow the knee of mine heart.] The Greek *κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας μου* (Cod. III. omits *μου*) is peculiar. The usual phrase is *κάμπτω ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα* (2 Kings i. 13). *Κάμπτειν* is intrans. (*τὸν τράχηλον*) in Ecclus. vii. 23. *Κλίνειν τὸ οὖς* is common. Manasseh means, of course, that his prayer is sincere; that his inward and outward postures correspond. Cf. "Rend your heart and not your garments" (Joel ii. 13). A similar metaphor is "the calves of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2; cf. Ps. li. 17); and St. Paul's phrase "circumcision of the heart" (Rom. ii. 29).

beseeching thee of grace.] *δεόμενος τῆς παρὰ σοῦ χρηστότητος*, "craving, begging for the goodness that cometh from thee." "Goodness," *v.* 7 *supra;* טוב, Ps. xxv. 7; or טוּב, Ps. xxxi. 19. "Beseeching goodness from thee" would require *gen. pers. et rei*, or *gen. pers. et accus. rei* (Thucyd. i. 32). The Old Lat. *precans a te bonitatem* fails for want of a Latin article.

B.C. cir. 676. and I acknowledge mine iniquities: wherefore, I humbly beseech thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; neither condemn me into the lower parts of the earth. For thou art the God, *even* the God of them that repent; and in me thou wilt shew all thy goodness: B.C. cir. 676

I acknowledge.] Fritzsche, *ἐγὼ γινώσκω*, from Codd. III. and T. The common reading is *ἀναγινώσκω*, *agnosco* (Hdt. ii. 91). In LXX. this verb generally means "to read" (קרא): Dan. v. 7, 8; 1 Macc. v. 14; Exod. xxiv. 7. See Ps. li. 3: "I acknowledge my transgressions," &c., *τὴν ἀνομίαν μου ἐγὼ γινώσκω*. Ethiop.: "my sin I confess."

wherefore, I humbly beseech thee.] Old Lat. *quare*. But the Gk. is *ἀλλ' αἰτοῦμαι δεόμενος σου*, "but I ask (שאל, Ps. xxi. 4, xxvii. 4), craving of thee." Cod. III. omits *ἀλλ'*.

forgive me.] *ἄνες μοι* (Ps. xxxix. 13). Cf. *ἄνεσις supra*. There is an ellipsis of *τὰ ἁμαρτήματά μου*: cf. Josh. xxiv. 19; Isa. i. 13. Old Lat. *remitte mihi*. The verb is joined with an *accus. pers.* (Gen. xviii. 24; Isa. ii. 9).

and (Cod. III. omits) *destroy me not with mine iniquities.*] Old Lat. *ne simul perdas me cum*, &c. Ethiopic: "deliver me not over to my sin." Schleussner is wrong in rendering *ne prorsus perdas* (*συναπολέσῃς*) *ob* (*ταῖς*) *peccata mea*, as Fritzsche observes. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23, xix. 15; Numb. xvi. 26; and especially Wisd. x. 3, Ecclus. viii. 15. What follows is more closely connected with this than the full stop in our version suggests: "neither, cherishing wrath (*μηνίσας*, 'Il.' i. 422, v. 178, &c.; poet. word) for ever, lay up the evils for me." [For *μηνίω*, see Ps. ciii. 9; Jer. iii. 12, "keep anger for ever." For *τηρήσῃς* (Cant. vii. 13) = צפן (Ps. xxxi. 19), "How great is thy goodness which *thou hast laid up* for them that fear thee." Old Lat. *reserves mala mihi.*] Cf. also Exod. xxxiv. 7. "The evils"—*τὰ κακὰ*—are the unknown evils which a guilty conscience dreads; or the article may be *generic;* or there may be a reference to penalties in the world to come. See next line.

neither condemn me into.] *μηδὲ καταδικάσῃς με* (Ps. xxxvii. 33; Dan. i. 10. The classical construction is *τινός*, the later *τινὰ*) *ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς*, "Neither sentence me in the lowest parts of the earth;" as if "mulct me in" (punish me with) the penalty of Hades; or, "treat me as one condemned in Hades." *Vid.* Deut. xxxii. 22; Ps. cxxxix. 15, lxxxvi. 13; Isa. xliv. 23; Ezek. xxvi. 20, for the conception of Hades as *τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς*, the Underworld. See also Isa. xiv. 9, 14, 15; Ezek. xxxii. 18, 21 *sqq.;* Job x. 21, 22; xxvi. 5 *sqq.:* "The Rephaim (*i.e.* ghosts, spirits in Hades) tremble, whose dwelling is beneath the waters. Sheol (Hades) is naked before him, and Abaddon (the place of destruction) hath no covering" (Heb.). A vast subterranean and sub-oceanic cavern, void of light and utterly cheerless, peopled by feeble shadows of the departed, appears to have been the ancient Hebrew conception of Hades. This accords with the old Assyrian mythus of Ishtar's Descent into Hell ('Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia,' iv. 31), where it is called "the land of no return," "the region of darkness," "the house of darkness, the seat of (the god) Irkalla" (*i.e.* Plutus), "the house which they that enter go not forth (therefrom)," "the road whose course returneth not," "the house which they that enter long for light," "a place where much dust is their food, and their victual clay;" "the light they see not, in darkness they sit; they are clad also, like birds, with apparel of wings; on the door and the bar dust is spread." Similar, too, is the Homeric conception of the nether world, and the Norse notion of Hela's realm is not very different.

It is not quite clear whether Manasseh prays merely against death, like Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 10, 11, 18), and the Psalmists (Ps. vi. 5; xxx. 9; lxxxviii. 10, 11; xxxix. 13); or whether he prays for deliverance from the penalties of the after-life. The Targums often speak of Gehinnom or Gehenna, *i.e.* hell in our sense, as "the house of woe and pain" reserved for the wicked; and the Book of Enoch describes two places of torment,—one, that of the fallen angels, under the mountains at the ends of the earth; the other, for human offenders, in the valley of Hinnom. But this belongs to the time of the Last Things; and we prefer the former, as the simpler and more natural view. Compare, however, the Ethiopic: "and remember not against me my evil for ever, and take not vengeance upon me in the depths of the earth."

For thou art the God.] Rather, "Because thou art God, (the) God of them that repent." The article is omitted before the second *Θεὸς*, as in Heb. אלהי הנחמים. This clause, too, should be taken with what precedes, as alleging the ground of those entreaties.

and in me thou wilt shew.] The result, "So—if thou hear my prayer—in me thou wilt shew," &c. (Exod. ix. 16). "My case is so heinous, that mercy to me would be a conspicuous revelation of Divine goodness;

B. C. cir. 676. for thou wilt save me, that am unworthy, according to thy great mercy. Therefore I will praise thee for ever all the days of my life: for all the powers of the heavens do praise thee, and thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen. B. C. cir. 676.

because, *though unworthy*, thou wilt save me, according to thy great mercy." The wonder always is, not that God should love the good, but that He should save the guilty. Δείξῃς (Codd. III. and T.) joins on with the foregoing construction μηδὲ καταδικάσῃς.

goodness.] ἀγαθωσύνη, טובה (2 Chron. xxiv. 16; Rom. xv. 14). The next clause developes the result, as it respects Manasseh's own conduct. "And I will praise thee alway (διὰ παντὸς) in the days of my life (Codd. III. and T.) [*vulgo*, πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, "all the days"]; for thee hymneth all the might of heaven, and thine is the glory for ever and ever (*unto the ages*). Amen." Comp. the close of Hezekiah's psalm (Isa. xxxviii. 19, 20).

thy great mercy.] τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου (Ecclus. xvi. 12). Elsewhere, τὸ μέγα ἔλ.

the powers of the heavens.] ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν means "the *host* of heaven" (so Ethiop.); *i.e.* the angels: Isa. xxxiv. 4; 2 Chron. xviii. 18; Matt. xxiv. 29. For the praise of the angels, see Ps. xxix. 1; lxxxix. 5; ciii. 20, 21.

ADDENDUM TO INTRODUCTION, p. 363 *supra.*

The Targum of Chronicles adds, after 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "And the Chaldeans made a copper mule, and pierced it all over with little holes, and shut him up therein, and kindled fire all around him. And when he was in straits, he besought help of all the idols which he had made, and was not helped, because they were worthless. And he turned, and prayed before the Lord his God, and humbled himself exceedingly before Jehovah, the God of his fathers; and he prayed before Him. Forthwith went all the angels, that are set over the entrances of the gates of prayer in heaven, and closed on his account all the entrances of the gates of prayer in heaven, and all the windows and lattices of heaven, that his prayer might not be received. And forthwith rolled round the pity of the Lord of the World, whose right hand is stretched out to receive the sinners that return to the fear of Him, and break the disposition of their heart by penitence. And He made a lattice, and an aperture in heaven, beneath His glorious throne, and heard his prayer, and received his petition. And He shook the world with His word, and the mule burst asunder, and he went forth therefrom. And the Spirit from between the wings of the Cherubim went forth and breathed upon him by decree of the Word of the Lord, and he returned unto his kingdom, unto Jerusalem. And Manasseh knew that the Lord He was God, Who had worked with him these signs and wonders; and he turned with all his heart before the Lord, and forsook all the idols, and served them not." (Targum of Chronicles, ed. M. F. Beck: August. Vindel. 1680; with corrections of the text from P. de Lagarde's 'Hagiographa Chaldaice,' Lipsiae, 1873.) Compare the fragmentary accounts at p. 363 *supra*; and the Introduction to the Song of the Three Children.

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THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Subject of the Book and its Divisions.

THE First Book of Maccabees is an historical treatise, and professes to deliver to us the history of the Jews at a most critical time—the time of their revolt against the tyranny of the Syro-Macedonian kings, and re-establishment of their national independence. The events of the main narrative, which begins with the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to crush the Jewish religion and terminates with the death of Simon the High Priest, cover a space of about forty years, extending from B.C. 175 to B.C. 135. This narrative commences in chap. i. 10, and proceeds uninterruptedly to the end of the treatise, with the single exception of a parenthesis in chap. viii. (*vv.* 1–16), which traces the gradual growth of the Roman power, and summarises the views entertained by the Jews of the Maccabean period on the constitution and character of the Roman State. This main narrative is preceded by an "Introduction" (chap. i. 1–9) on the subject of the establishment of the Macedonian power in Asia, whereby the Jews had fallen under the dominion of the Greeks. This "Introduction" covers a space of a hundred and forty-five years, from B.C. 331 to B.C. 176.

The main narrative of the Book divides itself into five portions:—1. An account of the proceedings of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Hellenizing party which supported him, for the abolition of the Jewish religion and the desecration of the Temple (chap. i. 10–64). 2. The revolt of a certain number of Jews under Mattathias, and the commencement of the war of independence under his guidance and management (chap. ii. 1–79). 3. The conduct of the war by his son, Judas Maccabæus, from B.C. 166 to B.C. 161 (chaps. iii.—ix. 22). 4. The conduct of the war and of affairs generally by Jonathan, brother of Judas, from B.C. 161 to B.C. 143. And 5. The conduct of affairs by Simon, brother of Judas and Jonathan, from B.C. 143 to B.C. 135.

§ II. Style and Diction.

The style of the Book is varied. By far the greater part is written in a plain and simple narrative style, very similar to that of Judges, Samuel, and the two Books of Kings. There is the same brevity, the same lack of ornament, the same absence of what are commonly regarded as the graces of composition. But, on occasions, this style passes into a higher one. Under the influence of excited feeling the writer warms into

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eloquence, and expresses himself with rhetorical emphasis and amplification. Examples of this style are the following:—"Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were, so that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of wisdom was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness. The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion" (chap. i. 25–29). "Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it; insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning" (chap. i. 37–40). "Upon this the host assembled themselves together, and went up into Mount Sion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the court as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down, they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads, and fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven" (chap. iv. 37–40). Further instances will be found in chaps. vi. 39, ix. 10, xiv. 8–15. Finally, there are places where the style is not so much rhetorical as poetical, actual poems being worked into the narrative, which have all the excellences of the highest Hebrew art. Of these, the most remarkable is the "Lament of Mattathias," in chap. ii. 7–13;[1] but further specimens will be found in the dying utterance of Mattathias (chap. ii. 49–68), in the eulogium on Judas (chap. iii. 3–9), in his prayers (chaps. iii. 18–22; iv. 8–11, 30–33; vii. 41, 42), in the prayer of the Jews on the height over against Jerusalem (chap. iii. 50–53), and in the last words of Epiphanes (chap. vi. 10–13). It is remarkable that the poetic passages are contained, all of them, in the first seven chapters; and even of the highly rhetorical passages there is one only (chap. xiv. 8–15) which belongs to a later portion of the treatise. This will be seen to be a matter of some importance, when we come to consider the probable "sources" of the narrative.[1]

The work, as we have it, is written in Hellenistic Greek, like the Septuagint and the New Testament. It is, however, even more full than most Hellenistic Greek, of marked and sometimes harsh Hebraisms. This point will be further considered in a later section.[2] The peculiar words (*ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*) are not many in number. The following are all that have been noticed:—*ἐξουδένωσις* (chap. i. 39), *φονοκτονία* (ib. 24), *δειλόομαι* (iv. 8, 21, &c.), *ἀσπιδίσκη* (iv. 57), *ὅμηρα* for *ὅμηροι* (viii. 7, &c.), *δειλόψυχος* (viii. 15), *ἐξουσιάζεσθαι* (x. 70), *ψογέω* for *ψέγω* (xi. 5, 11), *τελωνεῖσθαι* (xiii. 39), *ἀποσκορπίζω* (xi. 55), *ὁπλοδοτέω* (xiv. 32), *ἐπισυστρέφω* (ib. 44), and *ἀφαίρεμα* (xv. 5). Besides these, a certain number of words are employed in new and strange senses, as *διαστολή* in chap. viii. 7, *ἁδρύνω* in chap. viii. 14, and *παράστασις* in chap. xv. 32.

§ III. Authenticity of the Narrative.

Serious attempts to impugn the authenticity of the history contained in the First Book of Maccabees were made in the last century. E. T. Wernsdorf in the year 1746, and his brother Gottfried in 1747, subjected the work to a rigid examination, and believed that they had discovered in it historical errors so numerous and important as to deprive it of all authority.[3] But the discussion which these attacks raised terminated in favour of the work impugned, and among modern critics of the literature of the period there

[1] See the comment on the passage, where an attempt has been made to give the rhythmic effect of the original.

[1] See below, § VII. [2] See § V.

[3] See E. H. Wernsdorf's 'De fontibus historiæ Syriæ,' Lipsiæ, 1746; and Gottf. Wernsdorf's 'Comment. hist. crit. de fide librorum Maccab., Vratisl., 1747.

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is scarcely one who does not, expressly or by implication, allow the Book to be of the highest value, trustworthy in the main, and an authority for the history of the period second to no other. De Wette says of it, that it is "im Ganzen sehr glaubwürdig, genau chronologisch, und sich vor den andern historischen Erzeugnisser dieser Zeit vortheilhaft auszeichnend."[1] Ewald remarks: "The author was probably one of the first who embraced the whole compass of these thirty or forty years in a popular narrative, and his work *still breathes the freshest inspiration* of the peculiar elevation and glory of the time. In simple language it *reproduces the clearest recollection of the full and many-sided truth of this great age, and its various development.*"[2] Both he and Dean Stanley base their narrative of the period mainly upon the statements of the writer of the Book, whose means of information they regard as good, and his honesty as unimpeachable.

The evidence of authenticity may be summed up under the two heads of external and internal evidence. The external evidence is somewhat scanty, owing to the fact that the remains of classical antiquity which bear upon the period and country are less copious than might have been desired. Still, the history recorded has many points of agreement with Polybius, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, and Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.'), and also some with the epitomes of Livy's later books, with Justin, and with Granius Licinianus; while it nowhere contradicts any statements of these writers, except where they are at variance one with another. It is, moreover, in complete harmony with the coins of the Syrian kings belonging to the period, and with the evidence—slight, no doubt, but not unimportant—furnished by the coins of Judæa.

Internal evidence of authenticity is furnished, first, by the general air of probability in the narrative, and especially by the entire absence from it of the miraculous element. Considering the circumstances of the time, the prevalent exaltation of spirit and strength of faith, it might have been expected that a similar tone would have pervaded the narrative to that which we find in the Second Book, where miraculous appearances are of frequent occurrence, and the continual active interposition of God in human affairs is a fundamental idea. In the First Book this idea finds no place, or at any rate no further place than is involved in the belief that "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" (James v. 16. Comp. 1 Macc. iv. 10–14, 30–34; vii. 41–43; xi. 71, 72). The successes of the Jews are the result of faith in God, and of earnest appeals to Him for protection and assistance, but are not accomplished by any visible supernatural agency. Secondly, the writer shews his candour and love of truth by an unsparing exposure of all the shortcomings of his own people—of their sinfulness, their half-heartedness, their defeats, their frequent despondency. On the other hand, he does not unduly disparage his people's adversaries. Having once designated Epiphanes as "a wicked root" (ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλός, chap. i. 10), he abstains from any further word of dispraise. He bestows no abusive epithet on any Syrian general, neither on Lysias, nor Bacchides, nor Nicanor, nor Cendebæus.[1] Again, there is a moderation in his estimates of numbers which is remarkable,[2] indicating, as it does, a clear intention of not overstepping the truth. Finally, there is a particularity and exactness in his geographical notices, such as belongs commonly to authentic narratives, while it rarely characterises those which are fictitious, mainly or wholly.

Still, though the work is to be regarded as, in the main, a thoroughly credible

[1] 'Einleitung in das Alt. Test.,' § 299, p. 398.
[2] 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 465, E. T.

[1] Contrast the practice of the writer of the Second Book (ch. v. 24; vii. 29, 34, &c.; viii. 32, 34; ix. 28; xii. 35; xv. 3, 32).

[2] The largest Syrian force mentioned in 1 Macc. consists of 120,000 foot and 8,000 horse (ch. xv. 13)—not an extravagant estimate, considering that Antiochus the Great had 170,000 men at Magnesia (App. 'Syriaca,' § 32). The greatest number of Syrians slain in any one battle is 5,000 (ch. iv. 34; vii. 32); the entire number of Syrians slain, 26,800. The author of the Second Book, on the other hand, makes the slain twice 20,000, twice a little over 20,000, twice 25,000, once 30,000, and once 35,000 (ch. xv. 27); while his total of slain mounts up to 221,100!

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history, it must be confessed that it contains a considerable number of mistakes. These belong especially to the portions of the history which treat of foreign nations, and of times somewhat remote from the writer's own day. In his sketch of the rise and progress of the Macedonian power, the writer wrongly states, 1. That Alexander the Great "*slew* the kings of the earth" (chap. i. 2); 2. That on his death-bed he made a partition of his kingdom among his friends (ib. 6); and 3. That these friends "*all* put crowns upon their heads" (ib. 9). His longer and more elaborate account of the growth and character of the Roman Republic contains the following errors:—1. That the Romans had, in B.C. 161, "brought the Galatians under tribute" (chap. viii. 2); 2. That, by the same time, they had conquered the whole of Spain (ib. 4); 3. That the elephants brought into the field by Antiochus the Great at the battle of Magnesia amounted to 120, whereas the real number was 54 (ib. 6); 4. That Antiochus was taken prisoner in the engagement (ib. 7); 5. That India formed a portion of his dominions at the time (ib. 8); 6. That India and Media were ceded by Antiochus to Rome and made over by Rome to Eumenes (ib.); 7. That the Greeks aimed at invading Italy and destroying Rome (ib. 9); 8. That the Romans had conquered Greece before B.C. 161 (ib. 10); 9. That the number of the Roman Senate was 320 (ib. 15); 10. That the Senate sat daily (ib.); 11. That the Romans were governed by a single annual magistrate (ib. 16); and 12. That "there was neither envy nor emulation among them" (ib.). The number and character of these errors detract seriously from the authority of the writer as a general historian, but leave his credibility in respect of his own nation and times untouched. He may not indeed be always absolutely correct on these subjects; but his testimony is not to be set aside without very strong counter-evidence.

§ IV. Unity of the Work.

The unity of the work has not, so far as we are aware, been called in question. The unity of its plan is evident; and though a greater elevation of style characterises the portion anterior to the death of Judas[1] (chaps. i.–ix. 18), yet the difference is not very marked, and there is one passage in a later chapter (chap. xiv. 4–15) where the author takes almost as high a flight as in any section of the earlier narrative. The diction is throughout uniform; and there are one or two peculiarities of the writer which may be traced through the whole Book from first to last. The most striking of these is his reticence with respect to the Holy Name, which occurs, according to the best manuscripts, once only in the entire history (chap. iv. 24). The usual mode of avoidance is a substitution of the word "Heaven" for "God" or "Lord,"[2] while sometimes there is a mere awkward omission, which our translators have thought it necessary to supply.[3] Another peculiarity is exactness with respect to dates; and this is a feature equally conspicuous throughout.[4]

§ V. Original Language and Author.

That the First Book of Maccabees abounds in Hebraisms of a marked and somewhat harsh character is generally admitted. Such phrases as "recovering the Law *out of the hand of the Gentiles*" (chap. ii. 48), "*walking* according to a man's *sayings*" (chap. vi. 23), "*finding favour in men's sight*" (x. 60), "the *book of the days* of his priesthood" (chap. xvi. 24), are unmistakable, and betray a familiarity with Semitic turns of expression which sufficiently indicates the ethnic type whereto the writer belonged. But it has been questioned whether this would by itself prove that the original work was written in Hebrew, since "the Hebraisms which exist are," it is said, "such as might have been naturalised in the Hebrew-Greek of Palestine."[5] The writer

[1] See above, § II.

[2] See ch. iii. 50, 60; iv. 10, 40; ix. 46; xvi. 3.

[3] As in ch. i. 62; ii. 21, 26; iii. 22, 53, 60; iv. 10, 55; xvi. 3. In ch. iii. 18, vii. 27, and vii. 41, the MSS. have two readings, one suppressing, the other expressing, the Holy Name.

[4] See ch. i. 54; ii. 70; iii. 37; iv. 52; vi. 16, 20; vii. 1, 49; ix. 3, 54; x. 1, 57, 67; xi. 19; xiii. 41, 51; xiv. 1, 27; xv. 10; xvi. 14.

[5] Smith, 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 172.

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might have been a Semite, a native of Palestine, a Jew, and yet have written in Greek, as did James and John, Peter, Mark, and Jude. If this had been the case, his Greek would no doubt have been deeply tinged with a Hebraistic character. Is it more deeply tinged than would be accounted for by this hypothesis? It is difficult to give a decided answer to this question; but our own impression is that, even apart from any external testimony, sound criticism would have pronounced the work a translation from a Semitic original.[1]

The matter, however, is one which we need not call in the aid of criticism to determine. The positive testimony of antiquity is such as to leave no doubt on the subject. Origen informs us that the title under which the work was known in his day was 'Sarbeth Sarbaneel,' which is a Hebrew and not a Greek description of its contents,[1] while Jerome states that he was acquainted with a Hebrew text which he evidently regarded as the original.[2] As Origen and Jerome are at once the most critical of the Fathers, and the best acquainted with the Hebrew language and literature, their testimony must be looked upon as entirely decisive of the point here under discussion.

Concerning the author, tradition is wholly silent. The internal evidence shews him to have been a Palestinian Jew, an earnest patriot, and a devout member of the orthodox party. He is deeply impressed with the heroism of the national leaders, and bent on glorifying them, yet not to the extent of concealing their errors or reverses. There is no appearance of his having actually taken part in the events which he relates; but his sympathy with those who were at the head of affairs is so keen that it is difficult to suppose him unacquainted with them. He is a man, however, of the pen rather than of the sword, and probably belonged to the literary class which sprang into being under the stimulating

[1] It is impossible fully to exhibit the evidence on which our impression rests, but the following list of Hebraisms in the first half of the first chapter may be taken as a sample of it:—

Ch. i. 1. Καὶ ἐγένετο, as an opening phrase, corresponds to the Heb. וַיְהִי (Judg. i. 1; Ruth i. 1; Nehem. i. 1; Esth. i. 1, &c.). Πατάξαι for "to defeat" corresponds to the Hebrew use of הכה. ἡ γὴ Χεττειελμ literally renders the Heb. אֶרֶץ כִּתִּים.

Ch. i. 3. Ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ literally renders על פני. Ἐπήρθη ἡ καρδία literally renders וַיָּרָם לֵב.

Ch. i. 4. Ἐγένοντο εἰς φόρον literally renders וַיִּהְיוּ לָמַס (Gen. xlix. 15).

Ch. i. 10. Καὶ ἐπλήθυναν ἐν τῇ γῇ literally renders וַיִּרְבּוּ בָּאָרֶץ.

Ch. i. 11. Ῥίζα (of a man) literally renders שֹׁרֶשׁ.

Ch. i. 12. Διαθέσθαι διαθήκην literally renders כָּרַת בְּרִית. Κύκλῳ (ἡμῶν) literally renders סָבִיב.

Ch. i. 13. Καὶ ἠγαθύνθη ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς literally renders וַיִּיטַב הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינֵי.

Ch. i. 16. Καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν literally renders וַיִּתְמַכְּרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע (2 Kings xvii. 17).

Ch. i. 17. Καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία literally renders וַתִּכֹּן הַמַּמְלָכָה.

Ch. i. 18. Ἐν ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ literally renders בְּחַיִל כָּבֵד.

Ch. i. 19. Καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί literally renders וַיִּפְּלוּ חֲלָלִים רַבִּים. Ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ literally renders מִפָּנָיו.

Ch. i. 23. Τὴν τράπεζαν τῆς προθέσεως literally renders שֻׁלְחַן הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת.

Ch. i. 24. Τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐπιθυμητά literally renders כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּה.

Ch. i. 29. Καὶ ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν literally renders וַתִּרְעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ עַל־יֹשְׁבֶיהָ.

Ἐνεδύσατο αἰσχύνην literally renders לָבַשׁ בּוּשֶׁת.

Ch. i. 30. Μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν literally renders מִקֵּץ שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים. Ἄρχοντα φορολογίας literally renders שַׂר מַס.

Ch. i. 31. Καὶ ἐλάλησε λόγους εἰρηνικούς literally renders וַיֹּאמֶר דִּבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם.

Ch. i. 32. Ἐπάταξε πληγὴν μεγάλην literally renders הִכָּה מַכָּה גְּדוֹלָה.

Ch. i. 33. Καὶ ἐνεπύρισε πυρὶ αὐτήν literally renders וַיִּשְׂרְפֶהָ בָּאֵשׁ.

Ch. i. 38. Εἰς διάβολον πονηρόν literally renders לְשָׂטָן רַע.

[1] *Sarbeth sarbane-el* is thought to be put for שַׂרְבֵת שָׂרֵי בְנֵי אֵל, "History of the princes of the Sons of God" (De Wette, Grimm); but is, in any case, a Semitic, and not a Greek title.

[2] Prolog. Galeat.

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influence of the great national movement and development of the Maccabean times.

§ VI. Date of Composition.

The statement in chap. xiii. 30, that the splendid monument which Simon erected to the memory of his father and brothers was still standing in the writer's day, at once removes him by a not inconsiderable interval from the period of Simon's accession, B.C. 143. It does not, however, remove him from it by such an interval as the ordinary reader might suppose, since the disturbed state of Palestine must be taken into account, and the likelihood that some of the enemies of the Asmonæan dynasty might have destroyed any monument of their glory before it had stood very long. Grimm's estimate[1] of "thirty years" as the shortest period that can be supposed to be intended is a tolerably fair one; and we might therefore conclude from this passage alone that the Book before us was probably not written earlier than about B.C. 113.

It has been generally concluded from the closing words of the Book (ch. xvi. 23, 24), that a still later date must be assigned to it. The writer, it is said, speaks of the reign of John Hyrcanus as if it were over, thereby implying that he outlived him, and wrote after his death.[2] Now John Hyrcanus died in B.C. 106. It is impossible, however, to prove from the words of the writer in the passage adduced, that John Hyrcanus was not still living when he penned them. He merely says that his deeds, *from the time that he became high-priest*, were written in the high-priestly chronicles. He says nothing of his death or burial. No doubt his words are modelled upon those with which the writers of Kings and Chronicles wind up their account of each monarch upon his demise; but they differ in containing no mention of a funeral or of a successor. Those critics seem to have reason on their side who have concluded that the First Book of Maccabees may have been written in the time of John Hyrcanus, but at an advanced period of his reign[1] (say B.C. 116–106).

We thus obtain the earliest probable date for the composition. The latest probable date is more difficult to determine. The grounds of argument are here, comparatively speaking, intangible and matters of opinion. The consideration of style is thought to indicate a date at least a century earlier than any portion of the New Testament. The simple faith which runs through the account given of Roman disinterestedness (chap. viii. 12–16) could not possibly have outlived the proceedings of Pompey, when in B.C. 63 he took Jerusalem, and is likely to have come to an end much earlier. The jubilant and triumphant tone of the narrative is unsuitable to any time later than the close of the reign of John Hyrcanus, since troubles then set in, which continued, at any rate, till the accession of Herod the Great. The life and spirit of the narrative, and the minuteness of the geographical and local details, are also in favour of a comparatively early composition. Altogether B.C. 105—the year after the death of Hyrcanus—seems to be the latest date that is at all probable, though a date later than this by thirty or forty years cannot be said to be altogether impossible.[2]

§ VII. Sources of the Work.

The writer clearly possesses a number of state-documents, which he regards as authentic, and inserts, either in full or else in an abbreviated form, in his narrative. Such are: 1. The letter of the Romans to the Jewish people (chap. viii. 23–32), sent by Eupolemus and Jason,

[1] 'Der Erste Buch der Maccabäer erklärt,' Einleitung, § 7, p. xxiv.

[2] De Wette, 'Einleitung in das Alt. Test.,' § 300; Grimm, 'Einleitung,' *l. s. c.*; Ewald, 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 463, E. T.

[1] Hengstenberg, 'Authentie des Daniel,' p. 293; Bertheau, 'De Secundo Maccabæorum libro,' p. 27; Westcott in Dr. W. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 173.

[2] See the arguments of Grimm, in his 'Introduction,' § 7, p. xxv., who assigns for the date the interval between B.C. 105 and B.C. 64; and compare, on the other side, Ewald (*l. s. c.*), who suggests B.C. 105 definitely, and Westcott in Smith's 'Dictionary,' who places the composition between B.C. 120 and B.C. 100.

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the ambassadors dispatched to Rome by Judas Maccabæus; 2. The letter of Alexander Balas to Jonathan (chap. x.18–20), granting him the office of High Priest; 3. The letter of Demetrius I. to the Jewish people, offering terms of peace and alliance (chap. x. 25–45); 4. The letter of Demetrius II. to Jonathan, which was to be "set in a conspicuous place" (chap. xi. 30–37); 5. The letter of Jonathan to the Lacedæmonians, proposing a renewal of friendship and brotherhood (ch. xii. 6–18); 6. The previous letter of Areus, king of Sparta, to Onias I., the High Priest (ch. xii. 20–23); 7. The letter of Demetrius II. to Simon the High Priest, renewing friendship and granting privileges (chap. xiii. 36–40); 8. The letter of the Lacedæmonians to Simon renewing friendship (ch. xiv. 20–23); 9. The decree of the Jewish people establishing the high priesthood in Simon's family and conferring various privileges upon him (chap. xiv. 27–45); 10. The letter of Antiochus Sidetes to Simon proposing alliance and extending Simon's privileges (chap. xv. 3–9); and 11. The circular letter of the Romans, addressed to states and kingdoms under their influence, on behalf of the Jews (ch. xv. 16–21). These documents have a general air of authenticity about them; but it has to be borne in mind that they are, at the best, translations of translations, having been written originally either in Latin or Greek, then translated by the author of the Book into the later Hebrew, and from this again rendered into Greek by the Greek translator of the Book, who is not likely to have had access to the original documents.

It has sometimes been supposed that, besides these written authorities — authorities of great value, but scattered and discontinuous—our author may have had access to a set of state papers, which contained something like an unbroken history of his nation from the time of the completion of the Second Temple, B.C. 516. Ewald supposes that "the high-priestly journals were kept up continually after the foundation of the new temple," and that "after the Asmonæans became high-priests and national princes, they were elevated to the rank of the previous annals of the kingdom."[1] He even quotes 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24 as favouring this view.[2] But though that passage distinctly proves the keeping of such journals from the accession of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135), it furnishes an argument against, rather than for, their composition during the preceding period. For it is difficult to conceive of any reason having determined the writer of the Book on concluding his own narrative with the accession of John, other than the fact that he considered the existence of the high-priestly chronicles from that date to render the continuance of his history unnecessary.[3] In fact, the troubles of the time were so great from the beginning of the oppression of Epiphanes, B.C. 170, to the accession of Simon, B.C. 143, that we can scarcely imagine any records kept, so that the question seems to narrow itself to this: Did or did not Simon leave an official record of his high-priesthood? The answer would seem to be, that, however probable it may appear that he would have done so, there is no evidence that he did. In any case, the high-priestly journals must have failed our author for the greater portion of the time whereof he treats, and it becomes necessary to consider whether we cannot trace his main narrative, certainly or probably, to a different source.

It has been suggested that he took his account of the origin of the insurrection and of the exploits of Judas from an earlier literary work treating expressly of that period.[4] His own words in chap. ix. 22 have been supposed to imply that such a work existed; and the peculiarly poetical character of the portion of the Book dealing with the history of Judas has been thought to be best accounted

[1] 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 462, E. T.

[2] See note [2] *ad loc.*

[3] See the remarks of Grimm ('Einleitung,' § 6, p. xxiii.), "Da der Berichterstatter unter Verweisung auf Johan. Hyrcan's Jahrbücher den Faden der Erzählung gerade da fallen lässt, wo ihn diese Jahrbücher aufnehmen, so scheinen über die Thaten und Schicksale der drei Vorgänger Hyrcan's keine derartigen Jahrbücher vorhanden gewesen zu seyn, indem in solchem Falle der Verfasser sein Unternehmen für überflüssig erachtet haben würde."

[4] Smith, 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 171.

for by the view that he there transcribed from a work cast in a poetic mould. But this argument, though ingenious, is weak. It is certainly not said in ch. ix. 22, that any written account existed of the exploits of Judas except that of our author; and the difference of tone between the earlier and later chapters of his treatise is sufficiently explained by the superior grandeur and pathos of the events related in the former. The most heroic deeds contained in his history were those of Mattathias and Judas; the latter phases of the war were, comparatively, commonplace. Thus the style merely varies with the subject-matter.

If then the writer is not to be viewed as having derived the general facts of his history either from a chronicle kept by the High Priests and deposited in the archives of the kingdom, or from any work of an earlier historian, what other source is there which can be regarded as open to him? The answer to this question is twofold. In the first place, it is quite possible that he may have written largely from his own recollections. If he wrote, as Ewald supposes, in B.C. 105, and was seventy years old at the time, which cannot be regarded as improbable, his boyhood would have synchronised with the time of Mattathias and Judas, his early manhood with that of Jonathan, and his middle age with the pontificate of Simon, so that the bulk of his history would be an account of the events of his own day. If, on the other hand, he was a comparatively young man when he wrote, he would have had to obtain his facts from those among his elder contemporaries who had witnessed and shared in the transactions. As there are now (1887) living many Waterloo heroes, so in B.C. 105 there would have existed in the Jewish community persons who had seen the "abomination of desolation" on the altar of burnt sacrifice, who had fled into the wilderness with Mattathias, and fought in the early battles of Judas. In default of personal experience the writer would naturally have recourse to these veterans, and would receive at their mouth the graphic descriptions, so minute, so exact, so full of geographical detail, which charm us in his narrative. On the whole, it may be said that the work is most probably based in part upon the writer's personal knowledge of the facts which he records, more largely upon inquiries which he had made of persons present at events which he did not himself witness, and partly also, but to a comparatively small extent, on documents laid up in the Jewish archives or inscribed on bronze tablets and set up in some public place in Jerusalem (chap. xi. 37; xiv. 18, 27).

§ VIII. Religious Tone and Character.

The strong religious feeling of the writer, his deep regard for the Law, the Temple, and the Temple worship, his horror at the profanities of Epiphanes and the blasphemies of Nicanor, and his earnest belief in a superintending Providence, are very apparent. But he is careful not to obtrude the religious element into his narrative unnecessarily. His nature is particularly reverent and reticent. He declines, as a general rule, to introduce into his treatise the Holy Names of "God" and "Lord," whereby the Supreme Being was commonly designated.[1] He does not even expressly refer the triumphant successes of the Maccabean princes to the Divine protection and assistance. It would not, perhaps, be remarkable that he mentions no miraculous occurrence as taking place during the war, but for the fact that the authors of the Second and Third Books relate so many. It is clear that he himself believed the successes of the Asmonæans to have been achieved, without miraculous interference, by the ordinary action of those causes and laws which govern the world. Among these causes, however, he assigned an important place to the action of God upon men's minds, whereby courage is infused or a panic fear produced, so that "the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host" (chap. iii. 19), but "many are shut up into the hands of a few" (ib. 18).

The principle of reticence on sacred subjects may also have caused the absence from his writings of any clear notice of the Messianic hopes which prevailed in his day, and which appear from

[1] See above, § IV., *sub fin.*

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the 'Psalms of Solomon' and the 'Book of Enoch,' works of the same age, to have been raised to a high pitch by the successes of the Maccabean princes in their struggle after independence. He has indeed, in one place, a regretful reference to the suspension of prophecy in the past (chap. ix. 27), and twice he "anticipates the future coming of a Prophet as of one who should make a direct revelation of the will of God (chap. iv. 46), and supersede the temporary arrangements of a merely civil dynasty (chap. xiv. 41)."[1] But the Messianic idea occupies no prominent place in his Book, which is narrative, not didactic; and which, so far as it teaches at all, teaches by example, not by inculcation of belief or even definite statements of doctrine.

[1] Westcott in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 174.

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THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

CHAPTER I.

14 *Antiochus gave leave to set up the fashions of the Gentiles in Jerusalem, 22 and spoiled it, and the temple in it, 57 and set up therein the abomination of desolation, 63 and slew those that did circumcise their children.*

AND it happened, after that Alexander *son* of Philip, the Macedonian, who came out of the land of ‖Chettiim, had smitten Darius king of the Persians and Medes, that B. C. cir. 331.

‖ Or, *Chethiim.*

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Preliminary Historical Sketch.

1–9. The author introduces his narrative by a brief summary of the events which had placed the Jews under Greek rule—to wit, the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the continued power of his successors. These events covered a space of a hundred and fifty-six years (B.C. 331–175), counting from the battle of Arbela. It is remarkable that he makes no mention of the circumstances, that, in the original division of Alexander's empire, Judæa fell to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and that its transfer to Syria did not take place till B.C. 203, when it voluntarily placed itself under the Seleucidæ.

1. *And it happened.*] The Greek words, καὶ ἐγένετο, are a translation of the Hebrew *vayĕhi*, so frequently used by the Old Testament writers at the commencement of their narratives (Josh. i. 1; Judg. i. 1; Ruth i. 1; 1 Sam. i. 1; Neh. i. 1; Esth. i. 1; Jonah i. 1). The original intention of the phrase was to connect the narrative which it introduced with some previous history; but at the time at which this book was written it had lost this special force, and was a mere archaism. It would be best translated in this place "Now it happened."

Alexander son of Philip.] Alexander the Great is thus distinguished from the Seleucid Alexanders (Balas and Zabinas), with whom the author and his readers would be familiar. They were known respectively as the sons of Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas.

the Macedonian.] The epithet belongs to Alexander, not to Philip. It further distinguishes him from other Alexanders.

the land of Chettiim.] Chettiim, or Chittim (Num. xxiv. 24; Dan. xi. 30), seems primarily to have designated Cyprus (Joseph. 'A. J.,' i. 6, § 1), whose chief town in the more ancient times was Cition; but a later usage extended the term to the islands off the coast of Asia Minor generally, and even to the European coast that lay beyond them. Here "the land of Chettiim" can only be Greece or Macedon. Grimm well compares the loose employment of the word "Frank" by Turks and Arabs.

smitten.] *I.e.* "defeated." The writer uses the verb παταάσσω in this sense constantly (see ch. iii. 11; iv. 2; v. 7, &c.). It is a Hebraism, common in the Septuagint (Num. xxi. 24; Deut. ii. 33, vii. 2; Josh. viii. 22, 24, &c.).

Darius king of the Persians.] This is Darius III., or Darius Codomannus, the same king whose name occurs in Nehem. xii. 22. Alexander defeated Darius III. twice—at Issus in B.C. 333, and two years later at Arbela, in the ancient Assyria. As it was this last victory which gave him the empire of the East, it is no doubt the one here intended.

and Medes.] It is curious to find "the Medes" still obtaining such honourable mention. No doubt they were always regarded as the chief of the subject nations; but it is in the earlier times of the Persian empire that their rank is most apparent. In Daniel Media even has precedence over Persia (Dan. v. 28; vi. 8, 12, 15). In Esther the position is reversed (Esth. i. 3, 14, 18, 19), except in one place (ch. x. 2). In Ezra and Nehemiah the Medes drop wholly out of sight. It would seem, however, that their honourable position was, in point of fact, maintained until the close of the Empire (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.,' iv. 7, § 2; xii. 4, § 11).

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B. C. cir. 331. he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece,

2 And made many wars, and won many strong holds, and slew the kings of the earth,

3 And went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him; whereupon ‖ he was exalted, and his heart was lifted up. B. C. cir. 325.

‖ Or, *his heart was exalted and lifted up.*

he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece.] There is probably some corruption here, or some mistranslation of the Hebrew original. The Syriac version has—"he reigned in his stead, but previously he had reigned over Greece," and this may give us a clue to the real intention of the writer. It is absurd to suppose, with Eichhorn and Hengstenberg, that he was so ignorant of history as to imagine that Darius Codomannus had been King of Greece.

2. *And made many wars.*] Some of these were in Europe, before he crossed into Asia, as those with the Triballi and Getæ, and with the Illyrians. The remainder were in Asia, and included his war with Darius and his conquests, after Darius's death, in Bactria, Sogdiana, Arachosia, and India. Alexander's career of victory covered the space between B.C. 335 and B.C. 324.

and won many strong holds.] As Thebes, in B.C. 335; Miletus, Halicarnassus, and Celænæ, in B.C. 334; Tyre and Gaza, in B.C. 332; Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, in B.C. 331; Ecbatana and Rhagæ in B.C. 330; Bactra and Maracanda, in B.C. 329; Choriene and the rock of Aornus, in B.C. 327. Alexander made it a point of honour to take every stronghold which refused to submit to him (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 30; iv. 17, 18, 22, &c.).

and slew the kings of the earth.] This is scarcely a correct statement, since Alexander's clemency was remarkable. Probably the writer was not intimately acquainted with the great conqueror's history, and moreover expressed himself rhetorically, meaning simply that he prevailed over all his adversaries. It is quite inadmissible to regard him as alluding, in such a connection as the present, to the murder of Clitus, or the execution of suspected officers.

3. *And went through to the ends of the earth.*] Samarcand, the Sutlej, and the Indian Ocean were "ends of the earth" to all but a select few in the first and second centuries B.C. Alexander's soldiers had themselves complained, by the mouth of Cœnus, that he had led them to the extreme limit of the habitable world ("Pæne in ultimo mundi fine consistimus." Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' ix. 3).

and took spoils.] The booty which Alexander acquired in the course of his conquests was, according to all accounts, immense. At Issus the Persian camp was found full of gold and silver plate, the royal tent exceeding all others in magnificence. A large treasure was captured, soon after the battle, at Damascus (Arr. 'Exp. Alex.' ii. 11, § 13; Parmen. ap. Athen. 'Deipn.' xiii. p. 607). Another considerable gain was made at Arbela, after the great fight (Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' v. 1). But all these were small matters compared with the enormous captures made at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. The spoils of Babylon enabled the victor to give to every man in his army sums varying from six pounds sterling to eighteen; at Susa the treasury contained 50,000 talents, or above 12,000,000*l.* of our money; while at Persepolis the value of the precious metals captured is reckoned at above 27,000,000*l.* (See Grote, 'History of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 394.) When Alexander reached Ecbatana, he deposited there the almost incredible sum of 180,000 talents, or above 43,000,000*l.* (*Ibid.* p. 400.)

insomuch that the earth was quiet before him.] Literally, "And the earth was quiet before him." No one, *i.e.*, ventured to oppose him (compare ch. xi. 38)—his will was law to all.

he was exalted.] Rather, as in the margin, "his heart was exalted." (Compare Hosea xiii. 6.) The effect produced on Alexander by the intoxication of success is abundantly noted by profane historians. "Here," says Curtius (*i.e.* in Parthia), "he openly gave the rein to his desires, and exchanged restraint and moderation, the highest excellences of exalted fortune, for pride and licence. He laid aside the customs of his ancestors, as unsuited to his own greatness, and, adopting those of the Persian court, aspired to equal the lofty grandeur of the gods. He began to allow himself to be worshipped by prostrate crowds, and aimed at making his victorious companions in arms as base and servile as their vanquished foes. He assumed the diadem of purple spotted with white which Darius had worn, and took the Persian habit, regardless of the evil omen involved in replacing the ensigns of conquest by those of defeat. He boasted that thus he bore the spoils of Asia on his person; but in reality with the spoils he donned Asiatic manners, and added to pride of array an insolent and overbearing spirit" (Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' vi. 6, § 1; compare Arrian, 'Exp. Al.' iv. 8, § 7).

B. C. cir. 323.

4 And he gathered a mighty strong host, and ruled over countries, and nations, and ‖ kings, who became tributaries unto him.

5 And after these things he fell sick, and perceived ‖ that he should die.

6 Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.

7 So Alexander reigned twelve years, and *then* died.

8 And his servants bare rule every one in his place.

‖ Or, *kingdoms which became, &c.*

‖ Gr. *that he dieth.*

B. C. cir. 323.

4. *he gathered a mighty strong host.*] The army with which Alexander invaded Asia amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 4,500 horse (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 305); but the reinforcements which he received from time to time were large, and at Arbela his troops did not fall far short of 50,000 (Arr. 'Exp. Al.' iii. 12). It is not probable that he ever collected together a much larger force than this. The "strength" of his army was in its quality rather than its numbers.

and ruled over . . . kings.] The marginal "kingdoms" is certainly wrong. By τύραννοι the writer probably means "satraps," or "rulers of provinces." Compare Esther ix. 3, where *akhashdarpĕnim*, "satraps," is rendered by τύραννοι. Alexander for the most part kept up the Persian satrapial system. In some places, however, he allowed petty kings to retain their titles (Arrian, ii. 13, 20; iii. 2, &c.; Justin, xi. 10).

who became tributaries unto him.] It was among the main duties of the satraps under the Persian governmental system to collect the tribute of the several provinces and remit it to the Court. Hence had arisen the immense accumulations already mentioned. (See the comment on *v.* 3.) It was Alexander's intention to continue the same system (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 469); but he had scarcely time to establish it fully before his premature death.

5. *he fell sick.*] Literally, "he fell upon his bed," or, as we say, "took to his bed." (Compare Judith viii. 3, where nearly the same expression is used.) Alexander's illness lasted nine days (Arrian, vii. 25, 26; Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 76); but it was only for the last two days that he remained in bed without rising.

and perceived that he should die.] Alexander seems scarcely to have realised the fact that he was dying until very shortly before he became speechless. Had he done so, he would probably have taken more decided steps with regard to the succession than he did.

6. *he called his servants.*] By "his servants" the writer means "his courtiers." Compare 1 Kings xi. 26, xvi. 9; 2 Kings xxi. 23; Matt. xiv. 2, &c.

such as were honourable.] Or "such as were held in repute."

brought up with him from his youth.] The "Companions," as they were called—reduced by the deaths of Hephæstion, Parmenio, Philotas, and Clitus to some nine or ten—were Antigonus, Cassander, Craterus, Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Meleager, Menander, Perdiccas, Pithon, and Seleucus. The Macedonian system placed the young nobles on a near equality with the heir-apparent.

parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.] Here the author reports an incorrect tradition, or follows an untrustworthy authority. Few facts of history are more certain than that the great Macedonian made no disposition of his dominions before his decease. In his last hours the problem which suggested itself to him was, who should be his successor. He never conceived the idea of dividing his empire. It was to go "to him who was worthiest," according to his last words; to Perdiccas, according to his last act, the transfer to that general of his signet-ring. When, however, political exigencies had produced the partition of his dominions, the rumour soon spread that this had been done by Alexander's desire. The general report was, that he had made the division by will (Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' x. 10, § 5; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; Mos. Chor. 'Hist. Arm.' ii. 1; Joh. Mal. 'Chronograph.' viii. p. 195; Diod. Sic., xx. 81). It would seem, however, from the present passage, that there was another version of the story also current, by which the distribution made after his demise was said to be in accordance with instructions given by him upon his death-bed. Both reports may be traced to the desire of legitimating what had been done by referring it to the express commandment, spoken or written, of the half-deified king.

7. *Alexander reigned twelve years.*] From July, B.C. 336, to May, B.C. 323 (Clinton, 'F. H.,' vol. ii. pp. 281–284), or twelve years and ten months, seemingly. Diodorus says (xvii. 117), twelve years and seven months; Arrian (vii. 28), twelve years and eight months.

8. *his servants bare rule every one in his*

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B. C. cir. 323. 9 And after his death they all put crowns *upon themselves;* so did their sons after them many years: and evils were multiplied in the earth.

B. C. 175. 10 And there came out of them a wicked root, Antiochus *surnamed* Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at

place.] Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt; Pithon in Media; Antigonus in Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia; Eumenes the Cardian in Cappadocia; Leonnatus in Mysia; Lysimachus in Thrace; Menander in Lydia; Asander in Caria; Philotas in Cilicia; Laomedon in Syria; Antipater and Craterus, as guardians and regents for Philip Arrhidæus, in Macedon.

9. *after his death they all put crowns upon themselves.*] The author does not state that the crowns were assumed *immediately* after Alexander's death, nor does he, in all probability, intend his expression, "they *all* put crowns upon themselves," to be taken literally. The greater part of the chiefs above named did assume the diadem; and ultimately all the fragments of Alexander's empire became *kingdoms* under *crowned* rulers. It is the latter fact which the author has specially in his mind.

their sons after them.] All the monarchies formed out of Alexander's empire were hereditary, the right of succession belonging to the eldest son. Naturally, each such prince assumed the diadem on his father's demise.

many years.] From Alexander's death, in B.C. 323, to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, in B.C. 175, was a hundred and forty-eight years—nearly a century and a half. During the whole of this time "evils were multiplied upon the earth." Ewald says of "the Greek age," as he calls it: "The first decades of this period passed away amid the continuous wars of Alexander, and the *still more devastating campaigns of his successors*, which were little favourable to the fusion of the two nationalities. Beneath the tinsel of Greek culture *the times were exceedingly disordered; and all the nations of Asia had much to suffer* from the craving for new dominions and the perpetual wars of the successors of Alexander, whose own thirst for conquest was only quenched by death" ('History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 225, E. T.). Palestine was, during the whole period, the battle-ground between the rival powers of Egypt and Syria, whose armies were continually traversing the territory, and carrying fire and sword into its most sequestered districts and hamlets.

§ 2. ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, AND COMMENCEMENT OF HELLENIZING PRACTICES.

10–15. From his brief introductory sketch the writer passes at a bound to the special subject of his narrative—the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the events which grew out of it. After noting the accession of the hated monarch, he gives an account of the proceedings soon after taken by a Hellenizing party among the Jews themselves, who were opposed to the ordinary Hebrew exclusiveness, and desired a fusion with the heathen. This party had grown up by degrees under the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule, and embraced a considerable portion of the upper and middle classes, who were attracted by the culture of the Greeks, by their light-heartedness, by the splendour of their cities, and the pleasurable character of their amusements. The Greeks had built numerous towns in Palestine; had introduced their language, literature, and art; had given the Jews privileges at Alexandria and elsewhere, and studied and appreciated to some extent the Jewish sacred writings. Without any violent efforts, such as those made by Epiphanes (*vv.* 41–61), there was serious danger of the Jews relinquishing all their peculiar tenets and usages, and becoming amalgamated with Greco-Macedonians.

10. *a wicked root.*] The word *shôresh* in Hebrew, and its correspondent, ῥίζα, in Greek, though properly meaning "root," are used also to denote a sprout or sapling which springs up from an old stem or stock. (Cf. Is. x. 10, liii. 2; Rev. v. 5, xxii. 16.) And this seems to be its sense here. On the "wickedness" of Antiochus Epiphanes, see Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 288–9: "Antiochus IV. was one of those strange characters in whom an eccentricity, touching insanity on the left and genius on the right, combined with absolute power and lawless passion to produce a portentous result. . . . There was an extravagance, a littleness, in all his demeanour, which agrees with the unintelligible madman of the Gentile writers, and 'the vile person' of the Hebrew poets and historians."

Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes.] Or "illustrious." Appian ridiculously connects the epithet with the sudden appearance (ἐπιφάνεια) of the monarch on his return from his Roman captivity ('Syriaca,' § 45). But it had been previously borne by Ptolemy V. in Egypt, and is evidently on a par with the other flattering titles of the time, Euergetes, Philadelphus, Eupator, Callinicus, and the like. The coins of the king bear the title very commonly.

son of Antiochus.] Epiphanes succeeded

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B.C. 175. Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

11 In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us: for since we departed from them ‖ we have had much sorrow. B.C. 174. ‖ Gr. *many evils have found us.*

12 So this device pleased them well.

13 Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them

his brother, Seleucus IV., Philopator (2 Macc. iv. 7); but he was the son of Antiochus III., commonly called "Antiochus the Great." Antiochus III. reigned from B.C. 223 to B.C. 187; Seleucus IV. from that date to B.C. 175.

who had been an hostage at Rome.] The relative "who" refers to Epiphanes, and not to his father. When the Romans quarrelled with Antiochus the Great, and, having invaded Asia in force, defeated him at Magnesia (B.C. 190), they required him, as one of the terms of peace, to give hostages for his good behaviour. These were twenty in number; and among them was his younger son, Antiochus (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 38). Shortly before his death (B.C. 176) Seleucus, the elder son and successor of Antiochus the Great, exchanged his own son, Demetrius, for his brother, Antiochus; and the latter was on his way home when Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus, his treasurer (*ibid.* § 45).

the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.] The "era of the Greeks" commenced in October, B.C. 312, when Seleucus Nicator assumed the diadem. The 137th year of the Greeks would consequently commence in October, B.C. 175, and terminate in October, B.C. 174. Epiphanes probably became king early in this interval. The Seleucid era was not only employed by the Syrians, and therefore, naturally, by their subjects the Jews, but was even adopted by the independent nation of the Parthians, and is found upon their coins down to the very close of the empire, A.D. 226. (See the author's 'Sixth Monarchy,' p. 367.)

11. *In those days.*] A common note of time in Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek. (See Ex. ii. 11; Judg. xviii. 1, xix. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 1; 2 Kings xx. 1; Matt. iii. 1, &c.) It always implies a certain vagueness, meaning, not "at that time," but "about that time."

went there out of Israel wicked men.] Grimm compares Deut. xiii. 13, where the LXX. have ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ἄνδρες παράνομοι. "Wicked men" was probably in the original "sons of Belial." The writer, it will be observed, does Epiphanes the justice to allow that the first steps in the Hellenizing movement, to which he is so much opposed, were taken by an irreligious party among the Jews themselves, who courted the change which Epiphanes afterwards strove to bring about. Such a latitudinarian spirit first shewed itself among the Jews in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, by whom it was sternly, and (as it would seem) for a time successfully, repressed (Ezra ix. and x.; Nehem. xiii. 1–28). Now it had once more broken out, and come to a head. The chief patron of the Hellenizing party was Joshua, a brother of the high-priest Onias, who Grecized his name into Jason, and, betaking himself to Antioch, entered into negotiations with Epiphanes, which had the results indicated in *vv.* 13–15.

Let us . . . make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us.] The author does not mean "with the surrounding heathen generally"—the Syrians, Phœnicians, Philistines, Arabians, Egyptians, &c.,—but only with the Greeks. The Greeks had planted so many cities in every part of Palestine, that they might well be said to dwell "round about" Judæa. That a definite "covenant," or agreement, was made between Jason and Epiphanes appears from 2 Macc. iv. 7–10.

since we departed from them.] *I.e.* "since we separated ourselves off from the rest of the world by our peculiar customs," or, in other words, "since we accepted the law of Moses as the law of the state."

we have had much sorrow.] Literally, as in the margin, "many evils have found us." No doubt certain inconveniences followed on the maintenance by the Jews of their exclusive position as "the people of God," separated from and exalted above all the nations of the earth. The heathen resented their exclusiveness, and were led to hamper their commerce, to inflict on them petty annoyances, and to make them the object of their ridicule. These inconveniences were magnified into "evils" by the Hellenizing party, who proposed to escape them by throwing down every barrier, and effecting a fusion of two incompatible religions and nationalities.

12. *this device pleased them well.*] Literally, "the saying was good in their eyes"—*i.e.* "what was said pleased them."

13. *they went to the king.*] Compare 2 Macc. iv. 7–10, where we learn that Jason, the brother of the high-priest Onias, led the embassy.

B.C. 174. licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen:

14 Whereupon [a] they ‖ built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen:

15 And [b] made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and [c] were sold to do mischief.

16 Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he

B.C. 174.

[a] 2 Mac. 4. 12.
‖ Or, *set up an open school at Jerusalem.*
[b] 1 Cor. 7. 18.
[c] 1 Kings 21. 25.

171.

who gave them licence.] It would seem (from 2 Macc. vii. 9) that a royal licence was needed for the opening of a palæstra, or gymnasium, at Jerusalem. Possibly such a licence was required everywhere, since the gymnasia were centres of attraction, and too many provincial gymnasia would be viewed with jealousy by the metropolis. But perhaps the need arose from the peculiar circumstances of Jerusalem, where it may have been thought that the event might produce an outbreak, and that therefore the express authorization of the king was necessary.

14. *Whereupon they built a place of exercise.*] Or "gymnasium." Gymnasia were courts surrounded by walls, and containing exercise-grounds, rooms, and porticoes, intended for the bodily training of both youths and adults. Their most essential features were an open space, usually either square or oblong, surrounded by colonnades, in which most of the exercises—*e.g.* wrestling, leaping, throwing the quoit, boxing, and throwing the javelin—were performed; a stadium, or course for the foot-race; and a xystus, or quiet recreation-ground, usually planted with trees. Among the rooms were one for dressing and undressing, a cold-bath room, a hot-bath room, a room where oil was rubbed in, a perspiring-room (*sudatorium*), a cooling-room (*frigidarium*), and others. The rooms and exercise-grounds were continually thronged by those who frequented the gymnasia for gymnastic purposes; the porticoes furnished agreeable lounges for philosophers, rhetoricians, artists, and spectators, who wished to while away a leisure hour. Dean Stanley says with much force, in speaking of the erection of this first gymnasium in Jerusalem, "It is startling to think of the sudden influx of Grecian manners into the very centre of Palestine. The modesty of the sons and daughters of Abraham was shocked by the establishment of the Greek palæstra under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12), where, in defiance of some of the most sensitive feelings of their countrymen, the most active of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves, and ran, wrestled, leaped in the public sports, like the Grecian athletes, wearing only the broad-brimmed hat, in imitation of the head-gear of the god Hermes, guardian of the gymnastic festivals. Even the priests in the Temple caught the infection (2 Macc. iv. 14), left their sacrificial duties unfinished, and ran down from the Temple court to take part in the spectacle, as soon as they heard the signal for throwing the discus, which was to lead off the games." ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291.)

15. *And made themselves uncircumcised.*] *I.e.* sought to conceal their circumcision by means of a further surgical operation. (See Celsus, 'De Medic.' vii. 18; and compare 1 Cor. vii. 18.)

forsook the holy covenant.] "The holy covenant" is not so much the covenant of circumcision made with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 10), as that far broader covenant made between God and His people at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 3–8). The expression seems to be adopted from Dan. xi. 28–30, where it is used three times in connection with the wicked doings of Epiphanes.

joined themselves to the heathen.] Literally, "yoked themselves." (Compare 2 Cor. vi. 14.)

were sold to do mischief.] Compare 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; 2 Kings xvii. 17.

§ 3. The War of Epiphanes with Egypt.

16–19. The war of Antiochus Epiphanes with Egypt was not a pure war of aggression. It was provoked by the Egyptian king, Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who claimed Cœlesyria and Palestine as the dowry of his mother, Cleopatra, and, when Epiphanes refused to yield them, flew to arms and actually invaded the Syrian territory (B.C. 172). Antiochus in B.C. 171, having collected a considerable army, undertook the recovery of the places occupied by the Egyptians, and, having succeeded in his object so far, pressed forward into Egypt, defeated the forces of Ptolemy at Pelusium, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole country. He would probably have succeeded, had not the Romans interposed, and required him to relinquish his conquests.

16. *when the kingdom was established.*] Compare 1 Kings ii. 12, 46; 2 Chr. i. 1; 2 Kings xiv. 5. There was usually a time of trouble at the commencement of an Oriental monarch's reign, at the end of which his power became "established." Epiphanes' troubles lasted from B.C. 175 to B.C. 171.

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B.C. 171. thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms.

17 Wherefore he entered into Egypt [d] with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,

18 And made war against Ptolemee king of Egypt: but Ptolemee was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. B.C. 170

19 Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.

20 And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred forty and third year, and [e] went up against Israel 169.

[d] Dan. 11. 25.

[e] Dan. 8. 12.

he thought to reign over Egypt.] Antiochus can scarcely have begun the war with this expectation; but after the battle of Pelusium he no doubt entertained the idea. Had it not been for the Romans, he would probably have effected his purpose.

of two realms.] Rather, "of the two realms"—*i.e.* Syria and Egypt.

17. *he entered into Egypt with a great multitude.*] Rather, "with a strong force." Compare Dan. xi. 25. The number of his forces is nowhere recorded.

chariots, and elephants, and horsemen.] The employment of war-chariots by the Seleucidæ is noticed by Appian ('Syriaca,' § 52), Livy (xxxvii. 40), and others. They are said to have been armed with spears projecting from the pole, and scythes (or rather sickles) attached to the naves of the wheels and the ends of the yokes (Liv. xxxvii. 41; compare 2 Macc. xiii. 2). Elephants were also employed by the Syrian kings in large numbers (Liv. xxxvii. 40, xxxviii. 38; Polyb. xxii. 26, xxxi. 3, &c.). Eighty are said to have been brought by Lysias against Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 4).

and a great navy.] The march of armies from Syria into Egypt, or from Egypt into Syria, is much facilitated by the support of a "navy." The great Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties made Syrian expeditions both by land and sea (Brugsch, 'Hist. of Egypt,' vol. i. pp. 371–3, &c.). So did the Psammetichi (Herod. ii. 159, 161). When Cambyses invaded Egypt, he took care to be accompanied by Greek and Phœnician ships (*ib.* iii. 13, 19). Alexander's long delay at Tyre when on his way to Egypt was to secure a naval force. A navy is especially needed when the attack is made from Syria, since not only is it serviceable for conveying supplies, but necessary in order to command the Egyptian waters. The fleet of Epiphanes is mentioned by Livy (xliv. 19; xlv. 11). It proved stronger than the Egyptian fleet.

18. *Ptolemee king of Egypt.*] This king was Ptolemy VI., called Philometor, the son of Ptolemy Epiphanes and of Cleopatra, Antiochus's sister. He was a weak prince, and no more than seventeen years of age at the time of Antiochus's invasion.

Ptolemee was afraid of him, and fled.] This is scarcely in accordance with the history as it has come down to us from other writers. At the first great battle near Pelusium Ptolemy appears not to have been present (Diod. Sic. p. 579, ed. Wesseling). Afterwards, fearing perhaps the consequences of further resistance, he submitted to his uncle, and became his tool; but he never fled from any show of force, much less from any actual engagement.

19. *they got the strong cities.*] As Pelusium, Memphis, and others. Alexandria still held out under Ptolemy Physcon, the brother of Philometor, whom the Egyptians had placed at their head when Philometor submitted to Antiochus.

§ 4. THE RETURN OF ANTIOCHUS FROM EGYPT, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS AT JERUSALEM.

20. *he returned again.*] The return of Antiochus to Syria in the winter of B.C. 170–169 was partly in consequence of his inability to capture Alexandria, partly on account of the interference of the Romans (Polyb. xxviii. 15, *ad fin.*), whom he did not dare to defy. His proud spirit must have been deeply hurt at the issue of his two years' war; and he was consequently prepared to vent his pent-up anger on the first victim that offered itself.

and went up against Israel and Jerusalem.] A pretext was found in the series of events related in 2 Macc. iv. 23–43; v. 5–7. Jason, outbid and deprived of the high-priesthood by Menelaus, had raised a rebellion, and obtained certain successes. Various other troubles had occurred. But the real ground of the attack was cupidity. The Syrian treasury was exhausted, and needed to be replenished. The wealth of the Temple was well known, and had already provoked one attempt (2 Macc. iii. 6–40). Now another was to be made with greater success. The angry king, smarting under disappointments incurred in Egypt, leads his army against Jerusalem, and, though unresisted, treats it as a captured city.

B. C. 169. and Jerusalem with a great multitude,

21 And *f* entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof,

22 And the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, ‖ all which he pulled off.

23 He took also the silver and the gold, and the ‖ precious vessels: also he took the hidden treasures which he found.

24 And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly.

25 Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were;

26 So that the princes and elders

f Dan. 11. 31.

‖ Or, *he pilled all things.*

B. C. 169.

‖ Gr. *desirable.*

21. *entered proudly into the sanctuary.*] The assault and capture of the city, enlarged upon in 2 Macc. v. 11–14, are omitted by the present writer, who cares for nothing in comparison with the profanation of the Holy Place, and the other sacrilegious acts of the misguided king. Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, served as guide to Epiphanes on the occasion (2 Macc. v. 15), and led him into the inner sanctuary, or Holy of Holies (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 1, 48).

the golden altar.] *I.e.* the altar of incense, which stood inside the Temple, just in front of the veil. (Compare Ex. xxx. 1–6; 1 Kings vii. 48.) Solomon's altar was no doubt carried off by Nebuchadnezzar; but a similar one had been made and placed within the Temple by Zerubbabel or Ezra.

the candlestick of light.] The seven-branched lampstand, which stood against the south wall of the Holy Place (Ex. xxv. 31–37; xl. 24), and was an essential part of the Temple furniture (2 Chr. xiii. 11). Such a "candlestick," however often carried off, was always restored; and the Arch of Titus shews us that the Romans found one in the Temple when they finally captured and destroyed it.

the vessels thereof.] The "lamps," "tongs," and "snuff-dishes" of Ex. xxv. 37, 38, which were all "of pure gold."

22. *And the table of the shewbread.*] See Ex. xxv. 23–30; 1 Kings vii. 48.

the pouring vessels and the vials.] In the original σπονδεῖα καὶ φιάλας—"flagons and chalices"—vessels to contain the wine for the drink-offerings, and cups or goblets out of which to pour them. Compare Ex. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16; where, however, the φιάλαι are called κύαθοι.

the censers of gold.] Incense-pots, in which incense was offered on the table of shewbread, together with the loaves (Lev. xxiv. 5). They are mentioned in Ex. xxv. 29 and xxxvii. 16 (where the A.V. translates by "spoons"), and are represented on the Arch of Titus.

the veil.] See Ex. xxvi. 31, xl. 21; 2 Chron. iii. 14.

the crowns.] Compare below, ch. iv. 57. Whether these "crowns" were votive offerings hung in front of the Temple, or the capitals of the pillars of the porch, is uncertain.

the golden ornaments that were before the temple . . . he pulled off.] Much of the ornamentation consisted of woodwork plated with gold (Ex. xxvi. 29; 1 Kings vi. 20–22; 2 Kings xviii. 16). This Epiphanes stripped off.

23. *the silver and the gold and the precious vessels.*] *I.e.* all the gold and silver vessels that he found in the Temple—an example of *hendiadys.*

also . . . the hidden treasures.] *I.e.* the contents of the various treasuries, whether public or private. (See Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 9, § 4; 2 Macc. iii. 10–12.) The value of the precious metals carried off was estimated at 1800 silver talents, or nearly 350,000*l.* (See 2 Macc. v. 21.)

24. *having made a great massacre.*] At his entry, not at his departure (2 Macc. v. 12–14). The slain were estimated at 80,000; but this was probably an exaggeration.

§ 5. The Mourning of the Jews after his Departure.

25–28. Words are poor to tell of the effect on the Jewish mind of these terrible calamities. Nothing like them had occurred since the destruction of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. The fact that Heliodorus had been so recently baffled in a somewhat similar attempt (2 Macc. iii. 14–29) must have made them the more unexpected. The writer graphically describes in four short verses the general consternation.

26. *the princes and elders.*] Probably the same as the "council" or "senate" of 1 Macc. xii. 6, and of 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27—a body corresponding to the later Sanhedrin,

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B. C. 170. mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed.

27 Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness.

28 The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion.

167. 29 And after two years fully expired ℰ the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Juda, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude,

ℰ 2 Mac. 5. 24.

30 And spake peaceable words unto them, but *all was* deceit: for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people of Israel. B. C. 167.

31 And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side.

32 But the women and children took they captive, and possessed the cattle.

33 Then builded they the city of David with a great and strong wall,

which was composed of chief priests (heads of courses), elders, and scribes.

§ 6. Second Attack upon Jerusalem, by Apollonius, Chief Collector of Tribute.

29–32. The circumstances of this attack are given with some particularity in 2 Macc. v. 24–27. We find there the name of the leader, Apollonius; the number of his army, 22,000 men; and the fact that the attack was made on the sabbath day, suddenly and without a pretext, by the armed soldiers, who had been received peaceably into the town, upon the unarmed Judæans. The intention must have been the same as that of certain *fusillards* in a neighbouring capital in our own day—to strike terror into the inhabitants and reduce them into a state of abject subservience.

29. *after two years.*] In December B.C. 168, or January B.C. 167 (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 321).

fully expired.] Literally, "years of days"—a Hebraism. Compare Gen. xli. 1; Lev. xxv. 29; 2 Sam. xiii. 25, &c.

with a great multitude.] Rather, "with a strong force"—an army of 22,000 men (2 Macc. v. 24).

30. *spake peaceable words.*] Compare 2 Macc. v. 25; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 4. Had he come as an open enemy, the inhabitants might have shut the gates, and stood on their defence with a good prospect of success.

but all was deceit.] Rather, "deceitfully."

he fell suddenly upon the city.] Waiting for the sabbath, he gave his soldiers orders to arm themselves, and, sallying forth into the streets, to kill all the men whom they met in any part of the town. The women and children they were to seize and sell for slaves. (See 2 Macc. v. 24–26.) The sale of these numerous captives (as Ewald notes) "helped to fill the empty treasury of the king."

31. *he set it on fire.*] There can scarcely have been any intention to burn the city, or the intention would have been carried out. Probably, in the confusion of the plundering, various houses were set on fire accidentally.

pulled down the houses and walls.] *I.e.* demolished the fortifications, or at any rate broke large breaches in them, and destroyed such houses as abutted on the demolished portions of the walls.

32. *and possessed the cattle.*] On the keeping of cattle within the precincts of cities in ancient times, see Jonah iv. 11. The word employed (κτήνη) will, in its Hellenistic use, include horses.

§ 7. Permanent Occupation of a part of Jerusalem by the Syrians.

33–37. The object of the occupation of "the city of David" was clearly to molest such Jews as wished to visit the Temple from the "upper city" by crossing the Tyropœon, and at the same time to make into a special Syrian stronghold the most commanding position in the whole town. It is to be remembered that the "acra," or "citadel," as it was called, overlooked the Temple (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, 7).

33. *the city of David.*] It is generally agreed that this means the special hill on which had stood the palace of David. But the position of this hill is questioned. Most writers regard it as a portion of the high ground north, or rather north-west, of the Temple. But Colonel Warren, with the most complete local knowledge, has recently argued that it was a portion of the western hill, opposite the Temple ('Transactions of Society of

B. C. 167. *and* with mighty towers, and made it a strong hold for them.

34 And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified *themselves* therein.

35 They stored it also with armour and victuals, and when they had gathered together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and so they became a sore snare:

36 For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.

37 Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it:

38 Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them: whereupon *the city* was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her. B. C. 167.

39 Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, [h] her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. [h] Tobit 2. 6. 2 Mac. 6. 6.

40 As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning.

Bibl. Archæology,' vol. vii. pp. 309–315). The whole question of the topography of ancient Jerusalem is still undetermined.

a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers.] All the early fortifications consisted of projecting towers, square or round, with a curtain between them (Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 405; vol. iii. pp. 76, 82; 'History of Egypt,' vol. i. p. 465; Herod. i. 179, &c.). Numerous towers in the wall of Jerusalem are mentioned by Nehemiah (ch. iii. 1, 11, 25, 26, 27).

a strong hold.] In the original, ἄκρα, a "citadel," or "acropolis." The word became the proper name of this fortress.

34. *a sinful nation.*] Compare Tobit xiii. 6. The Jews divide the world into Jews and Gentiles—"the righteous" and "sinners." Here, however, something more is meant. The Syrian Greeks, as the aiders and abettors of Epiphanes, were considered to be sinners in an especial sense. See the words which follow—"wicked men"—and compare ch. ii. 48, 62; iii. 15, 20, &c.

35. *they became a sore snare.*] We should read ἐγένετο here, rather than ἐγένοντο, and translate—"*It* became a sore snare." Dean Stanley says: "It was regarded as a perpetual tempter, an adversary or devil in stone—as a personal enemy" ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295). Compare *v.* 36. Hence the joy and rejoicing when ultimately it was captured (*infra*, xiii. 51).

§ 8. FLIGHT OF THE GODLY JEWS, AND SUPPRESSION OF THE JEWISH RELIGION.

38–53. Unable to frequent the Temple by reason of the perpetual sallies made upon them from the Acra, the religious Jews quitted Jerusalem and gave it up to the Hellenizing party. Antiochus hereupon, regarding all opposition as over, launched his Edict of Intolerance—"That all should be one people, and that every one should leave his laws" (*vv.* 41, 42). A special commissioner was sent down from Antioch to enforce the king's orders (2 Macc. vi. 1). Not only was the practice of the Jewish religion or the observance of any of its ceremonies forbidden under penalty of death (*v.* 50), but active participation in the abominations of idol worship was required of all (*v.* 47; compare 2 Macc. vi. 7). The possession of the sacred writings was also made a capital offence (*v.* 57). Under the chief commissioner were appointed "overseers," whose business it was to carry out the king's orders in all the various cities and towns throughout the whole of Judæa. The determination was to stamp out the Jewish religion absolutely and utterly, and to establish the sensual idolatry of the Greeks in its place.

38. *the city was made an habitation of strangers.*] This must not be understood too broadly. Menelaus, the high-priest, remained at Jerusalem with his partisans, and gave the support of his authority to all the measures of Antiochus. It was among the most bitter trials of the faithful, that many of their own countrymen took part with the heathen against them. (See *vv.* 43 and 52.)

39. *Her sanctuary was laid waste.*] Rather "**was empty**" or "**desolate.**" It was no part of the policy of Epiphanes to destroy, or even to injure, the Temple building. He proposed to retain it as the centre of the new religious worship which he was about to set up. (See 2 Macc. vi. 2–4.)

her feasts were turned into mourning.] As prophesied by Amos (viii. 10), whose words,

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B. C. 167. 41 Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people,

42 And every one should leave his laws: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king.

43 Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath.

44 For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Juda, that they should follow ‖ the strange laws of the land,

‖ Or, *the laws and rites of the strangers of the land.*

45 And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days:

46 And pollute the sanctuary and holy people: B. C. 167.

47 Set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts:

48 That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation:

49 To the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.

50 And [i] whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, *he said*, he should die. [i] 2 Mac. 6. 9.

51 In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and [k] appointed [k] 2 Mac. 5. 22.

as rendered by the LXX., are here closely followed.

41. *king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom.*] The special edict directed against the Jews (*vv.* 44–50) seems to have been preceded by a general proclamation of uniformity in religion throughout the whole kingdom. This was a sort of blind, there being no very clear intention of forcing changes on any people except the Jews. Hence the heathen nations generally "agreed" to the edict. (See *v.* 42, and compare ch. ii. 19; but, on the other hand, see ch. iii. 29.)

43. *many . . . of the Israelites consented.*] See note on *v.* 38.

44. *letters . . . unto Jerusalem.*] By the hand of the special commissioner deputed to see the royal commands carried out (2 Macc. vi. 1).

the strange laws of the land.] Rather, as in the margin, "the laws (or customs) of the strangers of the land"—*i.e.* the Syrian Greeks.

45. *burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings.*] *I.e.* offerings of any kind.

46. *And pollute . . . holy people.*] *I.e.* the godly, the faithful. The readiest mode of pollution was forcing them to eat swine's flesh. (See 2 Macc. vi. 18–31; vii. 1.)

47. *groves.*] Rather, "**precincts.**" The "groves" of the Old Testament are certainly not intended. These were idolatrous emblems in wood or metal, resembling probably the "sacred tree" of the Assyrians. (See the author's 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 236.) "Precincts" (τεμένη) were sacred enclosures, surrounded by walls, and generally containing within them a temple or shrine.

chapels of idols.] Or "idol temples." (See 1 Cor. viii. 10.) The word εἰδωλεῖον is used of the heathen temples generally, ναὸς or νεὼς being reserved for the temples of the true God.

unclean beasts.] Literally, "common." Compare Acts x. 14, 15, 28; and for an account of the animals which were "unclean" to the Jews, see Lev. xi. 3–30. The swine was the only animal offered commonly in sacrifice by heathen nations, which the Jews might not offer.

48. *That they should . . . leave their children uncircumcised.*] Could circumcision have been abolished, the whole distinction between Jew and Gentile would very shortly have been done away. Circumcision admitted into covenant; and without it a Jew would have felt that he was not a Jew, but a mere uncovenanted heathen. Hence the strenuous efforts made to stop circumcision (*vv.* 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4, &c.).

50. *he should die.*] Like other thoroughgoing persecutors — Diocletian, Galerius, Isdigerd II., the Inquisition—Epiphanes enforced conformity under the penalty of death. This heroic remedy necessarily results in either submission or insurrection.

51. *In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom.*] I.e. *mutatis mutandis.* But it may be questioned whether any religions but the Jewish and Samaritan were seriously threatened. The various forms of polytheism were too nearly allied to quarrel, and readily understood one another. The Phœnician, Syrian, and Babylonian deities had all of them their Greek counterparts; and a syncretic spirit was so generally prevalent, that we need stronger evidence than is anywhere forth-

B. C. 167. pointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city.

52 Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit, every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land;

53 ‖And [l]drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could flee for succour.

54 Now the fifteenth day of *the* *month* Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up [m]the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side;

55 And burnt incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets.

56 And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire.

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‖ Or, *And they made Israel hide themselves in holes in every place of succour.*

[l] 2 Mac. 6. 11. Heb. 11. 38. See ch. 2. 31, 36, 41. cir. 168.

[m] Dan. 11. 31.

coming to convince us that Epiphanes contemplated imposing on all his subjects complete religious uniformity.

and appointed overseers.] Ewald views these "overseers" as "an army of spies and wardens, accusers and watchmen" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 299); but Dean Stanley is probably right in regarding them as local commissioners, acting under the chief commissioner, and carrying out the king's behests in the provinces ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295).

52. *many of the people were gathered unto them.*] A Hellenizing faction shewed itself in all parts of the land, not in Judæa only, but also in Samaria (2 Macc. vi. 2) and Galilee (1 Macc. v. 15).

53. *drove the Israelites into secret places.*] To escape the persecution of the "overseers," the Israelites were compelled to betake themselves to hiding-places—caves, deserts, and hill fastnesses (2 Macc. v. 27)—just as had been done of old by David and his companions (1 Sam. xx.–xxvi.) when they fled from Saul.

§ 9. The Abomination of Desolation set up in the Temple, and the Persecution carried on relentlessly.

54–64. The finishing touch was now to be put to the whole scheme of persecution. The daily sacrifice had been already abolished (*v.* 45); but, to prevent any pious Jew from surreptitiously offering it, the altar itself was to be polluted by a permanent erection. On the 15th of Chisleu (December B.C. 168, or January B.C. 167) an altar to the Olympian Jupiter was set up on the top of the brazen altar of burnt sacrifice erected by Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 2, 3); and ten days afterwards the profanation was completed by the offering of sacrifice to Jupiter upon the new altar. At the same time images of heathen gods were set up at the doors of houses and in the streets, and incense burnt to them. The Books of the Law were searched for, and, when found, were burnt. A vigorous persecution of all who disobeyed the royal edicts was commenced. The mothers of children who had been recently circumcised were put to death with the children, and the dead bodies of the latter were hung about the mothers' necks. Those by whom the operation had been performed were likewise executed. Attempts were made to compel men to eat unclean meats, and their refusal to do so was also punished with death. The author of the Second Book of Maccabees goes into considerable detail on these subjects, relating at length some particular instances of cruel punishments (2 Macc. vi. 10–31; vii. 1–42).

54. *they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar.*] That "the abomination of desolation" was an altar appears from *v.* 59. The phrase is not previously used in the Septuagint, though nearly allied to one in Daniel ix. 27, where an "abomination of *desolations*" is mentioned. The expression in Dan. xi. 31, which refers to the event here recorded, is different. It had been customary from the time of Moses to call idolatrous objects "abominations." The present writer goes further, and marks his hatred of this particular object by attaching to it a further epithet of abhorrence.

and builded idol altars.] "Idol altars" (*βωμοί*) are contrasted with the altar of God (*θυσιαστήριον*). It was common among the Greeks to erect such altars in the streets of towns before images of gods and goddesses, especially Hermes, Dionysus, Apollo, and Artemis. Hence these deities were sometimes spoken of as *θεοὶ ἀγυιεῖς*—"deities of the street."

55. *burnt incense at the doors of their houses.*] It was usual in Greek towns to place images of the household gods in the vestibules or porches of houses (Döllinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. p. 242, E. T.), and to offer to them incense, cakes, and other sacrificial dainties. Artemis was sometimes honoured in this way, and was then called *προθυραία* ('Orph. Hymn.' i. 4).

56. *when they had rent in pieces the books*

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57 And wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any consented to the law, ‖ the king's commandment was, that they should put him to death.

‖ Gr. *the king's commandment put him to death.*

58 Thus did they by their authority unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities.

59 Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God.

60 At which time according to the commandment [n] they put to death certain women, ‖ that had caused their children to be circumcised.

[n] 2 Mac. 6. 10.

‖ Gr. *that had circumcised their children.*

61 And they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses and slew them that had circumcised them.

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62 Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing.

63 Wherefore they [o] chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died.

[o] 2 Mac. 6. 19. & 7. 1, &c.

64 And there was very great wrath upon Israel.

CHAPTER II.

6 Mattathias lamenteth the case of Jerusalem. 24 He slayeth a Jew that did sacrifice to idols in his presence, and the king's messenger also. 34 He and his are assailed upon the sabbath, and make no resistance. 50 He dieth, and instructeth his sons; 66 and maketh their brother Judas Maccabeus general.

of the law they burnt them.] Compare the conduct of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxvi. 23). Hatred of God's Word leads wicked men to make its destruction sure.

57. *wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament.*] Rather, "a book of the **covenant**"—*i.e.* any one of the five books of Moses. It is implied that private persons not unfrequently possessed a portion, if not the whole, of the Pentateuch. A great multiplication of copies had followed on the institution of "scribes."

if any consented to the law.] Mere observance of the law, apart from possession of any portion of it, was made a capital offence.

58. *every month.*] It would seem that each town was visited once a month by its inspector, and a bloody assize held. The country districts were probably under less strict surveillance.

59. *they did sacrifice upon the idol altar.*] Diodorus (xxxiv. 1) says that a herd of a hundred swine was driven into the Temple and slaughtered in the sacred precincts. One huge sow was chosen out of the number for sacrifice upon the newly-erected altar, on which a portion of its blood was poured, while another portion was taken inside the Temple building and poured out within the Holy of Holies. (Compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 4.)

60. *that had caused their children to be circumcised.*] Literally, "that had circumcised their children." But no doubt the meaning is that they had authorized the act. See the next verse. From 2 Macc. vi. 10 we gather that only two women were treated with this extreme barbarity

61. *they hanged the infants about their necks.*] Partly to aggravate the sufferings of the mothers; but also to ensure the death of the children, who were precipitated with their mothers from the top of the city wall (2 Macc. *l. s. c.*).

rifled their houses.] *I.e.* gave them up to pillage.

slew them that had circumcised them.] *I.e.* put to death those who had performed the rite.

63. *they chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats.*] On the modes of compulsion used, and the noble resistance made, see 2 Macc. vi. 18–31 and vii. 1–41.

64. *there was very great wrath upon Israel.*] The persecution of Epiphanes was looked upon as a judgment sent upon the nation by God on account of its sins. The very martyrs themselves took this view, and acknowledged God's justice in the chastisement (2 Macc. vi. 18, 33). It may be concluded from this that Ps. lxxiv. does not belong to the period, since it contains no confessions of national ill-desert.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. The Family of Mattathias.

1–5. The desperate strait in which the Jewish nation was placed having been sufficiently set forth in ch. i., the writer proceeds in ch. ii. to a theme that is more congenial to him—the mode of the national deliverance; and as this was the special work of a single family, he commences this portion of his history with an account of the family, so far

B. C. 167. IN those days ‖ arose Mattathias *the son* of John, *the son* of Simeon, a priest of the sons of [a] Joarib, from Jerusalem, and dwelt in Modin.

2 And he had five sons, Joannan, ‖ called ‖ Caddis:

3 Simon, called Thassi:

4 Judas, who was called Maccabeus:

5 Eleazar, called ‖ Avaran: and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.

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‖ Or, *Mattathias the son of John, &c. arose from Jerusalem,* or, *out of Jerusalem.*

‖ Or, *Avaron,* or, *Abaron:* See ch. 6. 43.

[a] 1 Chron. 24. 7. ‖ Or, *who was called:* and so afterward in the rest. ‖ *Gaddis.*

as it was known to him. Mattathias, its chief at the time when the sanctuary was profaned, he traces back through two progenitors, his father and his grandfather, to the great priestly clan or course of Joarib (or Jehoiarib), to which David and Solomon had assigned the first place among the attendants on the altar (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). He represents him as having been, at the time when the persecution began, a dweller in Jerusalem, but as having fled thence and taken refuge in his ancestral city, Modeïn, where he was "an honourable man" and "a ruler" (*v.* 8). He was accompanied by his five sons (three of whom became personages of importance)—Joannan or John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Each of these youths enjoyed the distinction of a second name.

1. *Mattathias.*] The name is not wholly new. A "Mattathiah" had supported Ezra when he came forward to read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). Two others appear in St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord (Luke iii. 25, 26).

a priest of the sons of Joarib.] That descendants of Joarib, or Jehoiarib, returned from the Captivity is declared in 1 Chr. ix. 10 and Neh. xi. 10, xii. 6, 19.

in Modin.] More properly "Modeïn" or "Modeïm." The place has not been mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, and occurs only in connection with Maccabean history (ch. ii. 70; ix. 19; xiii. 25, 30; xvi. 4; 2 Macc. xiii. 14). It appears by 1 Macc. xvi. to have lain on the edge of the hill-country overlooking the Philistine plain; and here Jerome places it ('Onomast.' *ad voc.* MODIM), near Diospolis, or Lydda (now Ludd). The exact site is disputed.

2. *Joannan.*] The name is identical with the Johanan or Jehohanan of the Hebrew Scriptures (1 Chr. iii. 15, 24; vi. 9, 10; Jer. xl. 8–16, &c.). It means "Jehovah gave." On the after-career of Joannan see ch. ix. 36–38, and 2 Macc. viii. 22 (where he is by mistake called "Joseph").

called Caddis.] There is no traditional interpretation of this surname. It may perhaps represent the Hebrew "Gaddi" (Num. xiii. 11), which seems to be a denominative formed from "Gad," "fortune," and to mean "fortunate." Compare the Roman "Felix." Or, possibly, it is a transliteration of the Chaldee קַדִּישׁ, "holy."

3. *Simon.*] The career of Simon occupies chaps. xiii.–xv. and ch. xvi. 1–16. He was the fourth Maccabee leader.

called Thassi.] The Syriac has "Tharsi," which may mean "director," or "guide," since Simon was "a man of counsel" (*v.* 65).

4. *Judas, who was called Maccabeus.*] Judas was selected by his father to succeed him as leader (ch. ii. 16). His exploits occupy chaps. iii.–ix. 1–17. He is the great hero of the Second Book of Maccabees. His surname of Maccabeus has been variously derived: 1, from the Hebrew *maccâbâh*, "a hammer;" 2, from *chabah*, "to extinguish;" 3, from עקב, in the sense of "to track" or "trace out." (See the Introduction to Judith, § IV.)

5. *Eleazar, called Avaran.*] The surname of Eleazar is given as "Savaran" in ch. vi. 43. The true form, however, is probably Avaran, which may be connected with the Chaldee and Syriac חוּר, "to be pale." For the exploit from which Eleazar got his name, see ch. vi. 43–46.

Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.] On the exploits of Jonathan, see chs. ix.–xii. His surname, Apphus, is thought to mean "the Dissembler," and to have been given him on account of his first exploit against the Beni-Jambri, who had slain his brother John (ch. ix. 37–41).

§ 2. THE LAMENT OF MATTATHIAS OVER JERUSALEM.

6–14. This genuine outpour of natural grief has all the appearance of being a contemporary document, and may well have been the composition of the aged priest on the occasion in question. It is composed on the model of the Davidic Psalms, but with somewhat less of exact balance in the clauses than is customary. The rhythmic effect is wholly spoiled by the arrangement into verses which our translators have followed; the true arrangement is as follows:—

"Woe is me! Wherefore was I born to see
the misery of my people,
And the misery of the Holy City?
And to dwell there when it was delivered into
the hand of the enemy,
And the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?

B. C. cir. 167.

6 And when he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Juda and Jerusalem,

7 He said, Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?

8 Her temple is become as a man without glory.

[b] ch. i. 23, 24.

9 [b] Her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in the streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy.

10 What nation hath not had a part in *her* kingdom, and gotten of her spoils?

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11 All her ornaments are taken away; of a free woman she is become a bondslave.

12 And, behold, our ‖ sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it.

‖ Or, *holy thing.*

13 To what end therefore shall we live any longer?

14 Then Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned very sore.

Her temple is become as a man of no reputation:
Her glorious vessels are carried away captive:
Her young children are slain in the streets,
Her youths with the sword of the enemy.
What nation has not inherited part of her kingdom,
Nor gotten a portion of her spoils?
All her adornment hath been taken away from her;
Instead of a free woman, she is become a bond slave.
Behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste;
The nations have profaned it. Wherefore do we still live?"

6. *when he saw.*] "He" refers to Mattathias, the chief subject of the first section.

blasphemies.] Impious deeds, rather than impious words, seem to be intended. (Comp. ch. i. 35–63.) Deeds alone could be *seen.*

in Juda and Jerusalem.] *I.e.* "in Judæa, and especially in Jerusalem."

7. *wherefore was I born to see this misery?*] Rather, "Wherefore was I born **for this, to see** the misery," &c.? The sentiment may be compared with that of Job iii. 3–11, and Jeremiah xx. 14–18. A heathen poet went so far as to say that it would have been better for every man not to have been born (Soph. 'Œd. Col.' l. 1225).

9. *Her glorious vessels.*] Comp. ch. i. 21–23; and note the stress that is laid on the capture of the "vessels" belonging to the earlier temple in the canonical Books of the Old Testament (2 Kings xxv. 14–17; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7; Jer. lii. 17–23; Dan. i. 2, v. 2; Ezra i. 7, &c.).

her infants are slain.] See ch. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10.

her young men with the sword.] See 2 Macc. v. 24.

10. *What nation hath not had a part?*] The thought of the poet goes back, perhaps, from the present to the past, and shows him Judæa as the prey of a long succession of nations—Egyptians (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), Assyrians (2 Kings xviii. 13–16; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11–13), Babylonians (2 Kings xxiv. 1; xxv. 1–21), Syrians (*ib.* xvi. 5, 6), Moabites (*ib.* xxiv. 2), Ammonites (*ib.*), Persians (Ezra ix. 9), Greco-Macedonians—who had all robbed her, more or less, of her sovereignty, and been partakers of her spoils. Or, perhaps, he only means that the armed force which Antiochus employed to carry out his measures was drawn from all the various nations under his dominion (comp. 2 Macc. viii. 9), and that in this way there was scarcely a people which had not profited by the spoliation of Jerusalem (ch. i. 35). In either case, his language is rhetorical, and not to be pressed to the letter.

11. *of a free woman she is become a bondslave.*] Judæa lost her independence at the time of the Babylonish Captivity, and only recovered it through the efforts of the Maccabee princes. She was subject to Babylon from B.C. 606 to B.C. 538; to Persia from B.C. 538 to B.C. 332; and to the Greco-Macedonians from B.C. 332 to B.C. 168, when Mattathias revolted. But the poet ignores the fact of political subjection, and considers that, so long as she was allowed the free exercise of her religion, she was free.

12. *our sanctuary . . . is laid waste.*] Rather, "**is waste**," "**is desolate**"—*i.e.* has none to worship in it. There had as yet been no damage done to the Temple building. Compare note on ch. i. 39.

the Gentiles have profaned it.] See ch. i. 54, 59.

14. *rent their clothes and put on sackcloth.*] These were usual signs of mourning in the East, and were not peculiar to the Jews.

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B. C. cir. 167.

15 In the mean while the king's officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice.

16 And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together.

17 Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren:

B. C. cir. 167.

18 Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy

(See Diod. Sic. i. 72; Herod. viii. 99; Jonah iii. 6, 8; Job i. 20, ii. 12, &c.)

§ 3. THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH MATTATHIAS BEGAN THE REVOLT.

15-28. Mattathias and his sons had withdrawn from Jerusalem, when the persecution grew hot there, and retired to their ancestral city, or village, on the verge of the Shefelah, or great Philistine plain, where they may have expected that they would be unmolested. But, after a short pause, the persecutors spread themselves from the capital over the country. The "king's officers"—probably the "overseers" of ch. i. 51—appeared at Modeïn, and required submission to the royal edict on the part of its inhabitants. As Mattathias was the chief man of the place, and had attended the first meeting which the officer summoned, he was called upon first and foremost to obey the edict and sacrifice. This, in the name of himself, his sons, and his brethren, he solemnly refused to do. As he ceased speaking, one of the Hellenizing party presented himself before the commissioner, and signified his desire to do what Mattathias would not. Mattathias at once slew him, and followed up his bold act by also killing the commissioner and destroying the idol altar. He then went through the city, and summoned all who were zealous for the law to follow him; after which, with his followers, he quitted the city, and betook himself to the mountains. Thus was open war declared between the small band of faithful Jews and the mighty Antiochus.

15. *In the mean while.*] There is no such expression in the original. Probably some weeks intervened between the "mourning" of Mattathias and the arrival of the officers.

the king's officers.] Literally, "the men from the king"—*i.e.* those whom he had commissioned for the purpose of carrying out his orders.

such as compelled the people to revolt.] Rather, "to **apostatize**." The "revolt" intended is rebellion against the laws of God.

to make them sacrifice.] Comp. i. 51.

16. *Mattathias . . . and his sons came together.*] No doubt the inhabitants generally were summoned to appear before the commissioner. Mattathias and his sons came, since it was not for them to anticipate what he was about to say to them. He might have come upon some harmless errand.

17. *answered . . . and said.*] Rather, "**took the word**, and said." The expression is used by the LXX. of opening speeches, without any reference to anything said, or even thought, by the opposite party. See below, ch. viii. 19.

Thou art a ruler.] In the East every petty town and village has its "head-men," who represent it with the government, apportion its taxes, collect them, and otherwise act as its chiefs. Mattathias held such a position at Modeïn, probably from his birth and wealth, not from his priestly character.

an honourable and great man.] Not only a ruler, but one of good repute, and a "great man" compared with the rest of the inhabitants; as Ewald says, "the most important personage of the place."

18. *like as all the heathen have done.*] See note on ch. i. 42.

such as remain at Jerusulem.] An acknowledgment that great numbers had refused to remain, and had left the capital. (See ch. i. 38.)

so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends.] Something more is meant than a promise that they should be accounted loyal subjects. The Persian kings had their "Royal Benefactors," who formed a distinct class (Herod. iii. 140; viii. 85), were known as *Orosangs*, and had probably special privileges. Alexander had his "companions," who were a definite privileged class. The Syro-Macedonian kings seem to have distinguished two classes of persons, one as their "companions," and another as their "friends" (Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 7), and to have permitted to each certain distinctions of dress, precedence, and the like. Mattathias and his sons were offered admission into the class of "friends." (Comp. ch. x. 65.)

B. C. cir. 167. children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.

19 Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments:

[c] Josh. 24. 15. 20 [c] Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers.

21 God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.

22 We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand, or the left. B. C. cir. 167.

23 Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment.

24 Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to shew his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar.

25 Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he

honoured with silver and gold.] Gifts of ornaments in the precious metals had been bestowed upon their courtiers by the Persian kings from time immemorial (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2, §§ 7–12). The practice passed from them to the Syro-Macedonians. (See below, ch. x. 20, 89.)

19. *with a loud voice.*] To attract attention. Mattathias desired that his fellow-townsmen should hear him.

Though all the nations.] Mattathias does not question the statement made to him (*v.* 18), that "all the heathen have done according to the king's commandment." True or false, it is the same to him. He will not "follow a multitude to evil" (Ex. xxiii. 2). Though all the world should fall away, yet will he be faithful, and his father's house. His boast was better kept than that of St. Peter (Matt. xxvi. 33).

under the king's dominion.] Literally, "in the house of the king's kingdom."

20. *the covenant of our fathers.*] *I.e.* the covenant (or agreement) which God made with our ancestors at Mount Sinai (Ex. xix. 8; xxiv. 3–8).

22. *either on the right hand, or the left.*] Comp. Deut. v. 32; xvii. 20; xxviii. 14.

23. *when he had left speaking.*] Rather, "as he left speaking."

there came.] Or, "there approached." The man seems to have come up casually, not having been among those assembled at the first (*v.* 16), and so not having heard the indignant protest of Mattathias. He was no doubt a zealous Hellenizer, anxious to gain favour with the authorities by coming forward among the first. His example, if Mattathias had done nothing, might have had a most demoralising effect.

24. *his reins trembled.*] Comp. Ps. lxxiii. 21, "I was pricked in my reins:" and see also Job xvi. 13, xix. 27; Ps. vii. 9; Lam. iii. 13. The Hebrew physiology connected that inward emotion which stirs men, and forces them to sudden act, as much with the "reins" (*i.e.* kidneys) as with the heart. Hence the two are constantly joined together (Ps. vii. 9, xxvi. 2; Jer. xi. 20, xvii. 10, xx. 12; Rev. ii. 23).

neither could he forbear to shew his anger.] Rather, "**and he poured forth** his anger"—did not restrain it—gave it free vent.

according to judgment.] Or, "to condemnation." In his fury he judged and condemned the man, accounting him worthy of death, either from a natural impulse, or perhaps with conscious reference to the command given in the Law (Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 6–9, &c.), that idolaters should be killed without pity. Jewish opinion would entirely approve of such an execution without formal trial or sentence, when the sinner was caught in the act and there could be no doubt of his guilt. (Comp. Ex. xxxii. 27, 28; Num. xxv. 8; 1 Kings xviii. 40; 2 Kings x. 25, xxiii. 25, &c.)

he ran.] His haste shewed his zeal.

upon the altar.] In the very act of sacrificing (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 25). Josephus says that Mattathias, *and his sons*, rushed upon the man, *armed with broad knives* (κοπίδες), and slew him; but probably he draws upon his imagination for these additional facts.

25. *the king's commissioner.*] Josephus calls him "the king's general," and gives his name as Apelles. The Law did not require this act, since the commissioner was a heathen, engaged in executing the orders of his legitimate sovereign. It must be justified, if justified at all, as an act of warfare, one by

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killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down. B. C. cir. 167.

26 Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God, like as [d] Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom. [d] Numb. 25. 7 8.

27 And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me.

28 So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city. B. C. cir. 167

29 Then many that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness, to ‖dwell there: ‖ Gr. *sit*, or, *abide*.

30 Both they, and their children, and their wives, and their cattle; because ‖afflictions increased sore upon them. ‖ Gr. *evils were multiplied upon them*.

which Mattathias consummated, and proclaimed, his rebellion.

the altar he pulled down.] In accordance with the commands given in Ex. xxxiv. 13 and Deut. xii. 3, and after the example of the best kings (2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 13–20). An idolatrous altar was a pollution to the holy land.

26. *like as Phinees did unto Zambri.*] The reference is to Numb. xxv. 7, 8, where the act of Phinehas (Gk. Phinees) is recorded. Phinehas, like Mattathias, had executed divine vengeance on two persons, an Israelite, and a heathen who was partaker in his offence. His "zeal" received the approval of God (*ibid. vv.* 11–13; Ps. cvi. 30, 31).

27. *maintaineth the covenant.*] Literally, "maintaineth covenant"—*i.e.* keeps faith with God. The covenant was entered into by circumcision, and involved a keeping of all the commandments. Mattathias' appeal was intended to rally to him all who were prepared to maintain their religion against the attempt of the king to put it down.

let him follow me.] Mattathias knew that it would be impossible to resist the force that Antiochus had at his command in a petty town like Modeïn, which was perhaps not even walled. His plan was to withdraw, with such support as he could obtain, into the wildest part of the hill-country of Judæa, where David had so long resisted Saul, and thence to carry on a guerilla warfare against the persecuting king. His success is related in the next section.

§ 4. The War of Independence, as conducted by Mattathias himself.

29–48. At first there was a great want of unity and cohesion among the religious party. They fled to the wilderness in small and separate bodies, as persecution pressed upon them, without any one acknowledged leader, without even any generally accepted plan of defence. They were scattered over a wide extent of country, and it was no doubt difficult for the chief men to meet and consult together. When the war began by the forces of Antiochus entering the hill-country and requiring the submission of the fugitives, it had not even been determined what course was to be pursued with respect to the observance of the sabbath, whether or no the rest commanded was to be regarded as involving a complete suspension of military operations on that day. Among the first of the patriots attacked were some who took the strictest possible view, and felt bound to offer no resistance at all to the enemy on the day of rest. The consequence was at least one serious disaster, involving the loss of a thousand lives (*v.* 38). After this, Mattathias, and those under his immediate command, resolved to take the opposite course, and defend themselves on the sabbath to the utmost of their power, if attacked. Success followed this change of tactics. The scattered bands of fugitives rallied to the leader whose courage and strong sense seemed to promise victory (*v.* 43). The secret adherents of true religion in Jerusalem and other places held by the Syro-Macedonians came flocking in (*v.* 42). Mattathias was able to take the offensive. In many places he and his adherents overthrew the idolatrous altars, drove the apostates away, and re-established the old Jewish customs and usages. The Syro-Macedonians seem to have been afraid to meet him in the field, and to have on certain occasions retreated from his pursuit (*v.* 47).

29. *many that sought after justice and judgment.*] *I.e.* many who were not content to live under the detestable rule of the Syro-Macedonians, by whom the principles of justice were daily outraged, to their constant loss and hurt. (See the next verse.)

30. *their cattle.*] The highlands of Palestine can always afford nourishment to a considerable number of cattle; and all the tribes by whom they have been possessed have always been rich in cattle, as the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 9), the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 9; xxx. 20), the Moabites (2 Kings iii. 4), and others. Jerome says that about Tekoah "there was no village, not even rustic cottages, nor, on account of the dryness and sandiness, were any crops raised; but *the*

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31 Now when it was told the king's servants, and [e] the host that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into [f] the secret places in the wilderness,

[e] ch. 1. 33, 34.

[f] ch. 1. 53.

32 They pursued after them a great number, and having overtaken them, they camped against them, and made war against them on the sabbath day.

33 And they said unto them, Let that which ye have done hitherto suffice; come forth, and do according to the commandment of the king, and ye shall live.

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34 But they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do [g] the king's commandment, to profane the sabbath day.

[g] ch. 1. 45.

35 So then they gave ‖them the battle with all speed.

‖ Or, *the Jews.*

36 Howbeit they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they lay hid;

37 But said, Let us die all in our ‖innocency: heaven and earth shall

‖ Gr. *simplicity.*

whole district was full of herdsmen" ('Proleg. in Amos'). Comp. Luke ii. 8.

afflictions.] *I.e.* ill-treatment at the hands of the Syro-Macedonians.

31. *the king's servants.*] Literally, "the king's *men*"—*i.e.* the men placed in authority by the king, to uphold his interests and govern the country—the civil authorities of the land.

the host.] The armed force, placed at the disposal of the civil authorities.

that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David.] Rather, "that was **in Jerusalem, the city of David.**" The two are not distinguished, but identified, according to the existing text. It is conjectured, however, that either "Jerusalem" is a gloss which has crept into the text from the margin, or else that the preposition *ἐν* has fallen out after "Jerusalem." In the latter case our translation would give the true meaning, and "the city of David" would be the part of Jerusalem which was occupied by the Syro-Macedonian garrison. (Comp. ch. i. 35.)

the king's commandment.] See ch. i. 44–50.

secret places.] See note on ch. i. 53.

32. *made war against them.*] *I.e.* attacked them. No doubt it was known to the Syro-Macedonians, or at any rate suspected by them, that, in their zeal for the Law, the insurgents would feel bound by its letter, and would offer no resistance upon the sabbath. Such an interpretation of the Fourth Commandment was not unnatural in a time of high religious excitement; but it does not appear to have suggested itself to any mind prior to the Captivity.

33. *they said unto them.*] The offer was an amnesty for the past, on condition that the fugitives returned to their several cities or villages, and submitted themselves to the royal decrees—perhaps not bad terms, humanly speaking, under the circumstances.

34. *But they said.*] The terms offered were utterly rejected. "We will not come forth," they said. We refuse to quit our refuge, dry and arid region though it be, since we are not prepared to obey the king's decrees. On the contrary, we are resolved to disobey them. Resistance to the civil authority, when its commands are contrary to the law of God, is the duty of every religious man, and is frequently commended in Holy Scripture. (See Dan. iii. 18–30, vi. 10–26; Acts iv. 19, 20, v. 29, 30, &c.)

to profane the sabbath day.] Comp. ch. i. 45. As the text stands, this can only refer to the royal command issued to all Jews, to profane the sabbath. It is suspected, however, that in the original Hebrew the words were—"neither will we profane the sabbath;" *i.e.* by fighting. There certainly seems to be no reason for the selection of the one point of sabbath profanation out of the many included in the royal decree (ch. i. 44–49).

35. *with all speed.*] Lest they should change their minds, and resolve to resist.

36. *they answered them not.*] They made no response to the attack—took no steps to meet it, but remained absolutely inactive.

neither cast they a stone at them.] The sling was at all times one of the main weapons employed by the Israelites (Judg. xx. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 40; 2 Kings iii. 25; 1 Chr. xii. 2), and was especially suited for an extemporised army of shepherds (*v.* 30) and townsmen.

nor stopped the places where they lay hid.] They would not even block the passes by which their hiding-places had to be approached.

37. *Let us die . . . in our innocency.*] Literally, "in our simplicity."

heaven and earth shall testify.] Rather, "**are witness.**" The remonstrance had no

B. C. cir. 167. testify for us, that ye put us to death wrongfully.

38 So they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they slew them, with their wives and children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand ‖ people.

‖ Gr. *souls of men.*

39 Now when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore.

40 And one of them said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth.

B. C. cir. 167. 41 At that time therefore they decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, [h] as our brethren that were murdered in the secret places.

[h] ver. 38.

42 Then came there unto him a company of Assideans, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law.

43 Also all they that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and were a stay unto them.

effect. In spite of it the Syro-Macedonians fell upon them, and slew every soul—men, women, and children. Not even were the cattle spared. (See the next verse.)

39. *when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof.*] It is evident that the disaster occurred to a body of patriots not under the command of Mattathias. Probably there were many such bodies scattered over the length and breadth of the hill region, fugitives from various parts of Judæa, as yet without concert or even knowledge of each other. Each such band followed its own views of what was right.

40. *one of them said to another.*] The intelligence received set men thinking what was the proper course to pursue. There was no established practice, since the Jews had remained at peace during the whole period of the Persian dominion (B.C. 536–332), and had submitted to Alexander without offering any resistance (Joseph., 'Ant. Jud.,' xi. 8, § 5). What the rule had been in the old wars was forgotten. We can scarcely suppose it to have forbidden resistance to an attack.

41. *they decreed.*] Or "resolved." The form used expresses a resolve taken after deliberation. We must suppose a council to have been held among the chiefs, the question to have been debated, and a decision reached. But the decision was scarcely a "decree."

Whosoever shall come . . . we will fight against him.] The line taken seems to have been that it was lawful to stand on the defensive and resist attack, but not to take the offensive, upon the sabbath. The same course was pursued in the first Roman war (Joseph., 'Ant. Jud.,' xiv. 4, § 3), with the worst results, since the Romans pushed forward their works, drove mines under walls, and in all respects took advantage of their enemies' inactivity upon the sabbath. The Syro-Macedonian strategy appears to have been inferior, and the Jews to have lost little by their resolution.

that were murdered.] Rather, "**killed.**" The Syrians are not reproached for the advantage which they took of their adversaries' scrupulosity.

in the secret places.] Josephus speaks of caves, which certainly abound in the region (1 Sam. xxii. 1; xxiv. 3, &c.), and says that the Syro-Macedonians heaped brushwood against the mouths of the caves, and set it on fire, thus burning or suffocating the inmates ('Ant. Jud.,' xii. 6, § 2). Such a thing has often been done in savage, and even in civilised warfare; but there would seem to have been no necessity for it on the present occasion, since the Israelites offered no resistance.

42. *unto him.*] Rather, "unto **them.**"

a company of Assideans.] This is probably the true reading, instead of the "Judæans" of some MSS. "Assideans" (or rather, "Asidæans"—Ἀσιδαῖοι) is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Khăsidim*, "pious ones"—a name assumed by a section of the religious Jews at this period. (Comp. ch. vii. 13 and 2 Macc. xiv. 6.) The sect seems to have been formed quite independently of the Maccabee family, and to have held more rigid views. Under the circumstances, however, they agreed to a coalition.

43. *all they that fled for persecution.*] The Asidæans were a religious party, spread throughout the whole land. They sent a contingent of warriors. The persons now spoken of were casual refugees, driven to quit their homes and take refuge in the wilderness by the actual pressure of persecution. They joined Mattathias *en masse*.

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44 So they joined their forces, and smote sinful men in their anger, and wicked men in their wrath: but the rest fled to the heathen for succour.

45 Then Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars:

46 And what children soever they found within the coast of Israel uncircumcised, those they circumcised ‖ Or, *by force.* ‖valiantly.

47 They pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand. B. C. cir. 167.

48 So they recovered the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings, neither ‖suffered they the sinner to triumph. ‖ Gr. *gave the horn to the sinner.*

49 Now when the time drew near cir. 166. that Mattathias should die, he said unto his sons, Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation:

44. *they joined their forces.*] Rather, "they **formed an army.**" The refugees were now numerous enough, and bold enough, to levy an army out of their number, and with it to assume the offensive. Their first attacks were directed against the "sinful" and "wicked"—*i.e.* against such of their own nation as had conformed to the state religion. They attacked outlying Jewish communities of this character, and "smote" them with the sword, regarding them as at once their enemies, and deserving of death for their apostasy. Such as escaped on occasion of these attacks fled to places where the Syro-Macedonians were in force, and could protect them.

for succour.] Rather, "**to save themselves.**"

45. *pulled down the altars.*] *I.e.* the idol-altars which had been set up in the several villages and towns, as at Modeïn (*v.* 23).

46. *children . . . uncircumcised.*] See above, ch. i. 48.

47. *They pursued also after the proud men.*] By the "proud men" (*υἱοὺς τῆς ὑπερηφανίας*) the Syro-Macedonians are clearly intended. Not content with punishing their own apostates, and driving them from their homes (*v.* 44), the party of Mattathias had occasional encounters with the Syro-Macedonian oppressors, put them to flight, and "pursued" them.

the work prospered.] Literally, "the work was put in a right way"—*i.e.* a good commencement was made. It was only needful that the resistance should be carried on in the same spirit for success to be assured.

48. *they recovered the law.*] The Law is regarded as captured and enslaved by the Syro-Macedonians, from whom Mattathias and his followers rescued it.

out of the hand of kings.] Literally, "out of the hand of *the* kings." The officers of Antiochus, who carried out his will in the provinces, are viewed as "kings" in a certain sense, since they shared in the royal authority.

neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.] *I.e.* "they prevented the Hellenizers among the Jews from succeeding in their attempts." (See above, *v.* 44.)

§ 5. The Last Words of Mattathias, and his Death.

49-70. It appears from *v.* 70, that Mattathias continued at the head of the patriotic movement only for about a year. He was, no doubt, far advanced in years when the persecution broke out, and the hardships of warfare and of a desert life would tell upon him more than upon younger men. In the course of the first year of the war he found his end approaching, and felt that it devolved on him to make arrangements for the future. Accordingly, he called his sons together, and made them the speech recorded in *vv.* 49-68, exhorting them to faithfulness by the examples of the men of old time, and appointing his son Simon as chief counsellor and ruler, his son Judas as captain. After this he blessed all his sons, and so died. He was buried by his sons at Modeïn, which was one of the places already recovered (*vv.* 45-48), in the sepulchre of his fathers.

49. *when the time drew near that Mattathias should die.*] The form of expression implies a natural death in a ripe old age. (Comp. Gen. xlvii. 29; 1 Kings ii. 1.)

he said unto his sons.] The second address of Mattathias has not the rhythmic perfection of the first. Still, it is cast in a poetic mould; and a balance of clauses may be traced throughout. We can scarcely suppose that either speech does more than follow the general outline of what Mattathias said.

Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength.] The "pride" is that of the Syro-Macedonians, who (in *v.* 47) are called "sons of pride." The "rebuke" is that to which the people of God were exposed at the hand of scoffers.

the time of destruction and the wrath of

B. C. cir. 166.

50 Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers.

51 Call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their ‖ time; so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.

‖ Gr. *generations.*

[i] Gen. 22. 9. 10. Rom. 4. 3. Jam. 2. 21, 22, 23.

52 [i] Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness?

[k] Gen. 41. 40.

53 [k] Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment, and was made lord of Egypt.

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54 [l] Phinees our father in being zealous and fervent obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.

[l] Numb. 25. 13. Ecclus. 45 23, 24.

55 [m] Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge in Israel.

[m] Josh. 1. 2.

56 [n] Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation received the heritage of the land.

[n] Numb. 14. 6, 7, 24 Josh. 14. 9, 13.

57 [o] David for being merciful possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.

[o] 2 Sam. 2 4. & 7. 16

58 [p] Elias for being zealous and

[p] 2 Kings 2. 11.

indignation.] Rather, "a time of destruction and **a passion of rage.**"

50. *be ye zealous for the law.*] The commendation of "zeal for the law," which marks the Maccabee period (ch. ii. 24, 26, 27, 54, 58), led ultimately to the formation of the sect of "zelots," which so greatly distinguished itself in the last siege of Jerusalem, and of which the apostle, Simon Zelotes, was a member (Luke vi. 15).

the covenant of your fathers.] See note on *v.* 20.

51. *in their time.*] Literally, "in their generations."

so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.] Greek ideas had to a considerable extent leavened the whole mass of the Jewish nation, even the most religious. In the old times the Jews did not fight for their own honour, or to "get them a name," but for God's glory, that *His* name might be held in honour, and *His* might shewn forth to the heathen. But now it was different. The low motive of personal ambition and desire of posthumous fame was allowed to influence conduct, and is continually mentioned as the predominant incentive to great deeds and exploits. (See below, ch. v. 57, vi. 44, ix. 10, xiv. 29; 2 Macc. vi. 23, &c.)

52. *Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation.*] *I.e.* when tried whether he would be willing to sacrifice Isaac or no. (Gen. xxii. 1–12; Heb. xi. 17; Ecclus. xliv. 20.)

it was imputed unto him for righteousness.] The words are an exact quotation from the Septuagint version of Gen. xv. 6. (So St. James in his epistle, ch. ii. 23; and St. Paul in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6.) "Reckoned," or "counted," is, on the whole, a better rendering of the original than "imputed." (See the Revised Version.)

53. *Joseph . . . kept the commandment.*] See Gen. xxxix. 7–12.

54. *Phinees our father.*] Mattathias means to claim descent from Phinehas, who at any rate was of the same tribe with him and his sons. On the great deed which distinguished Phinehas, see note on *v.* 26. On his obtaining, in reward for his deed, "the covenant of an everlasting priesthood," see Num. xxv. 13; and comp. Ecclus. xlv. 24.

55. *Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge.*] Joshua received his appointment on account of his general obedience to God's word, not on account of any single act. He was "a man in whom was the spirit" (Num. xxvii. 18), and had fulfilled every duty laid upon him up to the time of his appointment. (See Ex. xvii. 10–13, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11; Num. xiv. 6–9.)

56. *Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation.*] Caleb was joined with Joshua in one of his righteous acts. Like Joshua, he gave a true report of the land of Canaan and its inhabitants after being sent to spy it out. This was the "witness" which he bore "before the congregation" (Num. xiv. 6–9), and for bearing it he ran a near risk of being stoned.

received the heritage of the land.] *I.e.* was allowed to enter the holy land (Num. xiv. 30–38), and given a heritage in it (Josh. xiv. 13).

57. *David for being merciful.*] The mercifulness of David is not elsewhere commended; but it is to be remembered that he twice spared Saul's life when he might have taken it (1 Sam. xxiv. 4–11; xxvi. 5–12), and also allowed Shimei to live, notwithstanding that he had cursed him (2 Sam. xix. 23; 1 Kings ii. 8).

possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.] For the promise made to him of such a kingdom, see 2 Sam. vii. 13, 16. The continuance of the temporal kingdom was conditional (Ps. cxxxii. 12), and ultimately the promise was so far forfeited. But the spiritual kingdom remains in the line of David for ever and ever through the eternity of the kingdom of Christ.

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B. C. cir. 166. fervent for the law was taken up into heaven.

[q] Dan. 3. 16, 17, 18, 26. 59 [q]Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flame.

[r] Dan. 6. 22. 60 [r]Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.

61 And thus consider ye throughout all ages, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome.

62 Fear not then the words of a sinful man: for his glory shall be dung and worms.

63 To day he shall be lifted up, and to morrow he shall not be found, because he is [s]returned into his dust, and his thought is come to nothing.

B. C. cir. 166. [s] Gen. 3. 19. Ps. 146. 4

64 Wherefore, ye my sons, be valiant, and shew yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory.

65 And, behold, I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you.

66 As for Judas Maccabeus, he hath been mighty and strong, even

58. *Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law.*] Comp. 1 Kings xviii. 19–40, xix. 10, xxi. 20–24; 2 Kings i. 3–12.

was taken up into heaven.] See 2 Kings ii. 11, and comp. Ecclus. xlviii. 9.

59. *Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.*] See Dan. i. 6–19; ii. 17, 49; iii. 12–30. The occurrence of these names, and the simplicity and brevity of the statement, that they "were saved out of the flame"—so closely parallel to the antecedent statements with respect to Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, and Elijah—is strong evidence that the Book of Daniel was received into the Canon at the time when this work was written—nay, at the time of Mattathias' death. His dying words were tolerably sure to have been remembered; and their recorder would have shrunk from interpolating into them a passage which, if Daniel were a historical romance, written in the thick of the struggle, his contemporaries would have known that Mattathias could not have uttered.

by believing were saved.] See Dan. iii. 17. They believed that they would be saved; and their faith gave them the strength which carried them through the terrible ordeal.

60. *Daniel for his innocency was delivered.*] The reference to Dan. vi. 22 is palpable, though the Greek word translated "innocency" is different in the two passages.

61. *throughout all ages.*] Literally, "from generation to generation."

shall be overcome.] Rather, "shall fail," or "be without strength."

62. *the words of a sinful man.*] The "sinful man" especially glanced at is Antiochus, and the "words" are those of his decrees; but the warning passes beyond the particular case to all others resembling it. The words of those who can do no more than "kill the body" are at no time to be "feared" when they run counter to the commandments of God.

his glory shall be dung and worms.] *I.e.* "shall rot and perish." There is no allusion to the "worms" which "rose up out of the body" of Antiochus (2 Macc. ix. 9).

63. *his thought.*] Literally, "his calculations," *i.e.* the expectations that he formed of the results which he was about to accomplish. Comp. Ps. cxlvi. 4, where the LXX. use the same word—διαλογισμοί.

64. *be valiant and shew yourselves men.*] Comp. Josh. i. 9; x. 25.

shall ye obtain glory.] See note on *v.* 51.

65. *your brother Simon is a man of counsel.*] In the Greek, it is "Simeon" here, though elsewhere always "Simon" (ch. ii. 3; xii. 33, 38; xiii.–xvi. *passim*). He appears to have been the least warlike of the five brethren, and was not made "captain" till the other four were dead (ch. xiii. 8, 9). We do not hear of his advice being sought by the others during their terms of office; but his own conduct of affairs is remarkable for the preference shewn to prudent management over brute force (ch. xiii. 33, 47, 50; xiv. 10, 24; xv. 26).

a father.] Grimm explains this as "patriarchal chief," or "head of the family." But it is unnecessary to suppose that John, the eldest son (*v.* 2), was deposed from this position. "Father" means here, rather, "counsellor and guide."

66. *Judas Maccabeus.*] His surname evidently attached to Judas with peculiar closeness (comp. ch. iii. 1, and 2 Macc. v. 27), so that even his father called him by it. On its meaning, see note on *v.* 4.

mighty and strong.] Literally, "mighty in strength." The author of the Second Book of Maccabees seems to consider that Judas took a prominent part in the original withdrawal of the patriots into the wilderness

B. C. cir. 166.

from his youth up: let him be your captain, and ‖fight the battle of the people.

‖ Or, *fight ye the battle of the people.*

67 Take also unto you all those that observe the law, and avenge ye the wrong of your people.

68 Recompense fully the heathen, and take heed to the commandments of the law.

69 So he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers.

166. 70 And he died in the hundred forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

CHAPTER III.

B. C. cir. 166.

1 *The valour and fame of Judas Maccabeus.* 10 *He overthroweth the forces of Samaria and Syria.* 27 *Antiochus sendeth a great power against him.* 44 *He and his fall to fasting and prayer,* 58 *and are encouraged.*

THEN his son Judas, called Maccabeus, rose up in his stead.

2 And all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that held with his father, and they fought with cheerfulness the battle of Israel.

3 So he gat his people great honour, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him, and he made battles, protecting the host with his sword.

(2 Macc. v. 27; viii. 1), being the military leader, rather than Mattathias, from the first. But he perhaps over-glorifies his hero.

of the people.] Rather, "of the **peoples**" —the Jews and the Syro-Macedonians.

69. *he blessed them.*] Compare the acts of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 4–40), Jacob (*ibid.* xlix. 3–28), and Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 1–29).

was gathered to his fathers.] An ordinary phrase for dying among the Hebrews (Judg. ii. 10; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 28; Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 1; Acts xiii. 36), alternating with the still more usual one, "was gathered unto his people" (Gen. xxv. 8, 17, xxxv. 29; Num. xxiv. 26; Deut. xxxii. 50, &c.).

70. *in the hundred forty and sixth year.*] B.C. 167–6, the year after the persecution began (ch. i. 54).

at Modin.] Modeïn must, therefore, have been among the places recovered from the Syro-Macedonians during the lifetime of Mattathias. (See *vv.* 44–47.)

all Israel made great lamentation for him.] By "all Israel" we must understand all those who were in arms for their religion. On the lamentations usual at the deaths of great men, see Gen. l. 10; Deut. xxxiv. 8; 2 Sam. i. 12; 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, 25, &c.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. General Account of Judas Maccabæus, his Character and Fame.

1–9. There can be no doubt that Judas was the most popular of the Maccabean heroes. As Dean Stanley says, "he became the Jewish ideal of 'the Happy Warrior.'" His appearance, his gestures, his voice, his character, were equally objects of admiration and of delightful remembrance. We see in the Second Book of Maccabees how entirely by some the whole glory of the revolt and deliverance was ascribed to him. His great fame rested principally on his recovery of Jerusalem and the Temple (ch. iv. 36–54; 2 Macc. x. 1–5); but other circumstances were not without an influence upon it. His commanding stature, like that of a giant of old time (*v.* 3), challenged the admiring regard of a people which set much store by physical strength. His battle-cry had a ring in it which caused it to be compared to a lion's roar (*v.* 4), and stirred the hearts of all who heard it. His long career of victory, scarcely chequered by a reverse until his defeat and death at Eleasa (ch. ix. 12–18), added to his reputation, and made the later scenes of the struggle seem tame by comparison. No exploit in the entire war was thought equal to the triumph over Nicanor (ch. vii. 31–49; 2 Macc. xv. 20–37). Hence Judas remained the great national hero so long as Judæa was an independent country; his life was written and re-written; and the name originally peculiar to him (1 Macc. ii. 4) prevailed and became the best-known title of the entire family, as the five extant books of 'Maccabees' sufficiently indicate.

2. *all they that held with his father.*] See ch. ii. 42–44. The union among all the patriots, established by Mattathias after the first disaster (ch. ii. 38), continued under Judas. All accepted him as leader *cheerfully.*

3. *as a giant.*] Some allusion to his personal appearance seems to be intended. Dean Stanley says, "His countrymen delighted to remember the *stately appearance*, as of an ancient giant, when he fastened on his breastplate" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 306).

protecting the host.] Literally, "the camp;" but no doubt the host is intended.

with his sword.] On the sword of Judas,

B. C. cir. 166.

4 In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey.

5 For he pursued the wicked, and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people.

6 Wherefore the wicked shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled, because salvation prospered in his hand.

7 He grieved also many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever.

8 Moreover he went through the cities of Juda, destroying the ungodly out of them, and turning away wrath from Israel: B. C. cir. 166.

9 So that he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he ‖received unto him such as were ready to perish. ‖ Gr. *gathered together.*

10 Then Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria, to fight against Israel.

11 Which thing when Judas per-

see verse 12, and compare 2 Macc. xv. 15, 16.

4. *In his acts he was like a lion.*] Judah, Israel, and Gad are compared to lions in the Pentateuch (Gen. xlix. 9; Num. xxiv. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 20). Saul and Jonathan are said to have been "stronger than lions" (2 Sam. i. 23) by David. The metaphor is not common with the later Jewish writers, but is found, applied to Judas and his companions, in 2 Macc. xi. 11.

5. *he pursued the wicked.*] Literally, "the lawless ones," *i.e.* those who had cast aside the observance of the Law. (See ch. i. 43, 52; ch. ii. 23.)

burnt up those that vexed his people.] *I.e.* "consumed with fire the cities and strongholds of the Syro-Macedonians." (See below, ch. v. 5, 28, 35, &c.; and comp. 2 Macc. viii. 6, x. 36, &c.) Occasionally, the defenders were burnt with their strongholds (2 Macc. x. 36).

6. *salvation prospered in his hand.*] *I.e.* the work of shaking off the Syro-Macedonian tyranny, and rescuing the Jewish people from it, went on prosperously under his guidance.

7. *He grieved also many kings.*] Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius Soter are especially intended; but the term "king" is probably used with some vagueness, as in ch. ii. 48.

his memorial is blessed for ever.] See note on ch. ii. 51.

9. *he received unto him such as were ready to perish.*] This has been supposed to point to a chivalrous readiness to receive and protect persons in extreme distress or danger (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' *l.s.c.*); but it may be questioned whether more is meant than that he gathered to his standard, and united in one, the scattered Jews who were otherwise on the point of perishing. (Comp. ch. ii. 43, 44.)

§ 2. THE FIRST BATTLES OF JUDAS—HE DEFEATS APOLLONIUS AND SERON.

10–26. The force under the command of Judas amounted to six thousand warriors (2 Macc. viii. 1). With this he assumed the offensive, and beginning with night attacks (*ib.* verse 7), he took town after town from the enemy, enlarging his own borders and narrowing theirs. After a time, Apollonius, the "chief collector of tribute," who had made the assault on Jerusalem in B.C. 167 (*supra*, i. 29–32; 2 Macc. v. 24–26), and was apparently established as governor of Samaria, thought it incumbent on him to endeavour to put down the rebellion, and, having collected a large army, marched against Judas, who boldly met his attack half-way, defeated and slew him, and took his sword to be his own weapon (*vv.* 10–12). This futile effort was followed by the attempt of Seron, governor of Cœlesyria, who seems to have brought a very considerable force against the Jewish leader (*vv.* 15–19), and to have invaded the hill country in the neighbourhood of Beth-horon. He too was met and defeated, with the loss of 800 men, and his army was driven to take refuge in Philistia (*vv.* 23, 24). The military talent of Judas was sufficiently established by these two engagements, and his reputation spread far and wide (*vv.* 25, 26).

10. *Apollonius.*] Probably the same as the "chief collector of tribute" mentioned in ch. i. 29, whom the author of the Second Book calls "that detestable ringleader" (2 Macc. v. 24). Josephus calls him "commandant of Samaria" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 5); and we may conclude that he exercised satrapial authority over that district.

gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria.] The army which he collected consisted in part of Syro-Macedonians ("Gentiles"), in part of Samaritans, always hostile to the Jews, and now especially estranged from them. For the history of the

B. C. cir. 166. ceived, he went forth to meet him, and so he smote him, and slew him: many also fell down slain, but the rest fled.

12 Wherefore Judas took their spoils, and Apollonius' sword also, and therewith he fought all his life long.

13 Now when Seron, a prince of the army of Syria, heard say that Judas had gathered unto him a multitude and company of the faithful to go out with him to war;

14 He said, I will get me a name and honour in the kingdom; for I will go fight with Judas and them that are with him, who despise the king's commandment. B. C. cir. 166.

15 So he made him ready to go up, and there went with him a mighty host of the ungodly to help him, and to be avenged of the children of Israel.

16 And when he came near to the going up of Bethhoron, Judas went

enmity, see Ewald's 'History of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 213–222, E. T. Its germ may be found in the refusal of Zerubbabel to let the semi-heathen nation take part in the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra iv. 2–4), its expansion in the circumstances connected with the establishment of Manasseh at Samaria as Samaritan high priest (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xi. 7, § 2 *et seqq.*), and its full development in the establishment of a rival Temple, with a rival "Law" and a rival worship, on Mount Gerizim soon after the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander. The bitter feeling of the Jews against their neighbours shortly after this time is strongly indicated by the words of the Son of Sirach at the close of his book: "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation:—they that sit on the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem" (Ecclus. l. 25, 26).

11. *Judas . . . went forth to meet him.*] It was a part of the system of strategy adopted by Judas to take the offensive as much as possible. He never retreated before an enemy or avoided an engagement. Even when sought out by an aggressive foe, he always met him half-way. (See *vv.* 16, 23; and comp. ch. iv. 12, 29, 34; v. 3, 6, 39, &c.)

he slew him.] Not "with his own hand," as Scholz supposes, or the expression would have been different. All that is meant is, that Apollonius fell in the battle.

many fell down slain.] Or "were wounded to death," as the same phrase is rendered in ch. i. 18.

12. *Judas took . . . Apollonius' sword.*] Dean Stanley well compares David's use of the sword of Goliath (1 Sam. xxi. 9). It was one of the main disadvantages of the patriotic party that they were ill-armed (ch. iv. 6). The Jewish sword appears to have been a short straight weapon, like the Persian ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 114), not much better than a dagger. The Macedonian sword was of the same shape, but probably longer and better tempered.

13. *Seron.*] Seron is not known as a Greek name. Perhaps it represents the Phœnician Hiram, which was sometimes rendered into Greek by Seirômus or Seirom (Herod. vii. 98).

a prince of the army of Syria.] Rather, "**the commander** of the army of Syria." Josephus calls him "the general of Cœlesyria"—*i.e.* the commander of the troops stationed in that province, which adjoined Palestine on the north. It would be the duty of such an officer, without special orders, to undertake the suppression of a rebellion in Judæa as soon as the governor of Samaria had made an attempt and failed.

a multitude and company of the faithful.] *I.e.* not an organised army, but a mere mob of untrained men; in contrast with the "mighty host" of *v.* 15.

14. *who despise the king's commandment.*] Literally, "who set at nought the word of the king." (Comp. ch. i. 62; ii. 19–22, 34.)

15. *a mighty host of the ungodly.*] *I.e.* "a powerful army of Syro-Macedonians"—probably all the troops stationed in the province, who may have amounted to some 10,000 or 12,000 men.

16. *he came near to the going up of Bethhoron.*] Rather, "**they** came near." The "going up of Beth-horon" was the ascent from the Philistine plain to the highland of Judæa, which led from the coast to Jerusalem by way of Lydda, Gimzo, the two Bethhorons, and Gibeon. Seron, like most invaders, had kept the low ground until he reached the enemy's country, when he had to make the ascent from the Shefelah to the highland. His route must have led him near Modeïn. It is thought to have been that followed by Sennacherib. (See note on Josh. x. 10 in the 'Speaker's Commentary on the Old Testament,' vol. ii. p. 49.)

Judas went forth to meet him.] See note

B. C. cir. 166.

forth to meet him with a small company:

17 Who, when they saw the host coming to meet them, said unto Judas, How shall we be able, being so few, to fight against so great a multitude *and* so strong, seeing we are ready to faint with fasting all this day?

18 Unto whom Judas answered, [a] It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with *the God of* heaven it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company:

19 For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host; but strength cometh from heaven.

20 They come ‖against us ‖in much pride and iniquity to destroy us, and our wives and children, and to spoil us:

21 But we fight for our lives and our laws.

22 Wherefore the Lord himself will overthrow them before our face: and as for you, be ye not afraid of them.

23 Now as soon as he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and so Seron and his host was overthrown before him.

24 And they pursued them ‖from the going down of Bethhoron unto the plain, where were slain about eight hundred men of them; and

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‖ Or, *unto us.*

‖ Gr. *in multitude of pride,* or, *envy and iniquity.*

[a] 1 Sam. 14. 6. 2 Chron. 14. 11.

‖ Gr. *in the going down.*

on *v.* 11. The MSS. vary between "to meet *him*" and "to meet *them*."

with a small company.] Literally, "with a few out of many." Judas probably regarded the pass of Beth-horon as affording space for only a small number, and therefore occupied it with a small picked force.

17. *when they saw the host coming to meet them.*] The "little company" with Judas, posted at the head of the pass, would have a clear view of the "mighty host" of Seron as it ascended the long valley from the plain, and may be excused if it misdoubted its ability to resist so great a multitude. How it had happened that the men had been allowed to become "faint with fasting" we are not told, and can only conjecture. Perhaps Judas had expected Seron's troops to arrive earlier at the point where he designed to give them battle, and in this expectation had not encumbered himself with a commissariat.

18. *It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few.*] Or, "delivered into the hands of a few." (Comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 12, xxiv. 18; 2 Sam. xviii. 28.) God, that is, can with the greatest ease deliver many into the hands of a few, to be destroyed by them. This is a lesson constantly taught in the Old Testament (Judg. vii. 2–7; 1 Sam. xiv. 6–16; 2 Chr. xiv. 9–13, xx. 12–24), and is one for all time. Heaven is not always on the side of "big battalions."

with the God of heaven.] Several MSS. omit τοῦ θεοῦ—"the God;" and it is more consonant with the general practice of the author to omit the Holy Name than to express it. (See the Introduction, § 4.)

it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company.] Comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 6, and 2 Chron. xiv. 11, where the sentiment is exactly the same, though the expressions slightly differ.

20. *They come against us in much pride and iniquity.*] Rather, "**with great insolence and lawlessness.**" The proceedings of Antiochus were altogether contrary to the engagements which Alexander had made with the Jewish nation, and also with the understanding upon which they had transferred their allegiance from the Ptolemies to the Seleucidæ. This is perhaps the lawlessness (ἀνομία) intended. Or it may be the non-observance by the Syro-Macedonians of the ordinary laws of warfare among civilised nations, as indicated in the remainder of the verse. The Greeks did not commonly make war on "women and children."

22. *the Lord himself will overthrow them.*] Our translators supply the nominative, "the Lord;" which is not expressed in the original. The writer of the Book avoids, as much as possible, all mention of the Divine Name. (Compare the practice of the writer of Esther.)

23. *he leapt suddenly upon them.*] Those who hold a pass line its sides, concealing themselves. At a given signal they rise, and (as it were) "leap upon" the foe.

24. *they pursued them from the going down of Beth-horon unto the plain.*] Rather, "they pursued **him along** the going down of Beth-horon." The Jews hung upon the defeated enemy all along the descent into the Philistine plain, as their ancestors under Joshua had hung upon the defeated Canaanites (Josh. x. 10, 11), and as their descendants

B. C. cir. 166. the residue fled into the land of the Philistines.

25 Then began the fear of Judas and his brethren, and an exceeding great dread, to fall upon the nations round about them:

26 Insomuch as his fame came unto the king, and all nations talked of the battles of Judas.

27 Now when king Antiochus heard these things, he was full of indignation: wherefore he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, *even* a very strong army. B. C. cir. 166.

28 He opened also his treasure, and gave his soldiers pay for a year, commanding them to be ready ‖ whensoever he should need them. ‖ Gr. *at every need.*

29 Nevertheless, when he saw that the money of his treasures failed, and ‖ that the tributes in the country were small, because of the dissension ‖ Gr. *that the collectors of tribute in the country were few.*

in the great Roman war hung upon Cestius Gallus and his legionaries (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 19). Under the circumstances, the slaughter of "eight hundred men" is less than we should have expected, and indicative of a retreat in tolerably good order, which at no time became a rout.

the land of the Philistines.] The low tract between the hill country of Judæa—known as the *shefelah*—was still in possession of the Philistines, but belonged to the Syrian king. Its strong cities afforded the defeated troops of Seron a safe refuge.

25. *Then began the fear of Judas and his brethren.*] Hitherto the revolt had been looked upon as a trouble and annoyance, but not as a danger. Now that Judas, with only a small portion of his forces, had defeated a large detachment of the Syrian army, it was recognised that the consequences might be of serious importance to the Syrian empire and its dependencies—"the nations round about them."

26. *his fame came unto the king.*] Antiochus came to hear of Judas by name, and to understand that the Jews were acting under his leadership.

all nations.] A usual hyperbole—meaning all the nations of that part of the world.

§ 3. ANTIOCHUS GOES TO PERSIA, LEAVING LYSIAS TO CONDUCT THE WAR AGAINST JUDAS.

27–37. The ill-success of Seron moved Antiochus to increased exertion. He levied his whole military force, consisting probably of above 100,000 men, and gave them a year's pay in advance, perhaps to quiet apprehensions, which may have existed, that pay would not be forthcoming. He then found his treasury exhausted; and, as the tributes of some provinces were unpaid, he resolved to divide his troops, and proceed with one half of them to the eastern portion of the empire, for the purpose of collecting the arrears due to him there, leaving the other half under the command of a general named Lysias, to conduct the war against the Jews. Lysias was instructed to invade Judæa in force, and crush the rebellion by killing, or selling for slaves, the entire Jewish nation, after which he was to people the land with foreigners brought from a distance. Having given these commands, Epiphanes quitted Antioch, and proceeded through Mesopotamia to Persia.

27. *all the forces of his realm.*] According to the numbers assigned in ch. iii. 39 and ch. iv. 28 to the troops collected by Lysias, the entire armed force of the Syrian monarchy at this time should have considerably exceeded 100,000 men, since Lysias was left with only one half of the army (*v.* 34). The estimate does not seem to be unreasonable, since Antiochus the Great had 170,000 men at Magnesia (Appian, 'Syriaca,' p. 32), and Sidetes is said to have had 128,000 at Dora (ch. xv. 13).

28. *He . . . gave his soldiers pay for a year.*] The exhaustion of the Syrian treasury under Epiphanes has been already mentioned in the notes on ch. i. 20. His expenditure was reckless (see especially Polyb. xxxi. 3, 4); and it may well be that the soldiers were often left without pay, while huge sums were lavished on shows and games. Thus it was necessary, in order to secure the goodwill of the troops, to make them at the beginning of the campaign an advance of a year's pay.

29. *the money of his treasures failed.*] Polybius says, "he needed supplies of money" (xxxi. 11). It seems certain that the Syrian finances were seriously disordered under Antiochus Epiphanes, and that his policy was largely influenced by the necessity of obtaining supplies from one quarter or another. Hence his original attack upon the Temple of the Jews (ch. i. 21–23); and hence his present expedition into the eastern provinces which may, however, have embraced also other objects.

the tributes in the country were small.] Rather, "the tribute collectors in the country were few." Headmen of villages

B. C. cir. 165.

and plague, which he had brought upon the land ‖ in taking away the laws which had been of old time;

‖ Or, *for the taking away of the laws.*

30 He feared ‖ that he should not be able to bear the charges any longer, nor to have such gifts to give so liberally as he did before: for he had abounded above the kings that were before him.

‖ Gr. *that he should not have*

31 Wherefore, being greatly perplexed in his mind, he determined to go into Persia, there to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money.

32 So he left Lysias, a nobleman, and one of the blood royal, to oversee the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt:

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33 And to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again.

34 Moreover he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all things that he would have done, as also concerning them that dwelt in Juda and Jerusalem:

35 *To wit*, that he should send an army against them, to destroy and root out the strength of Israel, and

are the main collectors of taxes in the East. When a population became disaffected, they would refuse to act. The taxes would remain uncollected, and the result would be as expressed in the text.

because of the dissension and plague.] It would seem, from the expressions here used, that the general proclamation issued by Epiphanes, commanding uniformity in religion (ch. i. 41, 42), had provoked troubles in some regions besides Judæa, and led to a disorganisation which had told on the revenue. Setting aside Judæa, there was no part of the empire where religious reforms were so likely to be resisted as in Persia (see *v.* 31, and comp. ch. vi. 1–4), which clung to the religion of Zoroaster, and ultimately re-established it as the religion of the state.

in taking away the laws.] See above, ch. i. 42, "Every one should leave his laws."

30. *the charges.*] "The charges" are the ordinary expenses of the government, to which Epiphanes added greatly by his reckless liberality to individuals and states—often when they had absolutely no claim upon him. On occupying Naucratis, in Egypt, he went out of his way to present a gold piece to each of its Greek inhabitants (Polyb. xxviii. 17, § 11). On another occasion he sent a golden crown (worth fifty talents) to the Romans, and at the same time he sent a hundred talents to a certain number of the Grecian states (*ib.* 18, § 3). Polybius praises his "liberality;" but it was rather a culpable profusion that distinguished him.

liberally.] Literally, "with a lavish hand."

31. *he determined to go into Persia.*] "Persia" seems to be used vaguely in the two books of the Maccabees for the more eastern portion of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom. (Comp. ch. vi. 1, 5, 56; 2 Macc. i. 13, ix. 1, 21.)

to gather much money.] Antiochus did not look to obtain money solely by collection of the tribute due to him, but also by war and plunder, by the robbing of temples, and perhaps by other equivocal means. He led an expedition into Armenia early in B.C. 165, defeated the king, Artaxias, and took him prisoner (Appian, 'Syriac.' p. 117, B), and carried off a large booty (Diod. Sic. in C. Müller's 'Fragm. Hist. Gr.' vol. ii. p. x.; Strab. xi. p. 531, &c.). In the ensuing year, B.C. 164, he made the attempt to plunder the temple of Nanæa, or Anaïtis, which is recorded in ch. vi. 1–4, and in 2 Macc. ix. 2.

32. *Lysias, a nobleman.*] Rather "a man of note." Lysias is mentioned by Polybius, Livy, Appian, and Porphyry, as guardian of Antiochus Eupator, and regent during his minority. He was a man of considerable ability, though of no great military talent.

one of the blood royal.] Comp. 2 Macc. xi. 1.

33. *his son Antiochus.*] *I.e.* Antiochus Eupator, who succeeded his father at the age of nine (Appian) or twelve (Porphyry), and reigned two years—from B.C. 164 to B.C. 162—when he was put to death by Demetrius (ch. vii. 3, 4).

34. *the half of his forces.*] On their numbers, see the comment on *v.* 27.

and the elephants.] On the employment of war-elephants by the Syro-Macedonian kings, see note on ch. i. 17. In B.C. 164 Lysias is said to have brought eighty of these beasts against Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 4). Epiphanes knew that he could not make use of them in the mountain-region of Armenia, and therefore left the entire force to his officer.

35. *to destroy and root out the strength of Israel.*] It was not an ordinary war, but a war of extermination, that Lysias was commanded to wage. The Jews were to be utterly rooted out, and their places supplied

B. C. cir. 165. the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place;

36 And that he should place strangers in all their quarters, and divide their land by lot.

37 So the king took the half of the forces that remained, and departed from Antioch, ‖his royal city, the hundred forty and seventh year; and having passed the river Euphrates, he went through the high countries. B. C. 165. ‖ Gr. *a city of his kingdom.*

38 Then Lysias chose Ptolemee the *son* of Dorymenes, and Nicanor,

by strangers. Such a system had often been followed by the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs, and had generally proved successful. One of the best known instances was the deportation of the Israelites to Mesopotamia and Media by Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, and the re-peopling of their country by colonists from Babylon, Cutha, Susiana, Elymais, &c., by Esarhaddon (2 Kings xvii. 6, 24; Ezra iv. 9, 10). The design of Epiphanes was to effect a similar result, but by means of even greater severity, since the Jews, instead of being deported to a new locality, were to be either slain or sold as slaves. (See *v.* 41, and comp. 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11.)

the remnant of Jerusalem.] *I.e.* "the few Jews left at Jerusalem" (ch. i. 38, 53).

36. *that he should place strangers.*] Literally, "that strangers should settle." But perhaps the true reading is κατοικίσαι, which would give the sense of the text.

37. *the half of the forces that remained.*] Rather, "the half that remained of the forces." The other half, which had been assigned to Lysias, must have previously quitted Antioch.

Antioch, his royal city.] Originally Babylon had been fixed upon as the capital of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom; but Seleucus Nicator transferred the seat of government first to Seleucia, upon the Tigris, and afterwards to Antioch, which he built and called after his son. No doubt there were important interests which were best served by having the seat of government in the west; but Syria was weakened both for attack and defence by having its capital at one extremity of a long straggling territory. Antioch was from the first a flourishing city. Epiphanes had added greatly to its magnificence by carrying a broad colonnaded street through the heart of the place from one end to the other. (See K. O. Müller's 'Antiquitates Antiochenæ,' Göttingen, 1839.)

the hundred forty and seventh year.] B.C. 166–5. The departure from Antioch was probably in the spring of B.C. 165. Armenia could not be invaded with effect till about April.

having passed the river Euphrates.] The Euphrates would probably be crossed at Bir, and the march would then be by way of Orfah (Edessa) to Diarbekr (Amida), whence the way lay open into Armenia by any of the head-streams of the Tigris. The "high countries" are the mountainous tracts of upper Mesopotamia, in contrast with the low regions, which extend from the foot of the mountains to the Persian Gulf.

§ 4. Lysias sends an Army against Judæa under Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias.

38–41. Lysias, being left as regent of the western provinces, and under-estimating, it may be, the importance of the Jewish revolt, thought it sufficient to *send* an army to carry out the designs of the king, and did not lead it in person. Probably he remained at Antioch. The generals whom he selected were Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia (2 Macc. viii. 8); Nicanor, the son of Patroclus (*ib. v.* 9); and Gorgias, a captain of great experience (*ibid.*). The army under their command consisted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse, according to our author; but of 20,000 men only, according to the writer of the Second Book of the Maccabees (*l. s. c.*). Like Seron's army, it took the line of the coast tract, and moved into the Philistine plain, where it occupied a station near Emmaus. The army was swollen by some native Syrian and Philistine levies, while the camp was crowded with merchants from the same regions, attracted by the expectation of a large sale of Jewish captives at low prices (2 Macc. viii. 11).

38. *Lysias chose Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes.*] "Ptolemee, the son of Dorymenes," seems to be the same person as the "Ptolemy surnamed Macron," of 2 Macc. x. 12. If so, he was quite unconnected with the Egyptian Ptolemies, being the son of an Ætolian. He had, however, taken service under Ptolemy Philometor, and been by him made governor of Cyprus, but deserted this post, and transferred himself to the service of Epiphanes (2 Macc. x. 12, 13), who received him with favour, and gave him the government of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia (*ib.* viii. 6). At this time Ptolemy had been apprised by "Philip the Phrygian," governor of Jerusalem (2 Macc. v. 22), of the perilous state of affairs in Judæa, and had probably made a

B. C. cir. 165. and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's friends:

39 And with them he sent forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horsemen, to go into the land of Juda, and to destroy it, as the king commanded.

40 So they went forth with all their power, and came and pitched by Emmaus in the plain country.

41 And the merchants of the country, hearing the fame of them, took silver and gold very much, with ‖servants, and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves: a power also of Syria and of the land ‖of the Philistines joined themselves unto them.

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‖ Or, *fetters.*

‖ Or, *of strangers.*

42 Now when Judas and his brethren saw that miseries were multi-

report on the subject to Lysias, who thereupon gave him a command.

Nicanor.] Nicanor is placed at the head of the expedition by the writer of the Second Book (ch. viii. 9–24), who gives Ptolemy no part in it, and barely mentions the name of Gorgias (*ibid. v.* 9).

39. *forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horsemen.*] These numbers are confirmed by Josephus, and are not intrinsically improbable. The Syriac version has, however, "ten thousand" in the place of forty thousand, and the author of the Second Book estimates the entire force at 20,000 (2 Macc. viii. 9).

40. *by Emmaus in the plain country.*] This Emmaus is undoubtedly the city known afterwards as Nicopolis, which was twenty-two Roman miles distant from Jerusalem and ten from Lydda. (See 'Itin. Hieros.' p. 600, Wesseling.) It lay in the Philistine plain, at the foot of the mountains of Judæa, and is now represented by the small village of Amwas (Robinson, 'Researches in Palestine,' vol. iii. p. 147). The "Emmaus" of St. Luke's Gospel (xxiv. 13) must have been a different place.

41. *the merchants of the country.*] The dealers were probably, in the main, Phœnicians, though the seaport towns of Philistia may have furnished some. According to the author of the Second Book, Nicanor had apprised the merchants of his intention to sell the Jewish captives, and had fixed the low rate of ninety for a talent (less than 3*l.* each) as the price at which they would be sold (2 Macc. viii. 11).

with servants.] It is not very clear why these "servants" should be mentioned. The Syrian version has "fetters and chains," Josephus "fetters." We may suspect the mistake of a copyist, who wrote παῖδας for πέδας. The dealers brought "fetters" to place upon such of their purchases as they might deem dangerous.

a power also of Syria.] *I.e.* native Syrians not enrolled in the Syro-Macedonian army. They were attracted probably by the hope of plunder.

of the land of the Philistines.] Literally, "the land of foreigners." But the expression is often used, both in the Canonical and the Apocryphal books, to designate the Philistines. (See below, ch. iv. 30; v. 66, 68, &c.)

§ 5. JUDAS TAKES HIS FORCES TO MIZPEH, OVER AGAINST JERUSALEM, AND MAKES APPEAL TO GOD IN SIGHT OF THE HOLY CITY.

42–54. On learning the extreme danger that now threatened the patriots—their extermination decreed, and nearly 50,000 men sent to effect the execution of the decree—Judas took a remarkable resolution. He resolved, before engaging his new adversaries, to approach Jerusalem as closely as he could, and in the sight of the Temple and the Holy City to "make prayer to God, and ask mercy and compassion" (*v.* 44). He accordingly "led his scanty host over the mountains to the ridge of Mizpeh—the spot where Alexander had met Jaddua, and where, after the Chaldæan capture of Jerusalem, the pilgrims had come to wail over the Holy City. It was a mournful scene. They could see from that high rocky platform the deserted streets, the walls and gates closed as if of a besieged town, the silent precincts of the Temple, the Greek garrison in the fortress. Before that distant presence of the Holy Place, to which they could gain no nearer access, the mourners came wrapt in tatters of black hair-cloth, with ashes on their heads. They spread out the copies of the law they waved the sacerdotal vestments they shewed the animals and the vegetables due for firstfruits and tithes, they passed in long procession the Nazarites with their flowing tresses, who were unable to dedicate themselves in the sanctuary." (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 307–8.) After this, they called on God to be their helper, and concluded their "sorrowful ceremony" with a blast of trumpets, emblematic of expected triumph.

42. *when Judas saw that miseries were multiplied.*] Rather, "that evil increased upon them." Each success

B. C. cir. 165.

plied, and that the forces did encamp themselves in their borders; for they knew how the king had given commandment to destroy the people, and utterly abolish them;

43 They said one to another, Let us restore the decayed estate of our people, and let us fight for our people and the sanctuary.

44 Then was the congregation gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask mercy and compassion.

45 Now Jerusalem lay void [b]as a wilderness, there was none of her children that went in or out: the sanctuary also was trodden down, and aliens kept the strong hold; the heathen had their habitation in that place; and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased.

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[b] ch. 1. 38, 39.

46 Wherefore the Israelites assembled themselves together, and came to [‖]Maspha, over against Jerusalem; for [c]in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel.

‖ Or, *Mitzpa*.

[c] Judg. 20. 1. 1 Sam. 7. 5.

47 Then they fasted that day, and

seemed only to bring them into greater difficulty.

for they knew.] Rather, "**and knew.**"

to destroy the people, and utterly abolish them.] See above, *vv.* 35, 36. The extremity of their danger aroused extreme enthusiasm. The resistance would have been less desperate, and might possibly have been less successful, had Antiochus been content with milder measures.

43. *They said one to another.*] The movement is represented as spontaneous and general. "Each man said to his neighbour, Let us upraise the low estate of our people," &c. No doubt, Judas directed the general enthusiasm; but it burst forth of itself, and required no stimulus. The congregation gathered itself together (*v.* 44), and was ready either for battle or for supplication. Judas took advantage of the stir of feeling, and, quitting the neighbourhood of Emmaus, took his army to the heights of Mizpeh.

45. *Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness.*] This is not to be taken quite literally. A certain number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem had conformed to the decrees of Antiochus (ch. i. 52), and had "remained" in the city (ch. ii. 18). But her true children had left her. And to those who gazed from Mizpeh into her comparatively empty streets and squares, it seemed as if the populous city had become a desert, and was no more inhabited.

aliens kept the strong hold.] See ch. i. 33–36. A Syro-Macedonian garrison held the fortress, which had been seized and fortified when Apollonius made his first attack.

the heathen had their habitation in that place.] Rather, "**she was a dwelling-place for the heathen.**" Jerusalem, deserted (in the main) by her own children, had become a city of the heathen.

the pipe with the harp ceased.] Isaiah, speaking of the Israelites, says that "the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, were in their feasts" (ch. v. 12). A similar employment of music at festivals is touched upon by Amos (ch. vi. 5). Under the existing calamities there was an end of feasting, and consequently a cessation of music. (Cf. Is. xiv. 11.)

46. *Maspha.*] Literally, "Massepha." The identity of "Maspha," or "Massepha," with Mizpah or Mizpeh, is generally allowed. The LXX. express Mizpah by "Maspha" in 2 Chron. xvi. 6 and Neh. iii. 7, 15; in 1 Sam. they use the longer form "Massephath," which is almost identical with the "Massepha" of the present passage, *th* being a mere feminine ending. The exact situation, however, of Mizpeh has been much controverted. Dr. Robinson places it on Neby-Samwil, five miles from Jerusalem, to the north-west ('Researches,' vol. i. p. 460). But this seems too far off to suit the present description. Recent travellers have therefore sought another site for Mizpeh, and have found it on the broad ridge directly north of the city, which is a continuation of the Mount of Olives, whence there is an excellent view of both the city and the temple site. The distance is considerably less than a mile; and the site is undoubtedly that of the "Scopus" of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' v. 2, § 3), which seems to be a Greek translation of the Hebrew Mizpeh, "a watch-tower." Here is a village called Safat, or Shafat, which seems to be a corruption of the ancient name.

in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel.] On the sacred character attaching to Mizpeh in early times, see Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6; x. 17–25. Jerome says that it is one of the places where the ark abode for a time ('Quæst. Heb.' on 1 Sam. vii. 2).

47. *they fasted, &c.*] They began with humiliation, accumulating all its various signs

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put on sackcloth, and cast ashes upon their heads, and rent their clothes,

48 And laid open the book of the law, ‖ wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images.

‖ Or, *for the which the heathen had made diligent search, that they might paint therein the likeness of their idols.*

49 They brought also the priests' garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and the [d] Nazarites they stirred up, who had accomplished their days.

[d] Numb. 6. 2, 13.

50 Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven, saying, What shall we do with these, and whither shall we carry them away?

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51 For thy sanctuary is trodden down and profaned, and thy priests are in heaviness, and brought low.

52 And, lo, the heathen are assembled together against us to destroy us: what things they imagine against us, thou knowest.

53 How shall we be able to stand against them, except thou, *O God*, be our help?

54 Then sounded they with trumpets, and cried with a loud voice.

—sackcloth, clothes rent, ashes on the head, and fasting. (Comp. 1 Kings xxi. 27; Jonah iii. 6.) The intention, no doubt, was to acknowledge their own sinfulness in God's sight, before entreating His favour.

48. *And laid open the book of the law.*] It would seem by the expression used that they had but one copy, or at any rate that they produced only one. The Syro-Macedonians had torn up and burnt the greater number of the copies at the beginning of the persecution (ch. i. 56). They had been content, however, with disfiguring some by pictures of their own idols, or perhaps rather of their deities. It was to exhibit this profanation before the eye of God that the Book was "laid open." Compare the act of Hezekiah, when he "spread before the Lord" the blasphemous letter of Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 14).

the heathen had sought to paint the likeness.] Only a few of the MSS. preserve the true reading. The majority, and most of the printed texts, omit the mention of "painting."

49. *They brought also the priests' garments.*] On the holy garments commanded for the Jewish priests, see Ex. xxviii. 4–42. Apparently, they were now exhibited to shew that Judas and his followers were ready and anxious to resume the Temple worship, and only hindered by Jerusalem being in hostile hands. It was recognised that there could be no sacrificial worship outside the Temple.

and the firstfruits, and the tithes.] It had been determined in the time of Nehemiah, that all the firstfruits, and "the tithe of the tithes"—*i.e.* the priests' portion—should be carried every year to the Temple, and there made over to the sacerdotal authorities, who were thus to be spared the trouble and expense of collection (Neh. x. 35–39). The firstfruits and tithes were now brought as near to the Temple as possible under the circumstances, to indicate the readiness of the people to conform to the law of God in all things, so far as they could.

and the Nazarites they stirred up.] The completion of the ordinary, or limited, Nazarite vow could only take place in the Temple, where certain offerings had to be made, and the hair, which had been left untouched during the term of the vow, had to be cut off and burnt under the sacrifice upon the altar (Num. vi. 13–18). The Nazarites were now "stirred up" to come and present themselves as near the Temple as possible, to shew their readiness to complete their vows, unless hindered by the heathen.

50. *Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven.*] "Crying toward heaven" is the ordinary expression of the writer for making an appeal to God. (See ch. iv. 10, 40; v. 31; ix. 46, &c.)

What shall we do with these?] *I.e.* How shall we enable them to complete their vow? Whither shall we take them? We cannot take them to the Temple. Will not God shew us a way out of these difficulties?

53. *except thou, O God, be our help.*] The first thing is humiliation (*v.* 47); the next, an exposition of their enemies' impiety (*v.* 48); the third, a setting forth of their own needs (*vv.* 49–52); in conclusion, there is an appeal to God for aid (*v.* 53). This appeal is accompanied by a loud blare of trumpets, and a shout that was heard far and wide (*v.* 54). The blast of trumpets was not a mere signal for breaking up the camp (Num. x. 2)—united, as it was, with the loud shout, we must understand it as in part a defiance to the garrison in Jerusalem, in part an expression of confidence in the speedy triumph of the good cause.

§ 6. MILITARY MEASURES TAKEN BY JUDAS IN VIEW OF THE IMPENDING DANGER.

55–60. It would seem that hitherto the Jews under Judas had fought as an un-

B. C. cir. 165.

55 And after this Judas ordained captains over the people, *even* captains over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens.

[e] Deut. 20. 5, &c.

[f] Judg. 7. 3.

56 But as for such as [e]were building houses, or had betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or [f]were fearful, those he commanded that they should return, every man to his own house, according to the law.

57 So the camp removed, and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.

58 And Judas said, Arm yourselves, and be valiant men, and see that ye be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these nations, that are assembled together against us to destroy us and our sanctuary:

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59 For it is better for us to die in battle, than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary.

60 Nevertheless, [g]as the will of *God* is in heaven, so let him do.

[g] 2 Sam. 10. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

6 *Judas defeateth the plot,* 14 *and forces of Gorgias,* 23 *and spoileth their tents,* 34 *and overthroweth Lysias.* 45 *He pulleth down the altar which the heathen had profaned, and setteth up a new:* 60 *and maketh a wall about Sion.*

disciplined mass, with no officers but Judas and his brothers to guide them. Now that he had to contend with half the might of Syria (*v.* 34), the leader recognised the necessity of having recourse to something more of system. A decimal organisation seemed the easiest, and was already familiar to the thoughts of the nation from its adoption in former times. (See Ex. xviii. 21; Judg. xx. 10; 1 Sam. viii. 12; 2 Kings i. 9; xi. 4; 2 Chr. xxv. 5.) Accordingly, he introduced it in the old familiar shape, which, though not theoretically perfect, had been practically found convenient. A petty officer was appointed to each ten men, a superior one to five such bodies, a captain to each hundred, and a colonel to each thousand. Before, however, this arrangement had been made, the army was weeded of its less willing members—the timorous, the newly-married, and the immersed in worldly business—according to the injunctions laid down in Deuteronomy (ch. xx. 5–8)—and a picked force was thus obtained. The enemy was then sought out, the army returning to the neighbourhood of Emmaus; and in a short spirited harangue Judas bade them prepare to give the Syrians battle on the morrow.

55. *Judas ordained captains over the people.*] The arrangement is identical with that recommended by Jethro to Moses for judicial purposes (Ex. xviii. 21). It differs from the ordinary Jewish military system by the institution of "captains of tens."

56. *such as were building houses.*] These may have been a tolerably numerous class, since the patriots were to a large extent fugitives from Jerusalem and other towns, who, having quitted their houses, would have to build others.

or were fearful.] Compare the action of Gideon (Judg. vii. 3), who, by dismissing the "fearful," reduced his army from 32,000 to 10,000. The reduction may not have been great in the present instance, since few but brave men would have been likely to join the patriots.

57. *So the camp removed.*] Judas never sought to avoid battle, or stood simply on the defensive. When a force was sent against him, his object was to engage it—in the confident belief that, with God's help, he would overcome it. So, having held his prayer-meeting at Mizpeh, he broke up his camp, and marched westward, a distance of above twenty miles, to meet the enemy, whose position at Emmaus was well known to him.

and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.] Emmaus was at the northern foot of a spur which projected into the Philistine plain from the hill-country of Judæa. Judas, while encamping south of Emmaus, still remained on the high ground.

58. *Arm yourselves.*] Literally, "gird yourselves," but in the general sense of "prepare"—"make ready."

60. *as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do.*] Absolute resignation to the will of God is nowhere better expressed. Judas was content to succeed or fail, as God chose. Only, he hoped that, if he failed, he might be allowed to die (*v.* 59).

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. JUDAS AND HIS MEN DEFEAT AND DISPERSE THE FORCES UNDER NICANOR AND GORGIAS.

1–27. The army under Judas is said in 2 Macc. viii. 16 to have numbered six thousand men. As the Syro-Macedonians were more than seven times as numerous (ch. iii. 39), it did

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B. C. cir. 165. THEN took Gorgias five thousand footmen, and a thousand of the best horsemen, and removed out of the camp by night;

2 To the end he might rush in upon the camp of the Jews, and smite them suddenly. And the men of the fortress were his guides.

3 Now when Judas heard thereof, he himself removed, and the valiant men with him, that he might smite the king's army which was at Emmaus, B. C. cir. 165.

4 While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp.

5 In the mean season came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas: and when he found no man there, he sought them in the mountains: for said he, These fellows flee from us.

6 But as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain with

not seem a risk to their commanders to divide their force in two, and send a portion into the mountains to attack the Jewish camp, if a favourable opportunity offered, while the main body still continued in the plain. The command of the attacking force, which just equalled the army of Judas, was taken by Gorgias, the captain of "great experience" (2 Macc. viii. 9), while Nicanor remained at the head of the others, who occupied a fortified camp in the plain. Nothing is heard of Ptolemy, who was apparently absent. Gorgias hoped to surprise Judas, and to this end made a night march from Emmaus into the hill-country; but Judas, learning his intention, frustrated it by a counter-movement, abandoning his camp to Gorgias, while he flung himself on the forces of Nicanor. The result was a complete victory (*vv.* 14, 15; 2 Macc. viii. 24, 25). Nicanor's army was routed and dispersed, after which battle was offered to Gorgias, who declined it, and retreated with precipitation (*vv.* 16–22). The first attempt of Lysias thus completely failed. Out of the 47,000 men engaged in the war, 9000 were slain outright, and probably a still larger number wounded (2 Macc. viii. 24). Lysias was greatly disappointed and discouraged, but still determined to make a further effort to carry out the king's designs in the ensuing year.

1. *Then took Gorgias five thousand footmen.*] It is not clear whether Gorgias made his movement at the request of Nicanor, and in concert with him, or whether he had an independent command, and acted on his own responsibility. Dean Stanley supposes him to have been "commander of the forces *at Jerusalem*" ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 308). But nothing has been said of his having quitted Emmaus (ch. iii. 38–40); and it seems best to suppose that he had remained there till now. Verse 4 makes this almost certain.

removed out of the camp by night.] Rather, "his camp" or "his army removed by night."

2. *the men of the fortress were his guides.*] This is generally explained as "apostates from the citadel of Jerusalem." But the "fortress" intended may be the citadel of Emmaus. Persons belonging to the neighbourhood were likely to be better guides than men who came from a distance.

3. *when Judas heard.*] Judas had his "intelligence department," and was quickly apprised of the enemy's movement. To him the division of the Syro-Macedonian force seemed a strategic mistake, and he resolved at once to take advantage of it. "While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp" (*v.* 4), he determined to make an onslaught on those who remained to guard it. He may not have known their numbers, but he felt that at any rate it was best to fight before the troops of Gorgias rejoined those of Nicanor. (Cf. Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4.)

5. *came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas.*] This was what Judas had intended: he had left his tents standing, and had thus drawn Gorgias on. He may even have left booty in the camp, to occupy the attention of the soldiers. Meanwhile he had himself descended into the plain with 3000 men (*v.* 6), leaving perhaps 3000 as a reserve on the outlying hills.

he sought them in the mountains.] Gorgias thought that the soldiers of Judas, learning his approach, had fled and concealed themselves in the fastnesses of the mountains, and proceeded inland, in search of them.

6. *as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain.*] On the Jews' part the time for night attacks was past (2 Macc. viii. 7). Broad daylight best suits a foe who is confident of victory, either in his own strength, or through trust in a strength that is not his, but vouchsafed to him. Judas descended into the plain by night, but waited for the day to make his dispositions, and proceed to the assault. The exact dispositions which he made are given in the Second Book (2 Macc. viii. 22, 23); which, however, doubles the number of the Jewish army engaged in the struggle.

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three thousand men, who nevertheless had neither ‖armour nor swords to their minds.

‖ Or, *targets.*

7 And they saw the camp of the heathen, that it was strong and well harnessed, and compassed round about with horsemen; and these were expert of war.

8 Then said Judas to the men that were with him, Fear ye not their multitude, neither be ye afraid of their assault.

[a] Exod. 14. 30.

9 Remember how [a]our fathers were delivered in the Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them with an army.

10 Now therefore let us cry unto heaven, if peradventure the Lord will have mercy upon us, and remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this host before our face this day:

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11 [b]That so all the heathen may know that there is one who delivereth and saveth Israel.

[b] 1 Sam. 17. 46.

12 Then the strangers lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them.

13 Wherefore they went out of the camp to battle; but they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets.

14 So they joined battle, and the heathen being discomfited fled into the plain.

who . . . had neither armour nor swords to their minds.] See note on ch. iii. 12.

7. *the camp of the heathen.*] Some translate, "the *host* of the heathen," but probably the camp is intended. (Comp. *v.* 13.)

well harnessed.] *I.e.* well guarded with a rampart or breastwork. So *θώρηξ* is used by Herodotus (i. 181), and *θωράκιον* by Diodorus (xvii. 44), Philo (ii. 324), and others.

compassed round about with horsemen.] Patrols of horse guarded the camp on every side, so that it was impossible to surprise it.

8. *Then said Judas, &c.*] This seems to be the place where the fuller account of 2 Macc. viii. 16–23 properly comes in. Judas addressed his men at some length; exhorted them not to be afraid of the enemy (2 Macc. viii. 16); reminded them of the wrongs which they had suffered at their hands (*ib. v.* 17); spoke of former deliverances — that from Pharaoh at the Red Sea (1 Macc. iv. 9), that from Sennacherib (2 Macc. viii. 19), and that from the Celtic invaders of Asia somewhat recently (*ib. v.* 20); and finally bade them make an earnest appeal to heaven for help and salvation (1 Macc. iv. 10, 11); after which he made a fresh disposition of his force. Dividing it into four equal bands, assuming the command of one of them himself, and assigning the other three to his brothers John, Simon, and Jonathan respectively, he ordered the fifth brother, Eleazar, to recite from the Holy Book (2 Macc. viii. 21–23); and then, while the words sounded in their ears, commanded his army to advance to the attack, himself leading the way.

Fear ye not.] Comp. ch. iii. 22.

their multitude.] Even if Judas advanced with his entire force of six thousand men (2 Macc. viii. 16, 22), still he was outnumbered at least sevenfold (ch. iii. 39, 41; iv. 1).

11. *That so all the heathen may know.*] Comp. Ex. xv. 14; Ps. lix. 13, lxxix. 10; lxxxiii. 18, xcviii. 2, &c. The vindication of God's honour in the sight of the heathen is one of the most legitimate objects of human effort; and the saints of God make it the subject of frequent petition. Moses in the wilderness has no more potent argument either when he requests God's aid, or when he deprecates the punishments which the people's sins have deserved. (See Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 15, 16; Deut. ix. 28; xxxii. 27, &c.)

12. *the strangers lifted up their eyes.*] The enemy, to their surprise, saw the small Jewish force rapidly advancing upon them across the plain. They could not for very shame decline the combat, so they quitted their walled camp (*v.* 7), and drew themselves up in order of battle (*v.* 13). The Jews, as they charged, blew their well-known trumpet-blast, an encouragement to themselves, a terror to the adversary.

14. *being discomfited.*] The expression used in the original is stronger, implying a *crushing* defeat.

fled into the plain.] There is a slight difficulty here, since Emmaus itself was "in the plain" (ch. iii. 40), and Judas has descended "into the plain" (ch. iv. 6), in order to attack the Syro-Macedonian army. Probably the writer is thinking of the entire broad tract of Philistia, and regarding that as the true plain, rather than the embayed recess about Emmaus, which was a sort of valley connected with the plain.

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15 Howbeit all the hindmost of them were slain with the sword: for they pursued them unto ‖ Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia, so that there were slain of them upon a three thousand men.

‖ Gr. *Assaremoth.*

16 This done, Judas returned again with his host from pursuing them,

17 And said to the people, Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us,

18 And Gorgias and his host are here by us in the mountain: but stand ye now against our enemies, and overcome them, and after this ye may boldly take the spoils.

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19 As Judas was yet speaking these words, there appeared a part of them looking out of the mountain:

20 Who when they perceived that the Jews had put their host to flight, and were burning the tents; for the smoke that was seen declared what was done:

15. *they pursued them unto Gazera.*] The position of "Gazêra" (or Gazara), long regarded as uncertain, seems to have been fixed by the discoveries of M. Clermont-Ganneau, who first found a Tel-el-Jezer mentioned by the Arabian geographers in the required locality, then obtained the same name from the present inhabitants, and finally came upon a rock inscription in which the name of Gezer was repeated twice ('Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund,' Oct. 1875, pp. 200–1). The position is one three miles W. of Khulda, and about six E. of Akir (Ekron), at a village called Abu-Shooshah, of which the Tel forms a part. The distance from Emmaus (Amwas) is about eight miles.

the plains of Idumea, &c.] The defeated army, having kept together as far as Gazara, there separated, and fled in three directions, westward to "the plain of Jamnia," marked by the modern Yebneh, in the Sorek valley; south-westward to "the plain of Ashdod," marked by the modern Esdûd; and southward or south-eastward to "the plain of Idumæa," the country south of Judæa, between Hebron and Beersheba. The limits of Idumæa, vague at all times, are perhaps extended by the writer so as to include the flat country about Tel-el-Safi and Merash or Mareshah.

Azotus.] The identity of the ancient Ashdod (or Azotus) with the modern Esdûd is generally allowed. Esdûd is situated about three miles from the coast, a little south of the water-course known as the "valley of Elah." It stands on a slight elevation, which looks down upon the plain, and makes the situation a commanding one. Ashdod was one of the most ancient of the Philistine towns (Josh. xv. 47; 1 Sam. v. 5). It was taken by Sargon in B.C. 711, and by Psamatik I. about B.C. 630, after a long siege (Herod. ii. 157).

Jamnia.] "Jamnia" appears as Jabneel in Joshua (xv. 11), and as Jabneh in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). It was some three or four miles from the sea, but had a port dependent on it, which bore the same name (2 Macc. xii. 9; Plin. 'H. N.' v. 12). Ordinarily, it was a Philistine possession. The site seems to be marked by the modern Yebneh, a small village south of the Sorek, eleven miles from Joppa, and sixteen from Esdûd.

there were slain of them upon a three thousand.] The writer of the Second Book says "*nine* thousand" (2 Macc. viii. 24), which is more in accord with the strong expression used above, in *v.* 14. He adds that "the most part of Nicanor's host" was "wounded and maimed" by the patriots.

16. *Judas returned again from pursuing them.*] The battle took place upon the sixth day of the week, and by the time that Gazara was reached the sabbath was approaching. Judas therefore withdrew his men, being unwilling to desecrate the sabbath, and contented himself with firing the camp and despoiling the slain of their armour (2 Macc. viii. 27). The other reason here alleged for the recall—the near presence of Gorgias—may also have actuated him.

17. *Be not greedy of the spoils.*] *I.e.* "wait for the present—do not attempt to plunder the camp—if you were once engaged in plundering, Gorgias might take you at a disadvantage."

there is a battle before us.] Rather perhaps, "there is *war* before us," the entire force of the enemy is not accounted for—Gorgias still remains somewhere in our neighbourhood: the war is not over.

18. *in the mountain.*] Rather, "in the hill-country." (Cf. *v.* 5.)

boldly.] Or "confidently." Without any fear of a hostile attack upon you on the part of Gorgias.

19–22. The detachment under Gorgias, having searched the interior of the hill-country

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21 When therefore they perceived these things, they were sore afraid, and seeing also the host of Judas in the plain ready to fight,

22 They fled every one into the land of strangers.

23 Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold, and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches.

24 After this they went home, and sung a song of thanksgiving, and praised the Lord in heaven: [c] because ‖ it is good, because his mercy *endureth* for ever.

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‖ Or, *he.*

25 Thus Israel had a great deliverance that day.

26 Now all the strangers that had escaped came and told Lysias what had happened:

27 Who, when he heard thereof, was confounded and discouraged, because neither such things as he would were done unto Israel, nor such things as the king commanded him were come to pass.

[c] Ps. 136. 1.

near Emmaus and found no trace of Judas or his army, had returned to the outskirts, and "looked out" from some high position upon the plain. The sight revealed to them was that of Nicanor's camp in flames, and his troops dispersed far and wide over the Shefelah (*v.* 15), while the army of Judas was drawn up in battle array, ready for combat. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, his troops "were sore afraid," and "fled every one" into the Philistine country, seeking to rejoin the troops of Nicanor.

23. *Judas returned to spoil the tents.*] Rather, "the camp"—no doubt the camp of Nicanor, near Emmaus. The inflammable portions had been burnt; but the flames would have made small impression on the more valuable portion of the spoil. There would remain an abundance of arms and armour (2 Macc. viii. 27), sorely needed by the patriots (1 Macc. iv. 6); there would be silver and gold, in specie, in ornaments, in vases and drinking-cups; there would be precious stuffs and fabrics, damaged, it may be, more or less, but still of considerable value. Judas and his men "got much gold, and silver, and blue (silk), and purple of the sea, and great riches."

blue silk.] There is no word expressive of "silk" in the original; and it is more than doubtful whether "silk" is intended. The blue of the Tabernacle was either a woollen or a linen fabric (Ex. xxxv. 25); and the same may be said of the "blue" of Solomon's Temple (2 Chr. ii. 7, 14). There is no distinct reference to silk in the Old Testament; and it is scarcely likely to have been found in the camp of Nicanor. The blue, or rather violet, apparel found, would probably be of wool, as would be also the purple (or crimson) apparel.

purple of the sea.] *I.e.* apparel dyed with the juice of the *Murex trunculus*, a shell-fish common in the eastern Mediterranean, and particularly abundant upon the coast of Phœnicia. The hue varied from a deep purple to a light crimson. It was greatly affected by the Eastern nations (Ex. xxv. 4; Judg. viii. 26; 2 Chr. iii. 14; Esther i. 6, viii. 15; Prov. xxxi. 22; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16; Ecclus. xlv. 10; Baruch vi. 12; 1 Macc. x. 20; 2 Macc. iv. 38, &c.).

24. *they went home.*] Literally, "they returned"—*i.e.* quitted the plain, and re-occupied the hill-country.

praised the Lord in heaven.] Rather, "they praised the Lord **unto the heaven**"—*i.e.* with eyes and voices lifted up to heaven.

because it is good, &c.] *I.e.* they sang the usual hymn of thanksgiving—the hundred and thirty-sixth Psalm—"the national anthem" (as it has been called) "of the Jewish race" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 308–9). Cf. 1 Chr. xvi. 41; 2 Chr. v. 13, vii. 3, xx. 21; Jer. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iii. 11.

26. *all the strangers.*] The Syro-Macedonian soldiers. (Cf. *v.* 12.)

§ 2. Attack made on Judas by Lysias in person.

28–35. The defeat of his generals induced Lysias to take the field in person. Having spent the winter in collecting a force almost half as numerous again as the former one—60,000 foot and 5000 horse—he marched early in the ensuing year, B.C. 164, into Idumæa, and took up a position at Bethsura, or Beth-zur, on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, about five miles from the former and thirteen from the latter place. Here Judas met him, with an army of 10,000 men. After the Jewish chief had prayed earnestly for a blessing on his arms (*vv.* 30–33), the two hosts joined battle, and once more the Syro-Macedonians suffered a complete defeat. The slain are estimated at 5000, and the wounded must have been much more numerous. Lysias accepted the trial of arms as decisive, and returned to Antioch without

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28 The next year therefore following Lysias gathered together threescore thousand choice men *of foot*, and five thousand horsemen, that he might subdue them.

29 So they came into Idumea, and pitched their tents at Bethsura, and Judas met them with ten thousand men.

30 And when he saw that mighty army, he prayed and said, Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, [d] who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and gavest the host of ‖strangers into the hands of [e] Jonathan the son of Saul, and his armourbearer;

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‖ Or, *Philistines.*

[d] 1 Sam. 17. 50, 51.

[e] 1 Sam. 14. 13, 14.

31 Shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be confounded in their power and horsemen:

32 Make them to be of no courage, and cause the boldness of their strength to ‖fall away, and let them quake at their destruction:

‖ Gr. *melt*

33 Cast them down with the sword

making any further effort. His only hope was in his power of collecting a still larger force, and making another expedition (*v.* 35).

28. *threescore thousand choice men.*] As large a force as he could easily raise, seeing that Antiochus had left him one-half only of the military strength of the empire (ch. iii. 34).

five thousand horsemen.] The proportion is unusually small. But it was difficult for cavalry to act in the hill-country of Judæa.

that he might subdue them.] Rather, "to the end that he might **utterly** subdue them." It is implied that Lysias thought the force which he had gathered together would be irresistible, and must shortly bring the rebellion to an end. As Judas was unable to muster more than 10,000 men against 65,000, the expectation was not unreasonable.

29. *So they came into Idumea.*] This was strategy of a new character. The Syro-Macedonians marched round their enemies' left flank, and effected a lodgment in their rear. The Idumæans, being hostile to the Jews at all times (Num. xx. 21; 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 16; 2 Kings viii. 20; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Ezek. xxv. 12; 2 Chron. xxviii. 17; &c.), would be sure to support the attack, and do their best to make it successful (ch. v. 3). If the attempt succeeded, the Jews would be caught in a trap from which there was no escape, and either slaughtered or made prisoners.

and pitched their tents at Bethsura.] Bethsura appears as Beth-zur, "the House of the Rock," in Josh. xv. 58, where its position is marked as in the mountains reckoned to Judah, between Halhul and Gedor. It was among the towns fortified by Rehoboam in expectation of the attack of Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 7); and was still regarded as belonging to Judah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 16). It had now passed, however, from the Jews into the hands of the Idumæans, and was a strong fortress on the border of the two countries. (See *v.* 61, and cf. ch. vi. 7, 26; ix. 52; xiv. 33; &c.) At a later date it was called Bethasora ('Itin. Hieros.' p. 599, 1), and is now known as Beit-Sur. The position is commanding, and is well supplied with water ('Quarterly Statement of Pal. Expl. Fund,' April 1875, p. 67).

with ten thousand men.] A larger force than he had ever gathered together before. It was natural that his successes should swell his army.

30. *O Saviour of Israel.*] The exact expression, "Saviour of Israel," is found only here and in Jer. xiv. 8. But expressions closely akin occur in Judg. iii. 9; 2 Kings xiii. 5; Is. xlix. 26, lx. 26, lxiii. 8, &c. The God of the Old Testament was well known as the Saviour of His people from the time of Moses downwards.

who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David.] The allusion is probably to David's victory over Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 38–51).

and gavest the host of strangers into the hands of Jonathan.] Rather, "the host of **the Philistines**." The occasion intended is that which nearly cost Jonathan his life, when he and his armour-bearer smote the Philistine camp in Michmash, and Jonathan unwittingly contravened the command of Saul, that none should eat food until the evening (1 Sam. xiv. 6–27).

31. *Shut up this army in the hand.*] Or, "deliver this army into the hand." See note on ch. iii. 18.

let them be confounded.] Literally, "let them be brought to shame."

in their power and horsemen.] "Power" (δύναμις) is used by the writer especially of foot-soldiers (see ch. xv. 41).

32. *Make them to be of no courage.*] Literally, "give them cowardice."

cause the boldness of their strength to fall

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of them that love thee, and let all those that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving.

34 So they joined battle; and there were slain of the host of Lysias about five thousand men, even before them were they slain.

35 Now when Lysias saw his army put to flight, and the manliness of Judas' soldiers, and how they were ready either to live or die valiantly, he went into Antiochia, and gathered together a company of strangers, and having made his army greater than it was, he purposed to come again into Judea.

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36 Then said Judas and his brethren, Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse and ‖ dedicate the sanctuary.

‖ Or, *repair.*

away.] Rather, "melt the boldness of their strength," or "cause it to melt away."

33. *let all those that know thy name praise thee.*] *I.e.* "let us be victorious, and then we shall sing to thee a psalm of thanksgiving." (Cf. *v.* 24.)

35. *Lysias . . . gathered together a company of strangers.*] Rather, "proceeded to levy mercenaries." This is the constant meaning of ξενολογεῖν and its cognate terms in Polybius, Plutarch, Diodorus, and other late Greek writers. It even occurs in the same sense in Isocrates and Demosthenes. Lysias having found the full force of Syria, so far as he had control over it, insufficient, made up his mind to enrol an army of mercenary soldiers. Mr. Grote has some good remarks on the multiplication of such soldiers in Greece after the Peloponnesian War, and the mischievous consequences which followed from it ('History of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 35). The practice rather increased than diminished after the time of Alexander.

having made his army greater than it was.] This was his purpose. It does not appear that he effected it. Before the time came for renewing his attack, the news of Epiphanes' death reached him, and he became involved in a civil war, first against Philip, whom Epiphanes had made regent shortly before his death (ch. vi. 55–63), and then against Demetrius (ch. vii. 1–4).

§ 3. JUDAS RECOVERS THE TEMPLE, PURIFIES AND RE-DEDICATES IT, AND RE-ESTABLISHES THE TEMPLE WORSHIP.

36–59. The repulse of Lysias at Bethzur changed the character of the struggle. Hitherto the patriots had stood almost entirely on the defensive, maintaining their independence by vast efforts, continually attacked, and contenting themselves with repulsing one attack after another. Now they felt that, for a time at any rate, they were safe from molestation, and might in their turn act on the offensive. The Syrian army was dispersed; they were masters of the whole open country; Syria could count as hers only the few strongholds in which she had left garrisons. Among these the most important—that to which the hearts and minds of all faithful Judæans turned—was Jerusalem. Though they might not be powerful enough at present to drive the Syrians out of the strong fortress which they had raised upon the western hill (ch. i. 33–36), it was quite possible that they might be able to recover and re-occupy the eastern or Temple eminence. The Temple worship was so much the centre and kernel of the Jewish religion, that naturally all hearts and minds were turned in this direction, and when Judas, interpreting the general feeling, exclaimed, "Our enemies are discomfited—let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctuary," there was a universal acquiescence. The Temple site was occupied, the defilements removed, the place renovated, and, while the foreign garrison was kept at bay (*v.* 41), the whole area was cleansed, and the place re-dedicated (*vv.* 54–56). In the enthusiasm of the moment it was decreed that the "Feast of the Dedication" should be henceforth held each year for seven days, beginning with the 25th of the month Casleu —the day of the resumption of the morning and evening sacrifice (*v.* 59).

36. *let us go up to cleanse . . . the sanctuary.*] See ch. i. 46. The sanctuary is said to have been polluted, not only by the idolatrous altar erected on the top of the altar of burnt offering (*ib. v.* 54), but also by introducing a herd of swine into the Holy Place and slaughtering them within its precincts (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 4; Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1). The entire sanctuary thus required cleansing.

and dedicate.] Zerubbabel had "dedicated" the house of God which he raised on the site of the Temple of Solomon after the return from the Captivity (Ezra vi. 16, 17), when the place had merely lain waste, without any positive desecration. Still more necessary was it, after such a pollution as that described in the preceding note, that the place should be purified and set apart for God afresh by a solemn act of re-dedication.

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37 Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up into mount Sion.

38 And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down;

39 They rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads,

40 And fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven. B. C. cir. 164.

41 Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against [f] those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary. [f] ch. 1 34.

42 So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law:

43 Who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place.

37. *into mount Sion.*] "Mount Sion" here, as generally in the Maccabees, means the eastern hill, on some part of which the Temple was built. The modern Sion is the south-western hill. It is argued by some of the best modern authorities that the Sion of David—the true Sion—was neither of these, but a separate hill, north of the modern Sion, and nearly due west of the Temple. (See Col. Warren's paper in the 'Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology' for 1881, pp. 311–315.)

38. *the gates burned up.*] The gates had been destroyed to lay the place open and prevent its being defensible. They seem to have been five in number. (See 2 Kings xi. 6, 19; 1 Chr. xxvi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 5, 20.)

shrubs . . . as in a forest.] Rather, "as in a **coppice.**" But the expression is exaggerated, since the site had not lain waste so much as four years.

the priests' chambers pulled down.] The term used here, παστοφόρια, is a rare one. There was a class of priests in Egypt, called by the Greeks παστοφόροι, whose business it was to carry the images of gods enclosed in small shrines (Diod. Sic. i. 29; Clem. Al. p. 253). The chambers in the Egyptian temples occupied by these priests were called παστοφόρια or παστοφορεῖα. After the Jews began to have chambers for priests in their temple (Neh. xiii. 5, 7, 9; Esdr. viii. 59), the word was applied to them, not very appropriately.

39. *They rent their clothes, &c.*] Comp. ch. iii. 47. The mourning was not carried out to such lengths as the former one, since then there seemed small hope of undoing the accursed work of the heathen, whereas now that work was about to pass wholly away.

40. *fell down flat.* In a sort of ecstasy of horror—not to worship, but to humiliate themselves.

and blew an alarm with the trumpets.] Rather, "and **sounded with the signal trumpets.**" The silver trumpets of the Levitical law (Num. x. 2–10) were to be used for signals of all kinds, and were therefore called by the LXX. σάλπιγγες τῶν σημασιῶν, "trumpets of signals," or "signal trumpets" (Num. xxxi. 6). The phrase took the place of the Hebrew *khatsôtsĕroth hat-tĕrû'ah*, which, however, meant rather "trumpets of loud sound" than "trumpets of signal." The trumpets were used probably on this occasion to give the signal for a general prostration, to be followed by a "cry to heaven."

cried toward heaven.] See the comment on ch. iii. 50.

41. *to fight against those that were in the fortress.*] The stronghold, called ἄκρα by the author of this book, probably identical with the *akra* of Josephus, was still occupied by the Syrian garrison, which had seized and fortified it three years and a half before. (See ch. i. 33, 34.) Whether its position was due north of the Temple, as generally supposed, or due west, as Col. Warren argues, is perhaps doubtful.

until he had cleansed.] The object of Judas was not to take the fortress, but to occupy the attention of the garrison, and prevent them from making sallies to molest the workmen and others who were engaged in restoring and purifying the Temple. The fortress was not taken till twenty-three years later, under Simon. (See ch. xiii. 51.)

42. *priests of blameless conversation.*] Grimm suggests that the true meaning of ἀμώμους here is "free from legal defilement;" but the rendering of the A. V., which accords with the invariable use of the term in the New Testament (Eph. i. 4; v. 27; Col. i. 22; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 19; Jude 24; Rev. xiv. 5), is greatly preferable.

43. *an unclean place.*] Probably the valley of the Kidron, which was regarded as essentially impure. Here Asa had burnt the

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B. C. cir. 164. 44 And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings, which was profaned;

45 They thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it: wherefore they pulled it down,

46 And laid up the stones in the [f] mountain of the temple in a convenient place, [g] until there should come a prophet to shew what should be done with them.

47 Then they took whole stones [h] according to the law, and built a new altar according to the former;

48 And made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the courts.

49 They made also new holy vessels, and into the temple they brought

[f] ch. 9. 27. & 14. 41.

[h] Exod. 20. 25. Deut. 27. 5. Josh. 8. 31.

idol of his mother, Maachah (1 Kings xv. 13); here Hezekiah had deposited the pollutions of Ahaz, and Josiah, the remains of the grove, altars, and idolatrous vessels of Manasseh (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, 12; 2 Chr. xxix. 16); here, according to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 7, § 3), the wicked Athaliah had been executed. The "defiled stones" spoken of were probably those of which had been made the altar to Olympian Jove, built by the Syrians on the summit of the old altar of burnt-offerings. (See ch. i. 54, and note *ad loc.*)

44. *they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings.*] This was the structure raised up by Zerubbabel after the return from the Captivity, as related in Ezra iii. 2, 3. It had been laid "upon the bases" of Solomon's altar, which the exiles were able to trace out, and was thus a square structure of thirty feet each way (2 Chr. iv. 1). In material, however, it differed from Solomon's altar, being of stone (*v.* 46), whereas his was of bronze. We can well understand that there might be a difference of opinion as to what it was best to do with the altar, which some might think that the sacrifices of nearly 400 years had made indelibly holy, while others might feel that the recent pollution had incurably desecrated it. The result of the "consultation" was a compromise. The altar was "pulled down;" but the stones composing it were carefully "laid up" within the Temple precincts.

45. *They thought it best to pull it down.*] Rather, "**and the happy thought fell upon them to** pull it down." ("Es fiel ihnen bei ein guter Rath"—Grimm.)

lest it should be a reproach to them.] Here we have the paramount motive. Had they dwelt by themselves they might have determined otherwise; but living among the heathen, they had to consider, not so much what was abstractedly right as what was expedient under the circumstances. Retention of the altar would have laid them open to reproach. Its destruction was the strongest possible protest against idolatry.

46. *in the mountain of the temple.*] *I.e.* "in some part of the temple hill."

in a convenient place.] Tradition said that the "place" selected was a room belonging to the high priest at the north-western corner of the Temple ('Middoth,' Mishna, iv. 46).

until there should come a prophet.] Comp. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65; 1 Macc. xiv. 41. In the interval between the death of Malachi (ab. B.C. 400) and the coming of John the Baptist (ab. A.D. 27), the Jews were continually expecting a prophet to appear, with authority to settle all matters of religion on which there was any doubt. The general expectation was that Elijah would rise from the dead and "restore all things" (Matt. xvii. 11); but some expected Jeremiah (*ib.* xiv. 14); while others merely supposed that God would not—could not—long leave his "peculiar people" without an inspired guide to direct them. The expectation did not die away as time went on, but rather grew in force, and became a definite anticipation of the coming of "Messiah the Prince" before the Baptist came forth from his seclusion.

47. *they took whole stones according to the law.*] By "*whole* stones" are meant stones in their natural condition, untouched by the saw or the graving-tool, such as are commanded to be used in Ex. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5.

built a new altar.] Literally, "built the altar anew." Being on the same site, it was still regarded as the same altar.

48. *And made up the sanctuary.*] Rather, "**built** up." The walls had probably suffered wanton injury in places.

and the things that were within the temple.] Rather, "and the **inner parts of the temple**"—*i.e.* the walls and other partitions which divided the Temple into portions. These too had suffered damage, and required repairs.

and hallowed the courts.] *I.e.* removed all defilements from them, and perhaps purified them with "the water of separation" (Num. xix. 9–21), as Grimm supposes.

49. *new holy vessels.*] "Furniture" is intended, rather than "vessels." The original furniture of the Temple had consisted of

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B. C. cir. 164. the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense, and the table.

50 And upon the altar they burned incense, and the lamps that were upon the candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the temple.

51 Furthermore they set the loaves upon the table, and ‖spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make.

‖ Or, *spread abroad the hangings, or, hanged up the veils.*

52 Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which *is called* the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, B. C. cir. 164.

53 And offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings, which they had made.

54 Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.

55 Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.

four objects:—1. The ark, with the cherubim and the mercy-seat; 2. The golden candlestick, or lamp-stand; 3. The table for the shewbread; and 4. The altar of incense. The ark and mercy-seat appear to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Esd. x. 22), and the second temple had not even any counterparts of them (Joseph. 'Bel. Jud.' v. 5, § 5; Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 9). Hence the pieces of furniture had been reduced to three. These, having been carried off by the Syro-Macedonians (ch. i. 21, 22), were now replaced by new constructions. According to the Talmud, the candlestick now made was not of gold, but of iron cased with wood (Derembourg, 'History of Palestine,' p. 54).

the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense.] This is the reading of the Aldine edition, and of several MSS. It is, however, manifestly erroneous. The "altar of burnt-offerings" could not be "brought into the Temple," since it was a solid stone structure built in the outer court (*v.* 47); nor could there have been any occasion to mention it a second time. Most manuscripts, including the Codex Alexandrinus, read τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῶν θυμιαμάτων, "the altar of incense," omitting the words ὁλοκαυτωμάτων καί. On the "altar of incense," or the "golden altar," see note on ch. i. 21.

50. *they burned incense, and the lamps . . . they lighted.*] Compare Ex. xl. 25, 27. They resumed each of the practices disused during the time of desolation.

51. *they set the loaves upon the table.*] The twelve loaves of the shewbread, which were the continued thank-offering of the twelve tribes of Israel. (Comp. Ex. xxv. 30; xl. 23; Lev. xxiv. 5–9.)

spread out the veils.] By "the veils" we must understand:—1. The veil proper, which separated between the "Holy Place" and the "Holy of Holies;" and 2. The "hanging" at the door of the "Holy Place," which divided it from the porch (Ex. xxvi. 36; xxxvi. 37).

52. *on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month.*] Exactly three years from the date of the first sacrifice on the idol-altar set up by the Syro-Macedonians. (See ch. i. 54, 59; and comp. 2 Macc. x. 5.)

they rose up betimes.] They were impatient of delay—eager to witness the rekindling of the flame upon the altar, which was the symbol of the national life, and the renewal of the daily sacrifice, which was the sign of the nation's self-dedication to God. According to the writer of the Second Book, the sacrificial fire was obtained by striking two stones together for the purpose (2 Macc. x. 3). Light so obtained was reckoned holy, as coming straight from nature, *i.e.* from God.

53. *offered sacrifice according to the law.*] *I.e.* "offered the morning sacrifice, a lamb of the first year, with its appointed meat-offering and drink-offering." (See Ex. xxix. 38–40.)

54. *Look, at what time, &c.*] There is no "Look" in the original. The fact is simply narrated, that the dedication took place at the same time, or rather "season"—*i.e.* in the month Chisleu—and on the same day as the profanation. Judas, no doubt, arranged that so it should be.

with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.] *I.e.* with the recognised musical service of the sanctuary, where the psalmody was usually accompanied by the harp, the cymbal, and the cithern or psaltery. (See 1 Chr. xxv. 6; 2 Chr. v. 12.) The cithern is the German *zither*, a sort of guitar or viol. (Comp. ch. xiii. 51.)

55. *all the people fell upon their faces.*] ***I.e.*** prostrated themselves in adoration.

praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.] Rather, "**praising up to heaven**" (*i.e.* lauding to the skies) "him

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B. C. cir. 164.

56 And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of ‖deliverance and praise.

‖ Or, *peace offerings.*

57 They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields; and the gates and the chambers they ‖renewed, and ‖hanged doors upon them.

‖ Or, *dedicated.*

‖ Or, *made doors for them.*

58 Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away.

59 Moreover Judas and his brethren with the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness.

B. C. cir. 164.

60 At that time also they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down, [r] as they had done before.

[r] ch. 1. 31.

61 And they set there a garrison to keep it, and fortified Bethsura to

who had given them good success." With his usual reticence, the writer keeps back the *name* of God, while making his reference to Him sufficiently apparent.

56. *they kept the dedication of the altar eight days.*] The word translated "dedication" is *ἐγκαινισμός*, which serves to connect this occasion with the permanent *ἐγκαίνια*, or "Feast of the Dedication" of the New Testament (John x. 22). It was this occasion which that feast of the mid-winter commemorated. As Solomon's dedication feast had lasted "eight days" (1 Kings viii. 63–66), so Judas fixed the same term for the duration of his.

and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.] Rather, "and sacrificed **a sacrifice of peace-offerings and thanksgiving.**" Comp. Lev. vii. 11, 12, where the LXX. use the same expression—*θυσία σωτηρίου* and *αἰνέσεως*.

57. *They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold.*] There was no direct precedent for this in Jewish practice. It was rather analogous to the heathen ornamentation of temples and public buildings with garlands and festoons at times of public rejoicing.

with shields.] Literally, "small shields"—in imitation, probably, of the golden shields of Solomon (1 Kings x. 17), which Shishak carried off (*ib.* xiv. 26). Philo tells us that in Alexandria the Jewish synagogues were adorned with shields ('Leg. ad Caium,' p. 994).

the gates and the chambers they renewed.] Rather, "they **consecrated.**" On the "chambers," see the comment on *v.* 38.

59. *Judas . . . ordained, that the days . . . should be kept.*] The festival of the *ἐγκαίνια* maintained its place to the last days of Jewish national existence. It was celebrated nearly in the same manner as the Feast of Tabernacles, with festal processions, in which branches of trees, especially of the palm, green even in mid-winter, were borne, and psalms were sung, by the worshippers (2 Macc. x. 6, 7). Josephus says that in his time its common name was "the Feast of Lights" (*τὰ Φῶτα*); and at a later period there was certainly a custom of illuminating private houses with lamps or candles during its continuance. It is conjectured that the great golden candelabra in the court of the Temple, which were lighted on the first night of the Feast of Tabernacles, were also lighted on the first night of this feast (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 312); but there is no historical evidence of this practice.

§ 4. DEFENSIVE MEASURES OF JUDAS—THE TEMPLE HILL, AND THE CITY OF BETHZUR FORTIFIED.

60. *they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about.*] As the Acra, and indeed the whole of Jerusalem except the Temple hill, remained in the hands of the Syrians, who maintained a strong garrison in the place, Judas felt it to be necessary now, for the first time in Jewish history, to fortify with walls and towers the entire Temple circuit. Hitherto, only the eastern side, which coincided with the outer circuit of the city, had been thus guarded from attack. From this time till B.C. 142 the two Jerusalems stood one over against the other, watchful and hostile, like the Latin and the Sabine Romes on the Quirinal and the Palatine.

tread it down.] *I.e.* "ruin it"—"destroy it." Comp. ch. iii. 45.

61. *fortified Bethsura.*] A wise measure. The possession of a strong place in the hill-country south of Jerusalem was of the greatest importance, more especially as the Idumæans were hostile (ch. v. 1–3), and

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B. C. cir. 164. preserve it; that the people might have a defence against Idumea.

CHAPTER V.

3 *Judas smiteth the children of Esau, Bean, and Ammon.* 17 *Simon is sent into Galilee.* 25 *The exploits of Judas in Galaad.* 51 *He destroyeth Ephron, for denying him to pass through it.* 56 *Divers, that in Judas' absence would fight with their enemies, are slain.*

cir. 163. NOW when the nations round about heard that the altar was built, and the sanctuary renewed as before, it displeased them very much.

2 Wherefore they thought to destroy the generation of Jacob that was among them, and thereupon they began to slay and destroy the people. B. C. cir. 163.

3 Then Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at ‖Arabattine, because they besieged Israel: and he gave them a great overthrow, and abated their courage, and took their spoils. ‖ Or, *Arabatthane, or, Arabattan, or, Akrabattine.*

4 Also he remembered the ‖injury of the children of ‖Bean, who had been a snare and an offence unto the people, in that they lay in wait for them in the ways. ‖ Or, *malice.* ‖ Or, *Hakan,* Gen. 36. 27. Numb. 33. 31, 32.

5 He shut them up therefore in the towers, and encamped against them, and destroyed them utterly,

might attack the patriots upon the south, while they were engaged against the Syrians on the north.

to preserve it.] These words seem superfluous. They are omitted in some of the best MSS., and in the Syriac Version. Probably their original intrusion was an error of repetition by a scribe. If we retain them, we must understand that Bethsura was occupied in order that from it a watch might be kept on the Temple fortress.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. Offensive Measures of Judas against Idumæa, the Children of Bean, and Ammon.

1–8. Having recovered the Temple site, restored the edifice, and strongly fortified the entire hill, Judas felt himself strong enough to resume his offensive operations, and chastise the tribes in his immediate neighbourhood which had recently lent their aid to the Syrians. Of these the most important were the Idumæans or Edomites, "the children of Bean," and the Ammonites. The year B.C. 163 seems to have been employed in three campaigns against these three enemies.

1. *it displeased them very much.*] Rather, "**They were greatly enraged.**" The spiritual worship in the Temple at Jerusalem was a perpetual protest against the licentious idolatries of the neighbouring tribes, and was therefore the object of their constant hatred. They had imagined for three years that it was swept away for ever. Naturally, its re-establishment called forth their anger.

2. *Wherefore they thought to destroy, &c.*] A deliberate design to exterminate all Israelites, within their borders, seems to be charged upon them. Whether there was really such an intention, may perhaps be doubted.

the generation of Jacob that was among them.] *I.e.* "the Israelites who dwelt in their midst." It must be borne in mind, that, amid the general confusion, the tribes mentioned had probably encroached upon Israelite territory.

they began to slay and destroy the people.] Rather, "**among** the people." They vented their vexation at what had occurred by putting certain Israelites to death.

3. *at Arabattine.*] Rather, "Acrabattine." The place is reasonably identified with the "Akrabbim" of the Canonical Books (Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3; Judg. i. 36), which lay south or south-west of the Dead Sea, in the Idumæan territory.

they besieged Israel.] Rather, "**blocked Israel in**"—*i.e.* cramped her, confined her, were a continual menace to her borders. See note on ch. iv. 29.

4. *the injury of the children of Bean.*] Rather, "the **malice**," or "**wickedness.**" It is not any single act, but a continuous state of hostility, that is pointed at. The "Beni Bean" are not elsewhere mentioned under this name; but perhaps they are identical with the Mehunim or Maonites (מְעוֹן or מְעוֹנִים) of the Canonical Books, since ב and מ are constantly confused. The Maonites are mentioned as enemies of Israel in Judg. x. 12; 2 Chr. xxvi. 7; and (perhaps) in 2 Chr. xx. 1.

5. *He shut them up in the towers.*] *I.e.* "in *their* towers"—in the strongholds from which they were wont to issue on their raids.

destroyed them utterly.] Literally, "devoted them," but in the sense of "devoting to destruction," which is a common meaning of ἀναθεματίζω in the Septuagint version, where it replaces the Hebrew *hakhărêm.*

B. C. cir. 163. and burned the towers of that *place* with fire, and all that were therein.

6 Afterward he passed over to the children of Ammon, where he found a mighty power, and much people, with Timotheus their captain.

7 So he fought many battles with them, till at length they were discomfited before him; and he smote them. B. C. cir. 163.

8 And when he had taken Jazar, with the towns belonging thereto, he returned into Judea.

burned the towers of that place.] As no "place" has been mentioned, it seems impossible that the reading can be sound. Αὐτῶν, instead of αὐτῆς, is what we should have expected; but it seems unlikely that any copyist would have blundered in that case. Perhaps a city was mentioned, the name of which has been corrupted into αὐτῆς.

6. *he passed over to the children of Ammon.*] *I.e.* he crossed the Jordan, and proceeded to attack the Ammonites, who held the country east and north-east of the Dead Sea, between the Arnon and the Jabbok. The Ammonites, like the Edomites, had always been enemies of Israel, though not very formidable enemies. They joined with Moab in the attempt to induce Balaam to curse Israel (Deut. xxiii. 4); they invaded the Israelite territory in the time of Jephthah (Jud. xi. 4, 12), and again in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 1–3). They brought about the great confederacy against David, which was crushed by Joab (2 Sam. x. 6–19). In conjunction with the Moabites and Edomites, they made an unprovoked attack upon Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 1–3); they frequently invaded the Transjordanic region under Uzziah (Am. i. 13); they had wars with Jotham (2 Chr. xxvii. 5). When Nebuchadnezzar was threatening Jerusalem with destruction, they joined his forces (2 Kings xxiv. 2). When Nehemiah received his commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, the Ammonite, Tobiah, was among the most violent of his opponents (Neh. ii. 10, 19; iv. 3, 7; vi. 1, 12, 17–19).

much people.] Justin Martyr says ('Dialog. c. Tryphon.' p. 347, c.) that the Ammonites were even in his day a numerous people (πολὺ πλῆθος). Josephus calls the force which they now brought into the field "multitudinous" (πολυάνθρωπος). We have no exact estimate of the population; but the country is rich and capable of supporting large numbers (see Tristram, 'Land of Israel,' p. 541 *et seqq.*).

Timotheus their captain.] This Greek name is a novel feature in Ammonite history. We must suppose Timotheus to have been either a Syro-Macedonian official, exercising an authority under the Syrian crown, to which the Ammonites were subject, or a soldier of fortune whom the Ammonites had invited to take the command of their troops. It is possible, no doubt, but scarcely probable that he was a genuine Ammonite with a Greek name (Grimm).

7. *till at length they were discomfited.*] Rather, "**and they were discomfited in each.**" The triple use of the aorist implies that, as often as he engaged them, so often were they discomfited and smitten.

8. *when he had taken Jazar.*] Jazar, Jazer, or Ja'azer, was a town of the Trans-Jordanic region, in the district assigned to Gad (Josh. xiii. 25). It was taken by Moses from the Amorites in the war with Sihon (Num. xxi. 32), and destroyed, but afterwards rebuilt by the Gadites (*ib.* xxxii. 35). The country around was "a land for cattle," very rich and fertile (*ib.* xxxii. 1), and suited for the cultivation of the vine (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). Jazar became a Levitical city, when the Levites received their inheritance (Josh. xxi. 39). It is usually mentioned in conjunction with Heshbon, from which it was about 14 miles distant (Hieronym. 'Onomast.'). The site is scarcely sufficiently identified at present, but is thought to be at *Szîr* or *Seir*, near the source of the Wady Seir, which flows into the Jordan. *Szîr* is about 12 miles nearly due north of Heshbon, and 9 west by south of Rabbath-Ammon.

with the towns belonging thereto.] Literally, "with her daughters." The expression is common in the Hebrew Scriptures (Num. xxi. 25, 32; Josh. xv. 45, 47; Judg. xi. 26; 1 Chr. xviii. 1; Neh. xi. 25-31; &c.); but the Greek translators do not often render it literally. The Complutensian Codex has it, however, several times in Neh. xi. It is exactly analogous to the very widely used expression—"mother city." The "towns," or "villages," dependent on Jazar seem to have been of unusual importance. (See Num. xxxii. 35.)

§ 2. Retaliatory Movements on the part of the Heathen—1. In Gilead; 2. In Galilee.

9–15. Judas, after his three successful attacks upon his neighbours, had "returned into Judea" (*v.* 8), and dismissed his army, which scattered itself over the territory (*v.* 16), expecting to enjoy a period of repose. Of this state of things, the enemies of the Jews at once proceeded to take advantage

B. C. cir. 163.

9 Then the heathen that were at Galaad assembled themselves together against the Israelites that were in their quarters, to destroy them; but they fled to the fortress of Dathema,

10 And sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, The heathen that are round about us are assembled together against us to destroy us:

11 And they are preparing to come and take the fortress whereunto we are fled, Timotheus being captain of their host.

12 Come now therefore, and deliver us from their hands, for many of us are slain:

B. C. cir. 163.

13 Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of ‖Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff; and they have destroyed there about a thousand men.

‖ Or, *Tubin.*

14 While these letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, who reported on this wise,

15 And said, They of Ptolemais, and of Tyrus, and Sidon, and all

1. In Gilead. Timotheus having rallied his troops, crossed the Jabbok, and invaded Gilead, where many Jews who had taken no part in the Maccabean insurrection were quietly residing. Falling upon them unawares, he slew some, and drove the others to take refuge in their strongholds, such as Bozrah, Bosor, Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Ashtoreth-Carnaim (*v.* 26). 2. In Galilee. Here the Judæans were attacked by the Gentiles who were mixed up with them, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemaïs, or Acre. The object was to crush the scattered members of the Judæan race, who, if let alone, might be expected ultimately to join the patriots.

9. *the heathen that were at Galaad.*] Rather, "in Gilead." Gilead is a district, not a city. It is the region north of Moab and Ammon, on the east side of the Jordan, between the Jabbok and the Hieromax. It is "a rich pasture land, with shady forests, and copious streams" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 699)—one of the most fertile portions of Palestine.

that were in their quarters.] There are two readings, ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις, and ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις. The former is with reason preferred by our translators, since the Israelites attacked were evidently scattered over the whole country, and not merely "upon its borders."

they fled to the fortress of Dathema.] The readings vary between Δάθεμα, Δάμεθα, and Διάθεμα. Some have supposed Ramoth-Gilead to be meant, since the Syriac has "Ramtha;" but this is very uncertain. We must regard Dathema as a site still not identified.

13. *in the places of Tobie.*] The Syriac has "Tubin," and so the Vulgate. The MSS. vary between Τωβίου and Τουβίου. It is conjectured with reason that "the land of Tôb," which adjoined on Gilead (Judg. xi. 3), is intended; and that to the same place belonged the "Jews called Tubieni" of 2 Macc. xii. 17. If the same place is alluded to in the "Ish-Tob" ("men of Tob") mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 6, we may regard the name as attaching to the region called afterwards Golan or Gaulonitis.

about a thousand men.] Literally, "about a chiliarchy of men;" but the word χιλιαρχία seems to be used here as a mere synonym for χίλιοι. It is, as Grimm says, "rein numerisch."

15. *They of Ptolemaïs.*] When Palestine, at the death of Alexander, was assigned to Ptolemy Lagi, together with Egypt, Accho, its best port, received the name of Ptolemaïs, which it retained until the time of Herod the Great, when the name was lost in that of his new city, Cæsarea. The site, at the northern extremity of a wide bay, and in the centre of a considerable plain, commanding moreover the coast road, together with that which led inland into the great plain of Palestine—that of Esdraelon—was very important, and naturally led to Accho becoming, after the downfall of Tyre, the chief seaport of Phœnicia, and indeed of Syria generally. Its position in the present list shews its superiority over Tyre and Sidon, while the position assigned it in the later history (ch. v. 55; x. 1, 58; xii. 48; xiii. 12; 2 Macc. xiii. 24, 25) sufficiently indicates the value which was set on it by all parties. The place has now recovered its old name, and is known as "Acre" to Europeans, as "Akka" to its inhabitants.

of Tyrus.] Tyre, though almost entirely destroyed by Alexander (Q. Curt., 'Hist. Alex.' iv. 4), very quickly rose from her ashes, and recovered a certain amount of prosperity. She played, however, a very secondary part in the history of the Maccabee period.

and Sidon.] Sidon was a flourishing com-

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B. C. cir. 163. Galilee of the Gentiles, are assembled together against us to consume us.

16 Now when Judas and the people heard these words, there assembled a great congregation together, to consult what they should do for their brethren, that were in trouble, and assaulted of them.

17 Then said Judas unto Simon his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee, for I and Jonathan my brother will go into the country of Galaad. B. C. cir. 163.

18 So he left Joseph the *son* of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the people, with the remnant of the host in Judea to keep it.

19 Unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Take ye the charge of this people, and see that ye make not war against the heathen until the time that we come again.

mercial town during the Maccabee and Roman periods, but had little military importance, and is seldom mentioned by the historians.

Galilee of the Gentiles.] Comp. Is. ix. 1, where a similar expression is used. Israelites and Gentiles seem to have been always mixed together in Galilee, where "the people dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians" (Judg. xviii. 7). The near neighbourhood of Phœnicia and Syria tended to produce a mixed population. Tiglath-pileser carried off great numbers of the Israelites in the eighth century B.C. (2 Kings xv. 29), and the later Assyrians replaced them by a foreign population. It is more surprising that the Jews, after their return from the Captivity, obtained a certain hold on the remote Galilee, while the nearer Samaria remained separate and hostile, than that the Gentile inhabitants continued numerous.

§ 3. JUDAS DIVIDES HIS FORCES, AND, LEAVING SOME TO DEFEND JUDÆA, SENDS HIS BROTHER SIMON TO HELP THE GALILEANS, WHILE HE HIMSELF GOES TO ASSIST THE JEWS IN GILEAD.

16–54. Judas now for the first time felt himself strong enough to divide his forces. Leaving two captains, Joseph and Azarias, in Judæa, with strict orders to remain on the defensive, he sent his brother Simon, with 3000 men, to the assistance of the Galilean Jews, while he himself, with 8000 men, marched into Gilead (*vv.* 16–20). Simon's campaign is not related at any length. He gained several victories, chased the enemy to the gates of Ptolemaïs, and took advantage of his successes to remove the Galilean Jews into Judæa (*vv.* 21–23). The campaign of Judas is given in greater detail. Assisted by an Arab tribe (*v.* 25), he relieved the towns into which the Jews had been driven, one after another; defeated Timotheus himself before Dathema, and again near Raphon (*vv.* 37–43); took Ashtoreth-Carnaim (*v.* 44) and Ephron (*vv.* 46–51); and returned into Judæa with much spoil, and accompanied by the Jews of Gilead, whom he proposed to settle in Judæa (*v.* 45). The return was celebrated by a thanksgiving festival at Jerusalem (*v.* 54).

16. *there assembled a great congregation together.*] The word translated "congregation" is ἐκκλησία, which in Greek political science means "an assembly of the people for legislative or deliberative purposes." We must conclude that Judas did not rule autocratically, but called "assemblies" from time to time, to deliberate and determine what should be done. A larger body than the Sanhedrim is certainly intended.

assaulted of them.] *I.e.* "attacked by the heathen." (See *v.* 15.)

17. *Then said Judas unto Simon his brother.*] Simon had been nominated by Mattathias to the second position among the five brethren (ch. ii. 65, 66), but as counsellor rather than as general. Still, Judas thought it befitting, as soon as the command was to be divided, that Simon should occupy the post next in importance to his own.

Choose thee out men.] As Simon was to have the smaller force (*v.* 20), he was allowed to select the troops which he thought the best.

I and Jonathan.] The selection of Jonathan by Judas as joint-commander with himself shews the confidence felt in his military ability. Hence, on the death of Judas, Jonathan was appointed to succeed him (ch. ix. 28–30).

18. *he left Joseph . . . and Azarias, captains of the people.*] Rather, "he left Joseph and Azarias to be rulers of the people," *i.e.* to have the chief authority. They would, of course, combine the chief military with the chief civil power. Hence, in *v.* 56, they are called "captains of the host" (ἄρχοντες τῆς δυνάμεως). Neither Joseph nor Azarias obtain mention elsewhere than in this chapter.

to keep it.] Or, "to guard it."

19. *see that ye make not war against the*

B. C. cir. 163.

20 Now unto Simon were given three thousand men to go into Galilee, and unto Judas eight thousand men for the country of Galaad.

21 Then went Simon into Galilee, where he fought many battles with the heathen, so that the heathen were discomfited by him.

22 And he pursued them unto the gate of Ptolemais; and there were slain of the heathen about three thousand men, whose spoils he took.

‖ Or, *captive Jews.*

23 And ‖those that were in Galilee, and in Arbattis, with their wives and their children, and all that they had, took he away *with him*, and brought them into Judea with great joy.

B. C. cir. 163.

24 Judas Maccabeus also and his brothen Jonathan went over Jordan, and travelled three days' journey in the wilderness,

25 Where they met with the Nabathites, who came unto them in a peaceable manner, and told them every thing that had happened to their brethren in the land of Galaad:

‖ Or, *Bosorra.*

26 And how that many of them were shut up in ‖Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, ‖Casphor, Maked, and

‖ Or, *Chascor*, or, *Casphon*, as ver. 36.

heathen.] For their transgression of this command, see *vv.* 55–62.

20. *three thousand . . . eight thousand.*] The continually increasing strength of the patriots is here seen. At Emmaus the fighting men were but 3000 (ch. iv. 6); at Bethsura they were 10,000 (*ib. v.* 29); they must now have considerably exceeded 13,000. (Compare *v.* 60.)

21. *the heathen were discomfited by him.*] Literally, "before his face"—a common Hebraism.

22. *the gate of Ptolemaïs.*] Ptolemaïs had, no doubt, more than one gate. "*The* gate" here is that to which the enemy fled, probably the eastern gate. There is no sufficient reason for adopting the reading of a few MSS., τῶν πύλεων, instead of τῆς πύλης.

23. *in Arbattis.*] Rather, "in **Arbatta**" (ἐν Ἀρβάττοις). The readings vary greatly, including Ἀρβάκτοις (Cod. Alex.), Ἀρβατόνοις and Ἀδραβύττοις. It has been suggested that the region intended is probably that called Acrabatiné by Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 3, § 4. &c.), which lay between Neapolis and Jericho ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 101); but this is much too far to the south. "Arbatta" must have adjoined on Galilee. Ewald's conjecture that it was the low land through which the Jordan flows into the Sea of Tiberias ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 314, note, E. T.) is not improbable.

25. *they met with the Nabathites.*] Rather, "the **Nabatæans**" (τοῖς Ναβαταίοις). The Nabatæans, or Nabathæans, are a well-known Semitic tribe; whether Syrians or Arabians is disputed. Alexander Polyhistor mentions them as included among the desert tribes conquered by David (Fr. 18); but they first shew themselves in contemporary history when they are reduced to subjection by Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 430). About 40 years later they appear as independent, and assist an Arabian monarch in his war with Sennacherib's grandson, Asshur-bani-pal (Smith, 'Annals of Asshur-bani-pal,' pp. 264–295). Diodorus tells us that they were attacked by Antigonus, about B.C. 311, and again a few years later, but defended themselves successfully (Diod. Sic. xix. 44–48). At that time, and later also, their head-quarters were the neighbourhood of Petra. Judas appears to have fallen in with them in Gilead, which may be accounted for by their nomadic habits. The whole of Northern Arabia seems to have been at all times traversed by their swarms, which passed from the Lower Euphrates to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea without fear of meeting a superior. The readiness of the Nabathæans to assist the Israelites (compare ch. ix. 35) may have arisen mainly from the hope of plunder; but it may have rested in part on the tradition of relationship, since the supposed progenitor of the Nabathæans was Nebaioth, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13).

26. *Bosora and Bosor.*] These are evidently two different places. Bosora is reasonably identified with the Hebrew Bozrah (Is. lxiii. 1), the modern *El-Buseireh.* Bosor is perhaps the Bezor of Josh. xx. 8, which was a Levitical city on the east side of Jordan in the *Mishor* or down country.

Alema.] "Alema" is conjectured to be the Beer-*Elim* of Is. xv. 8—"the fount of the terebinth-trees." Of its position nothing is known.

Casphor.] Josephus has "Casphôma;" the Vulgate, "Casbon;" several MSS., "Chascor." In *v.* 36 of the present chapter, the name is given as Casphon, which is a possible representation of the Hebrew "Heshbon." The site cannot be fixed, unless Heshbon is intended.

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B. C. cir. 163. Carnaim; all these cities are strong and great:

27 And that they were shut up in the rest of the cities of the country of Galaad, and that against to morrow ‖ they had appointed to bring their host against the forts, and to take them, and to destroy them all in one day.

‖ Or, *the heathen.*

28 Hereupon Judas and his host turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto ‖ Bosora; and when he had won the city, he slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and took all their spoils, and burned the city with fire. B. C. cir. 163.

‖ Or, *Bosor.*

29 From whence he removed by night, and went till he came to the fortress.

30 And betimes in the morning they ‖ looked up, and, behold, there was an innumerable people bearing ladders and other engines of war, to take the fortress: for ‖ they assaulted them.

‖ Gr. *lift up their eyes.*

‖ Or, *the heathen assaulted the Jews.*

31 When Judas therefore saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets, and a great sound,

Maked.] For "Maked" we have "Maged" in *v.* 36; but the MSS. have Μακέδ in both places. The town is wholly unknown.

Carnaim.] This is probably the place called Ashtoreth-Karnaim ("Venus of the Two Horns") in Genesis xiv. 5. It must have been an old Phœnician, or, at any rate, Syrian settlement, dedicated to the "Dea Syra," who was called Ashtoreth (Astarté, Ishtar) by some of the Semitic races, Atargatis or Derketo by others. The epithet "Karnaim" probably refers to the mode in which the goddess was represented in her temple at the place in question (*v.* 44), the crescent moon being placed on her head, and thus giving it the appearance of being "horned." The site is uncertain, but may perhaps be identified with the *El-Kurnein* of Robinson ('Researches in Palestine,' vol. iii. App. ii. p. 168).

27. *against the forts.*] The "forts" are evidently the towns previously mentioned—viz. Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Casphor, Maked, Carnaim (*v.* 26), and Dathema (*v.* 9). The design "to destroy them all in one day" was probably connected with the notion of a surprise.

28. *unto Bosora.*] The MSS. vary between "Bosor," "Bosorra," and "Bossora." The "Bosora" of *v.* 26 is probably intended, since "Bosor" is mentioned as captured in *v.* 36.

he slew all the males.] We must understand all those who were not Jews. The cities of Gilead appear to have had at this time a mixed population—in part, Jewish, in part heathen. (See also *v.* 35.) The Jews were threatened by an armed force outside the cities, and also by the heathen population within them. Judas, after all his successes, felt it safest to withdraw the Jews from Gilead into Judæa (*v.* 45).

29. *and went till he came to the fortress.*] "The fortress" is clearly Dathema, which Judas was about to relieve, when the information of the Nabathæans induced him to turn aside from his route, and make an attack on Bosora (*vv.* 25–28). It appears to have been within a night's march of Bosora.

30. *And betimes in the morning they looked up, &c.*] Literally, "And it was dawn, and they lifted up their eyes, and beheld much people, which could not be numbered."

bearing ladders.] *I.e.* scaling-ladders. Their use appears in the Assyrian sculptures from the time of Asshur-nazir-pal (B.C. 880), and in those of Egypt from the earlier portion of the nineteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1400. They are not mentioned in the Canonical Scriptures; but the Greeks employed them in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. ii. 20), and the Romans in the Second Punic War (Liv. xxvi. 45).

other engines of war.] There is no "other" in the original, since "ladders" scarcely come under the denomination of "warlike *engines*." The machines intended are probably the battering-ram, the catapult, and the *ballista*, all of which were well known to the Greeks long before the time of Alexander, and were commonly used in sieges. The Assyrians and Babylonians employed them in all their great wars. The Egyptian "engines" were simpler and less effective.

for they assaulted them.] Rather, "**were assaulting** them"—were beginning the attack, not aware of the near vicinity of Judas. Compare *v.* 27.

31. *with trumpets.*] The heathen had trumpets no less than the Israelites. We see them represented in the Egyptian and Assyrian sculptures (Rosellini, 'Mon. Storici,' pl. xliv. 3; Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' 2nd Series, pl. 15); and we hear of them as in use among the Greeks and Romans from a

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B. C. cir. 163.

32 He said unto his host, Fight this day for your brethren.

33 So he went forth behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets, and cried with prayer.

34 Then the host of Timotheus, knowing that it was Maccabeus, fled from him: wherefore he smote them with a great slaughter; so that there were killed of them that day about eight thousand men.

35 This done, Judas turned aside to Maspha; and after he had assaulted it, he took it, and slew all the males therein, and received the spoils thereof, and burnt it with fire.

36 From thence went he, and took [a] Casphon, Maged, Bosor, and the other cities of the country of Galaad.

[a] See ver. 26.

37 After these things gathered Timotheus another host, and encamped against Raphon beyond the brook.

B. C. cir. 163.

38 So Judas sent *men* to espy the host, who brought him word, saying, All the heathen that be round about us are assembled unto them, even a very great host.

39 He hath also hired the Arabians to help them, and they have pitched their tents beyond the brook, ready to come and fight against thee. Upon this Judas went to meet them.

40 Then Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, When Judas and his host come near the brook, if he pass over first unto us, we shall not be able to withstand him; for he will mightily prevail against us:

41 But if he be afraid, and camp beyond the river, we shall go over unto him, and prevail against him.

very early date. Their most common employment was in war, either for giving signals or for cheering men on to the attack. (See Hom. 'Il.' xviii. 219, xxi. 388; Dionys. Hal. iv. 17, &c.)

33. *he went forth behind them.*] Rather, "**after them**"—*i.e.* in pursuit of the assailants, following upon their footsteps.

in three companies.] After the example of Gideon (Judg. vii. 16).

35. *Maspha.*] "Maspha" is probably "Mizpeh of Gilead" (Judg. xi. 29), the city of Jephthah the Gileadite (*ib.* 34). It is curious that Josephus should give the name as Mallé, an utterly unknown place ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 8, § 3). Mizpeh of Gilead is still an undiscovered site.

he slew all the males.] See note on *v.* 28.

36. *Casphon.*] Called "Casphor" in *v.* 26—perhaps Heshbon.

Maged.] No doubt the "Maked" of *v.* 26—an unknown, and apparently an unimportant place, the capture of which is not mentioned by Josephus.

Bosor.] See the first note on *v.* 26.

37. *Raphon.*] Pliny mentions a "Raphana" as one of the ten cities included in the "Decapolis" of his day, which lay south of the Sea of Galilee, and east of the Jordan. The site has still to be discovered.

beyond the brook.] Literally, "the ravine" or "water-course." The streams of Gilead are for the most part perennial (Tristram, 'Bible Places,' p. 322); but this one, near Raphon, is characterised as a χειμάῤῥους, or stream running only in the winter. Ewald supposes that at the time it not only carried water, but was "a good deal swollen" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 314); but there is no statement to this effect, either in the First Book of the Maccabees or in Josephus.

39. *He hath also hired the Arabians to help them.*] Arab tribes will join any standard under which they have a good hope of success, and of the booty that follows success. They are quite willing to be subsidized. Arabians had joined with Ammonites in opposing the efforts of Nehemiah to raise Jerusalem from a humble to a high position (Neh. iv. 7). They now once more took service under an Ammonite leader (*v.* 6) with the same object.

Upon this Judas went to meet them.] Upon the report of his spies, Judas broke up his quarters, and marched at once to meet the new danger. It is characteristic of him to take the initiative.

40, 41. *Then Timotheus said, &c.*] Timotheus regarded it as a dangerous thing to fight a battle with such an obstacle as the watercourse immediately in one's rear. He was therefore disinclined to pass over it himself, and determined to leave it to Judas to cross or not, as he pleased. He felt, however, that, if Judas crossed, the act was one of such boldness as to foreshadow victory; while, if he shrank from so doing, his timidity would give courage to the other side, who

B. C. cir. 163.

42 Now when Judas came near the brook, he caused the scribes of the people to remain by the brook: unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Suffer no man to remain in the camp, but let all come to the battle.

43 So he went first over unto them, and all the people after him: then all the heathen, being discomfited before him, cast away their weapons, and fled unto the temple that was at Carnaim.

‖ *Judas and his company.*

44 But ‖they took the city, and burned the temple with all that were therein. Thus was Carnaim subdued, neither could they stand any longer before Judas.

B. C. cir. 163.

45 Then Judas gathered together all the Israelites that were in the country of Galaad, from the least unto the greatest, even their wives, and their children, and their stuff, a very great host, to the end they might come into the land of Judea.

46 Now when they came unto Ephron, (this was a great city in the way as they should go, very well

might then proceed to the attack with confidence, as against an enemy who distrusted his own strength, and would probably offer no very stout resistance. No doubt he hoped that Judas would adopt the more timid course.

42. *the scribes of the people.*] Ewald regards these "scribes" as identical with the "officers" of Deut. xx. 5–9, who (he says) "kept the lists of the troops, assigned the place of encampment, and looked after the order of the march" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 314, note). Grimm notes that there were persons exercising, apparently, the same office in the later times of the monarchy (see 2 Chron. xxvi. 11). The Maccabean leaders had fallen back upon the military system of ancient times.

Suffer no man to remain in the camp.] Rather, "Suffer no man to **encamp**;" *i.e.* do not allow any tents to be pitched on the near side of the stream, make the whole host pass over. Judas had need of his entire force against the vast numbers of the enemy (see *v.* 38).

43. *the heathen . . . cast away their weapons.*] Rather, "their **arms**." The shield, as the greatest encumbrance, was usually cast away first of all (comp. Hor. 'Od.' ii. 7, l. 10: "Relicta non bene parmula").

and fled unto the temple that was at Carnaim.] Rather, "the **sacred precinct** that was at Carnaim." Temples were surrounded with walled inclosures, which were sometimes of sufficient size to allow of a large force encamping in them. The flight may have been directed to this place on some idea that it was sacred, and so inviolable, for the right of asylum was widely recognised in ancient times. But if so, the heathen had failed to apprehend the peculiar religious sentiments of the Jews, who saw nothing sacred in places of worship where idols were honoured and false gods received the adoration of their votaries. (See below, ch. x. 83, and cf. Ex. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Judg. vi. 25–27; 2 Kings x. 25–27, &c.)

44. *they . . . burned the temple.*] The temple was known as the "Atargateum," or temple of Atargatis (2 Macc. xii. 26), who was the Syrian Venus, worshipped with rites of unmentionable lewdness by the soft and sensuous Aramæans. (See Döllinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. pp. 428–431.) Judas cannot be blamed for the destruction of such a sink of iniquity.

with all that were therein.] The "laws of war" have always been held to justify the destruction of enemies by fire, cruel as such destruction may be. Joshua "burnt Jericho with fire and all that was therein" (Josh. vi. 24). An Egyptian king took Gezer, and "burnt it with fire and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city" (1 Kings ix. 16). Cleomenes of Sparta acted almost exactly as Judas, when, having defeated the Argives, he shut up the remnant of their army in the sacred grove of Argus, and "ordered the helots to bring brushwood and heap it around the grove; which was done accordingly; and Cleomenes set the grove on fire" (Herod. vi. 80). Even in modern times red-hot shot are fired into besieged towns and forts, and foes who take refuge in caves are destroyed by blocking their mouths with brushwood and setting it alight. Humanity protests; but international law is silent.

neither could they stand any longer.] This last massacre brought the armed resistance to a close. Judas, however, did not venture to leave his fellow-countrymen in the district which he had overrun, and, in a certain sense, subjugated. Had he done so, his withdrawal would, he knew, have been the signal for terrible reprisals. Hence the "exodus" recorded in *v.* 45.

46. *they came unto Ephron.*] Ephron is well identified by Ewald ('Hist. of Israel,' vol.

B. C. cir. 163. fortified) they could not turn from it, either on the right hand or the left, but must needs pass through the midst of it.

47 Then they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the gates with stones.

48 Whereupon Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner, saying, Let us pass through your land to go into our own country, and none shall do you any hurt; we will only pass through on foot: howbeit they would not open unto him.

49 Wherefore Judas commanded a proclamation to be made throughout the host, that every man should pitch his tent in the place where he was.

50 So the soldiers pitched, and assaulted the city all that day and all that night, till at the length the city was delivered into his hands: B. C. cir. 163.

51 Who then slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and rased the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over them that were slain.

52 After this went they over Jordan into the great plain before Bethsan.

53 And Judas gathered together those that ‖ came behind, and ‖ exhorted the people all the way through, till they came into the land of Judea.

54 So they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness, where they offered ‖ burnt offerings, because not one of them were slain until they had returned in peace.

‖ Or, *went hindmost*, Num. 10. 25.

‖ Or, *comforted*, or, *encouraged*.

‖ Or, *peace offerings*, Joseph. Antiq. 12. 12.

v., p. 315, note) with the Gephrun, which was taken by Antiochus the Great in his war with Ptolemy Philopator (Polyb. v. 70), the *ain* of Ephron being represented (as so often) by the Greek γ. The site has not yet been fixed, but it must lie on the direct route between Ashtaroth-Karnaim and Beth-shan, at no great distance E. of the Jordan.

48. *Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner.*] Literally, "with peaceable words." The city was strong, and had not as yet been actively hostile. Judas was therefore willing to abstain from active measures against it. His proposals resemble those which Moses made to the Edomites (Num. xx. 14–17), the Amorites (*ib.* xxi. 22), and others on approaching the borders of the Holy Land.

we will only pass through on foot.] Cf. Num. xx. 19; Deut. ii. 28. The meaning is: "We will take nothing, damage nothing, but simply pass through the territory."

50. *the city was delivered into his hands.*] Not "surrendered," or "betrayed," but by God's providence given into his power.

51. *rased the city.*] This may account for there being no later mention of it by historians or geographers.

52. *went they over Jordan into the great plain before Beth-san.*] The Jordan can be forded in three places nearly opposite Beth-san (now *Beisan*). Its width is about fifty yards (Robinson, 'Later Researches,' p. 325). The "great plain before Beth-san" is probably not the valley-plain in which Beth-shan stands, which is only "from two to three miles broad between the mountains of Gilboa and the northern hills" (*ib.* p. 326), but rather the *Ghôr* itself, or Jordan valley, into which the Beth-shan valley opens. This is a "broad and fertile plain" traversed by numerous streams, and extending not less than twelve miles between the Jalud and the Wady Malik, with a width of seven or eight miles. (Robinson, p. 334.)

53. *Judas gathered together those that came behind.*] Rather, "those that **lagged** behind." Judas employed himself in keeping the host together, and hastening the laggards all down the Jordan valley, till he turned westward, probably by the Jericho route, into Judæa Proper. The whole of the Jordan valley seems to have been hostile territory.

54. *they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness.*] A thanksgiving service after such signal victories was most appropriate. If really not a single Israelite was slain in a campaign wherein above six cities were stormed, and two great battles fought, with a loss to the enemy in one of them of "about eight thousand men" (*v.* 34), there was indeed occasion for the expression of national gratitude. It can scarcely, however, be supposed that such absolute impunity was enjoyed. The writer, no doubt, reports the tradition which he had heard; but it must be remembered that he probably wrote his history after the death of John Hyrcanus (ch. xvi. 24), which was in B.C. 106, or nearly sixty years from the date of this campaign of Judas. In sixty years' time "with small loss" easily becomes "without the loss of a man."

B. C. cir. 163.

55 Now what time as Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Galaad, and Simon his brother in Galilee before Ptolemais,

56 Joseph the *son* of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the garrisons, heard of the valiant acts and warlike deeds which they had done.

57 Wherefore they said, Let us also get us a name, and go fight against the heathen that are round about us.

58 So when they had given charge unto the garrison that was with them, they went toward Jamnia.

59 Then came Gorgias and his men out of the city ‖ to fight against them.

‖ Gr. *to meet them in battle.*

60 And so it was, that Joseph and Azarias were put to flight, and pursued unto the borders of Judea: and there were slain that day of the people of Israel about two thousand men.

B. C. cir. 163.

61 Thus was there a great overthrow among the children of Israel, because they were not obedient unto Judas and his brethren, but thought to do some valiant act.

62 Moreover these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.

63 Howbeit the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and of all the heathen, wheresoever their name was heard of;

64 Insomuch as the people assembled unto them with joyful acclamations.

65 Afterward went Judas forth with his brethren, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south, where he smote

§ 4. MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE LEADERS LEFT BY JUDAS TO DEFEND JUDÆA, AND THEIR FAILURE.

55–64. A desire to emulate the successes of Judas in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, led Joseph and Azarias, the two "captains" who had been left in Judæa with special orders that they were to act only on the defensive (*v.* 19), to disregard their instructions, and make an expedition westward, against Jamnia, which was held by the Syrians. They were met by Gorgias, the opponent of Judas in the campaign of B.C. 165, outside the town, and defeated with a loss of 2000 men. The circumstance leads the author to contrast the glories of the leaders raised up by God with the futile efforts of those who did not belong to the chosen family.

55. *Now what time.*] The narrative goes back somewhat. In the absence of Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, at the time when Simon was before Ptolemaïs (*v.* 22), events of importance had occurred in Judæa.

56. *captains of the garrisons.*] Literally, "of the host." In *v.* 18, Joseph and Azarias are called "captains of the people," or rather "leaders of the people." (See note *ad loc.*)

58. *toward Jamnia.*] On the position of Jamnia, and its identity with the modern Jabneh, see note on ch. iv. 15.

59. *Then came Gorgias.*] See above, ch. iii. 38, iv. 1–22; and compare 2 Macc. viii. 9, where Gorgias is called "a captain who in matters of war had great experience." He was evidently a general not to be trifled with.

62. *these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given.*] The author evidently regards the Maccabee family as chosen by God to work His people's deliverance, though no external call had designated them for their post. He thinks it was a presumption on the part of Joseph and Azarias to undertake of themselves to help in freeing the Jews, since they were not of the right blood. Moderns will scarcely sympathise with this view, though they may be ready to blame the unsuccessful captains for their disobedience to the orders given them.

63. *the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned.*] The ill-success of Joseph and Azarias added to the renown of the Maccabee brothers, since it shewed that the enemy, against whom they were engaged, was far from contemptible, and also that the Jews were formidable foes only under their leadership. The expression—"the man Judas"—seems an imitation of that in Ex. xi. 3: "moreover *the man Moses* was very great." (Compare Num. xii. 3.)

§ 5. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS INTO IDUMÆA AND PHILISTIA.

65–68. It was not till nearly Pentecost in the year B.C. 163 that Judas returned to Jerusalem from his Gilead expedition (2 Macc. xii. 31, 32). After a very short delay, he again took the field, and made a raid into Idumæa.

B. C. cir. 163. Hebron, and the ‖towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burned the towers thereof round about.

‖ Gr. *daughters.*

66 From thence he removed to go into the land of ‖the Philistines, and passed through Samaria.

‖ Gr. *strangers.*

67 At that time certain priests, desirous to shew their valour, were slain in battle, for that they went out to fight unadvisedly.

68 So Judas turned to Azotus in the land of the Philistines, and when he had pulled down their altars, and burned their carved images with fire, and spoiled their cities, he returned into the land of Judea. B. C. cir. 163.

CHAPTER VI.

8 *Antiochus dieth,* 12 *and confesseth that he is plagued for the wrong done to Jerusalem.* 20 *Judas besiegeth those in the tower at Jerusalem.* 28 *They procure Antiochus the younger to come into Judea.* 51 *He besiegeth Sion,* 60 *and maketh peace with Israel;* 62 *yet overthroweth the wall of Sion.*

where he destroyed Hebron (*v.* 65). Thence he marched, through Mareshah into Philistia, where he captured the strong city of Ashdod, destroyed its idol shrines, and ravaged its territory. Having so done, he returned into Judæa.

65. *Hebron.*] This well-known city was situated in the hill-country originally assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 54), at the distance of about twenty miles from Jerusalem towards the south. Its original name was Kirjath-Arba. After having been the capital of David for seven years (2 Sam. v. 5), it sank into a position of very secondary importance, and is seldom mentioned in the history of the kings. Rehoboam fortified it against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 10). It was re-occupied by the returned Judæans after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25). We hear of it in the last war with Rome as captured by an officer of Vespasian (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iv. 9, § 9). The Crusaders captured it in the twelfth century, and made it the seat of a bishopric. Soon afterwards it was recovered by the Mohammedans, and has remained in their hands. The mosque is supposed to contain the tombs of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, and also of Joseph; and is reckoned a place of great sanctity. The modern Arab name is El Khalil—"the friend"—a term by which Abraham is intended, who was "the friend of God" (2 Chr. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; James ii. 23).

66. *and passed through Samaria.*] "Samaria" is palpably a wrong reading. The direct route between Hebron and Ashdod or Azotus, would not pass within seventy miles of Samaria, which is further removed from both Hebron and Ashdod than they are from each other. Josephus substitutes Marissa—*i.e.* Mareshah—for Samaria; and no doubt this is the true reading. Mareshah lay on the natural line of march from Hebron to Ashdod. It was situated on a gently swelling hill that sinks down into the great Philistine plain, and commanded one of the best approaches to the high country. Fortified by Rehoboam against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 8), it was soon afterwards threatened by Zerah (*ib.* xiv. 9), but witnessed his defeat by Asa and the complete destruction of his army. After this we hear nothing of Mareshah until the present occasion, when it appears to have been the scene of a struggle in which Judas was not so successful as usual. (See *v.* 67, and compare 2 Macc. xii. 34, 35.) We hear of Mareshah again in the later wars. It was taken and destroyed by John Hyrcanus about B.C. 120, restored by Pompey about B.C. 62, and once more taken and plundered by the Parthians in B.C. 39. The site is marked by the modern village of Marash on the route between Hebron and Beit-Jibrin.

67. *they went out to fight unadvisedly.*] The writer of the Second Book says, that those who were slain were semi-idolaters, upon whose bodies were found things that had been consecrated to idols (2 Macc. xii. 40).

68. *Azotus.*] See note on ch. iv. 15.

their carved images.] That the Philistines had images of their gods appears from 1 Sam. v. 3, 4, where the destruction of the image of Dagon, at this very town of Ashdod, is recorded. Derceto or Atargatis seems to have been worshipped by the Philistines of Ascalon. Their other deities, if they had any, are unknown to us. A more complete destruction of Azotus, with its idol temple, was effected at a later date by Jonathan (ch. x. 84).

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. Death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and Accession of his Son, Antiochus Eupator.

1–17. That Antiochus Epiphanes died in the distant East, after an abortive attempt to plunder a temple of Nanæa or Anaitis, the Persian Venus (or Diana), must be regarded as historically certain, on the concurrent and uncontradicted testimony of Polybius (xxxi. 2). Appian ('Syriac.' 66), Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1), and our author. That his death

B. C. cir. 163. ABOUT that time king Antiochus travelling through the high countries heard say, that Elymais in the country of Persia was a city greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold;

2 And that there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were ‖coverings of gold, and breastplates, and ‖shields, which Alexander, *son* of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Grecians, had left there. B. C. cir. 16

3 Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil it; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had warning thereof,

4 Rose up against him in battle: so he fled, and departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to Babylon.

‖ Or, *shields.*
‖ Or, *armour.*

was the consequence of mental suffering, and not of violence, or bodily disease, though not allowed on all hands, may be considered as in a high degree probable. It was natural that various stories should be told about an event so strange, so unexpected, and so removed from the general cognizance; and so we find a violent death in the temple which he was plundering reported in one place (2 Macc. i. 13–16), and a death by a lingering and dreadful disease recorded in another (*ib.* ix. 5–28). Polybius, however, and our author agree, that the monarch's sufferings were mental; and further, that they arose, at any rate in part, from religious qualms connected with his desecration of temples. No confidence can be placed in the historical truth of the deathbed speech ascribed to him in verses 10–13; though it is quite possible that Philip, or some other person who was with him when he died, may have reported a change in his sentiments respecting the Jews. Little, however, in the present narrative can be accepted as certainly true beyond the attack on the temple (*vv.* 1–3), its failure (*v.* 4), the king's intense grief (*vv.* 8, 15), his appointment of Philip as guardian of his son's rights (*vv.* 14, 15), and his decease soon after (*v.* 16).

1. *the high countries.*] See note on ch. iii. 37, where the same expression occurs.

Elymaïs in the country of Persia was a city.] This seems to be a mistake. No mention is made of such a city by any writer, except our author, and Josephus, who simply follows him ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1). Elymaïs was a country, properly a portion of Susiana, lying towards the north in the Zagros mountain-region (Strab. xi. pp. 759–62; xvi. p. 1056); but as Susiana itself was reckoned a part of Persia (*ib.* xv. 3, § 2), Elymaïs would be "in the country of Persia" (compare 2 Macc. i. 13). The city attacked by Antiochus is called (in 2 Macc. ix. 2) "Persepolis;" but this important place was never reckoned to Elymaïs.

greatly renowned for riches.] Polybius agrees in viewing the attack of Antiochus on the temple in question as arising entirely from cupidity (xxxi. 2). He does not mention the name of the city, but agrees that it was in Elymaïs. So also Appian ('Syriac.' § 66).

2. *a very rich temple.*] Polybius calls it "a temple of Artemis"—Appian, "a temple of Aphrodite,"—the author of the Second Book "a temple of Nanæa" (ii. 13). According to some accounts, Antiochus put forward as a pretext for his designs upon the temple-treasures, that he wished to espouse the goddess, and would take the gold and silver as her dowry (2 Macc. i. 14; Granius Licin. quoted by Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 316, note 2). On the true character of Nanæa, see note on 2 Macc. i. 13.

coverings of gold, and breastplates, and shields.] Rather, "coverings of gold, both breastplates and shields." The "coverings" are the chief species of defensive arms. (See ch. iv. 6.)

Alexander, son of Philip.] Cf. ch. i. 1–7. There had been so many Alexanders—Alexander, son of Alexander the Great; Alexander, son of Polysperchon; Alexander Balas, &c. —when the author wrote, that some distinctive title or description was necessary.

had left there.] Not "had left untouched," but "had himself left as presents." Alexander's habit was to acknowledge the gods of all the countries which he conquered, and to make offerings to their temples. It was customary to offer arms in temples as thank-offerings on account of victories (Herod. ii. 159; iii. 47, &c.).

3, 4. *they of the city... rose up against him.*] So Polybius, *l. s. c.* It is curious that Antiochus should have made this attempt, when his father had failed in a similar one on a temple of Belus in this same region, and had actually lost his life. (See Strab. xvi. 1, § 18; Justin. xxxii. 2.) His cupidity seems to have blinded him.

returned to Babylon.] Polybius says that he "retired to Tabæ in Persia;" but that place may have been on the way to Babylon. Our author does not really say that he "returned to Babylon," but that he quitted Elymaïs with the intention of returning thither (*ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν . . . ἀποστρέψαι εἰς*

B. C. cir. 163.

5 Moreover there came one who brought him tidings into Persia, that the armies, which went against the land of Judea, were put to flight:

6 And that Lysias, who went forth first with a great power, was driven away of the Jews; and that they were made strong by the armour, and power, and store of spoils, which they had gotten of the armies, whom they had destroyed:

7 Also that they had pulled down [a] the abomination, which he had set up upon the altar in Jerusalem, and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before, and his city Bethsura.

[a] ch. 1. 54.

8 Now when the king heard these words, he was astonished and sore moved: whereupon he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for.

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9 And there he continued many days: for his grief was ever more and more, and he made account that he should die.

10 Wherefore he called for all his friends, and said unto them, The sleep is gone from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for very care.

11 And I thought with myself, Into what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood *of misery* is it, wherein now I am! for I was bountiful and beloved in my power.

12 But now I remember the evils that I did at Jerusalem, and that [b] I took all the vessels of gold and silver that were therein, and [c] sent to destroy

[b] ch. 1. 21, &c.

[c] ch. 1. 57.

Βαβυλῶνα). He places his death in Persia (*vv.* 5, 9, 56).

6. *that Lysias...was driven away.*] See ch. iv. 34, 35.

they were made strong by the armour . . . which they had gotten.] The great want of the patriots at first had been arms and armour (ch. iv. 6). Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and "therewith fought all his life long" (ch. iii. 12). His followers no doubt imitated him, and armed themselves with the weapons and armour of the Syrians whom they slew in battle.

7. *they had pulled down the abomination.*] See above, ch. iv. 43.

compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before.] See ch. iv. 60. It may be questioned whether the Temple area had ever previously been completely fortified. No doubt there had always been fortifications on the east, and the south-east, where the line of the Temple area coincided with the outer limits of the town. But until the occupation by Judas, it had not been necessary to fortify, as against an enemy, the northern or western parts, which abutted on the city itself.

and his city Bethsura.] Jerusalem might perhaps be justly claimed by them as *their* city, but Bethsura at least belonged to Antiochus; yet they had fortified that also! (See ch. iv. 41.)

8. *he . . . fell sick for grief.*] Polybius (*l. s. c.*) connects the death of Antiochus, not with any intelligence that reached him from Syria, but with the attack upon the temple of Nanæa and its failure. There had, he says, been certain supernatural appearances on the occasion of that misdeed; and Antiochus was smitten thereby with a superstitious dread, which led to his demise. Josephus catches at the alleged cause, and asks, with some force, "Is it not more likely that his remorse and despair were caused by the desecration of the Temple at Jerusalem, which he actually carried into effect, than by a contemplated sacrilege, in which he was foiled?" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1.)

9. *there he continued.*] By "there" is meant the place in Persia where he was when the bad news reached him (*v.* 5)—*i. e.* Tabæ, as we learn from Polybius. (See the comment on *vv.* 3, 4.)

10. *he . . . said unto them.*] The speech here given differs wholly from that sketched in 2 Macc. ix. 12–17, and is probably equally unhistorical. The writer follows the example of the principal historians who had preceded him, and gives, in the form of speeches, the feelings which he supposes his chief personages to have entertained.

11. *I was bountiful and beloved in my power.*] The liberality of Epiphanes has been already noticed (see the comment on ch. iii. 30). That he was generally popular with his heathen subjects, and especially with those of the capital, whom he delighted with shows and festivals (Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 1–10), is highly probable. Even his edict of intolerance (ch. i. 41, 42) seems to have provoked no hostility among any people excepting the Jews (ch. i. 42; ii. 18, 19).

12. *I took all the vessels of gold and silver.*] See ch. i. 21–23.

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the inhabitants of Judea without a cause.

13 I perceive therefore that for this cause these troubles are come upon me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land.

14 Then called he for Philip, one of his friends, whom he made ruler over all his realm,

15 And gave him the crown, and his robe, and his signet, to the end ‖ he should bring up his son Antiochus, and nourish him up for the kingdom.

‖ Or, *he should take his son Antiochus to him.*

16 So king Antiochus died there in the hundred forty and ninth year. B. C. cir. 163.

17 Now when Lysias knew that the king was dead, he set up Antiochus his son, whom he had brought up being young, to reign in his stead, and his name he called Eupator.

18 About this time they that were in the tower shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary, and sought always their hurt, and the strengthening of the heathen.

19 Wherefore Judas purposing to

I . . . sent to destroy the inhabitants of Judæa.] See ch. iii. 35, 36.

14. *Philip, one of his friends.*] The author of the Second Book says (ch. ix. 29) that Philip was the *σύντροφος* of Epiphanes, *i.e.* his foster-brother. He is thought by some to be identical with the Philip who was made governor of Jerusalem immediately after the plunder of the Temple by Antiochus (2 Macc. v. 22), who was "a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous" even than his master. It is a further conjecture that he was "the master of the elephants" at the battle of Magnesia (Liv. xxxvii. 41). But these guesses are of little value.

whom he made ruler.] *I.e.* "regent." His intention was, that Philip should have the custody of his son's person, the direction of his education, and the supreme authority during his minority. Probably he regarded Lysias as having forfeited the post by the proofs which he had given of military incapacity.

15. *his signet.*] The signet-ring was the special mark of royal authority. (See Gen. xli. 42; Esther iii. 10, viii. 2.) Alexander the Great gave his to Perdiccas, and thereby marked him out as next inheritor of his power (Arrian, 'Exp. Al.' vii. 26, § 5).

to the end he should bring up his son.] The Greek will not bear this translation. As the text stands (*τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ*), it can only mean "to the end that he should *take* Antiochus his son." Josephus, however, appears to have had in his copies *Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ*—a reading which would give the sense, "to take them (*i.e.* the crown, signet, &c.) to Antiochus." (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 2.)

16. *in the hundred forty and ninth year.*] Towards the close of B.C. 164, or in the earlier part of B.C. 163.

17. *Lysias . . . set up Antiochus his son.*] So Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' *l. s. c.*) and Appian ('Syriac.' § 46).

being young.] Appian makes Antiochus Eupator no more than nine years old at his father's death ('Syriac.' § 45 and § 66). But Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 'Chron.' Can. i. 40, § 15) makes him twelve. This latter account agrees better than the other with the part said to have been taken by Eupator in the Jewish war (*vv.* 28–47).

his name he called Eupator.] Appian says that "the Syrians" gave him the name ('Syriac.' § 46) on account of the good qualities of his father.

§ 2. JUDAS BESIEGES THE SYRIAN GARRISON IN THE TOWER AT JERUSALEM—APPEAL MADE TO EUPATOR FOR ASSISTANCE.

18–27. The position of the two garrisons, Judæan and Syrian, in the Temple mount and the "tower," built by Epiphanes over against it (ch. i. 33–36), must have been intolerable to both parties. The tower was an *ἐπιτείχισμὸς* of the most annoying kind; and we cannot be surprised that the Maccabee leader, flushed with the victories that he had gained on all sides, should have determined on making a strenuous effort to capture it. It would seem that his attack promised to be successful, and that the defenders felt their only hope of safety to lie in the approach of an army of relief. Hence their appeal to Eupator.

18. *they that were in the tower.*] See ch. i. 33 and iv. 41.

shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary.] The writer does not mean that the Israelites were formally besieged or blockaded, but that their movements were cramped, and that it was not safe for them to go beyond their walls. (Compare ch. i. 36 and 37; and Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3: *τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, θύσαι*

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B. C. cir. 163 — 162.

destroy them, called all the people together to besiege them.

20 So they came together, and besieged them in the hundred and fiftieth year, and he made mounts for shot against them, and *other* engines.

21 Howbeit certain of them that were besieged got forth, unto whom some ungodly men of Israel joined themselves:

22 And they went unto the king, and said, How long will it be ere thou execute judgment, and avenge our brethren?

23 We have been willing to serve thy father, and to do as he would have us, and to obey his commandments;

24 For which cause they of our nation besiege the tower, and are alienated from us: moreover [d] as many of us as they could light on they slew, and spoiled our inheritance. B. C. cir. 162. [d] ch. 5. 22, 44, 51.

25 Neither have they stretched out their hand against us only, but also against all their borders.

26 And, behold, this day are they besieging the tower at Jerusalem, to take it: the sanctuary also and [e] Bethsura have they fortified. [e] ch. 4. 61.

27 Wherefore if thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these, neither shalt thou be able to rule them.

βουλομένους, ἐξαίφνης ἐκτρέχοντες οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθειραν.)

20. *the hundred and fiftieth year.*] The year commencing in the autumn of B.C. 163, and terminating in that of B.C. 162.

he made mounts for shot against them.] Rather, "**towers for shooting at them.**" The *βελοστάσεις* of the text seem to have been moveable towers, such as were used both by the Assyrians and the Greeks, which were brought near to the walls, and enabled the assailants to attack the defenders on the same level. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. pp. 470–2.) The word is used by the LXX. in Ezek. xvii. 17, xxi. 22, where our translators have "forts," "a fort."

and other engines.] Rather, "**and engines.**" The "towers" were not regarded as "engines," which term applied especially to catapults, ballistæ, and battering-rams. It is rightly observed (Stanley) that Judas here for the first time brought into use a battering-train.

21. *ungodly men.*] *I.e.* "men of the Hellenizing party." (See above, ch. i. 43, 52; ii. 18, &c.)

22. *they went unto the king.*] The writer does not seem to realize the fact of Eupator's immature age. He has called him *νεώτερον* (*v.* 17), but apparently is not aware that he was a mere child, twelve years old at the most.

23. *We have been willing to serve thy father.*] Rather, "we **were of those who willed** to serve," &c. *i.e.* we belonged to the conforming party, and obeyed the edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes (ch. i. 41–50), which a part of our nation refused to obey, and now we are brought into trouble on that very account (*v.* 24).

to do as he would have us.] Literally, "to walk according to his sayings."

24. *as many of us as they could light on they slew.*] See above, ch. ii. 44; iii. 8.

25. *against all their borders.*] Compare ch. v. 3–51.

26. *the sanctuary also and Bethsura have they fortified.*] On the fortification of the Temple by Judas, see ch. iv. 60; and on that of Bethzur (Bethsura), see ch. iv. 61.

§ 3. THE WAR OF LYSIAS AND EUPATOR AGAINST JUDAS—FALL OF BETHSURA—SIEGE OF THE TEMPLE.

28–54. The boldness of Judas, the danger of the Syrian garrison in the Tower (Acra) at Jerusalem, and the very cogent arguments of the renegade Jews at Antioch (*vv.* 22–27), roused the Syrians to a great effort. The author of the Second Book tells us, that there was at first some difference of opinion at the Court, a certain Ptolemy Macron advising that good terms of peace should be offered to the party of Judas (2 Macc. x. 12); but sterner counsels prevailed—Lysias was all-powerful—and the resolution was taken to crush the patriots by sending against them an overwhelming force. It is not clear that as yet Lysias apprehended danger either from Philip, the regent appointed by Epiphanes on his deathbed (*v.* 15), or from Demetrius, who was still in custody at Rome (ch. vii. 1). If he did, there would, however, be the more reason for haste, in order to get rid of one enemy before the necessity arose for dealing with others. The immense army described in *vv.* 30–41 was therefore collected and marched upon Bethzur. Judas was for the first time defeated (*vv.* 42–47). Bethzur capitulated (*vv.* 49, 50); and siege was laid to the Temple (*vv.* 51–54).

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28 Now when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered together all his friends, and the captains of his army, and those that had charge of the horse.

29 There came also unto him from other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired soldiers.

30 So that the number of his army was an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty elephants exercised in battle.

31 These went through Idumea, and pitched against Bethsura, which they assaulted many days, making engines of war; but they *of Bethsura* came out, and burned them with fire, and fought valiantly.

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32 Upon this Judas removed from the tower, and pitched in Bathzacharias, over against the king's camp.

33 Then the king rising very early marched fiercely with his host toward Bathzacharias, where his ar-

28. *when the king heard this, he was angry.*] The representations were probably made, not to the boy king, but to Lysias, who may well have been "angry," or at any rate greatly vexed, at what he heard. It must certainly have been Lysias who gave the orders for the collection of the forces of the kingdom.

those that had charge of the horse.] Literally, "those that were over the reins"—an expression which seems to point to a chariot force. According to the author of the Second Book (2 Macc. xiii. 2), Lysias brought with him on this occasion 5300 horsemen, and "three hundred chariots armed with hooks."

29. *from other kingdoms.*] As Pergamus and Bithynia, perhaps also Paphlagonia and Pontus.

from isles of the sea.] Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus were always willing to furnish mercenary troops in the wars of this period. They usually served as slingers and archers. (See Appian, 'Syriac.' § 32; 'Bell. Civ.' ii. § 70, &c.)

30. *the number of his army.*] The numbers here given are confirmed by one passage of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3), but contradicted by another, where they are said to have been 50,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 80 elephants ('Bell. Jud.' i. 1, § 5). The author of the Second Book (2 Macc. *l. s. c.*) makes the horse 5300, which may be accepted as probably the true number. He makes the foot 110,000, which is not improbable; the elephants twenty-two, which may also be correct. By the treaty of Magnesia the Syrian king was bound to keep no war-elephants. Polybius tells us that Eupator had broken the engagement ('Hist.' xi. 12, § 11); but it is scarcely likely that he had collected a very large corps. We may safely reject the "eighty elephants" of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' *l. s. c.*).

31. *These went through Idumea.*] The Syrians considered that the best mode of attacking Judæa was to proceed along the coast of the Mediterranean from Carmel southwards, and then make the assault upon the west, or upon the south. They had attacked twice from the west, first under Seron (ch. iii. 14–16), and again under Nicanor and Gorgias (ch. iii. 38–41; ch. iv. 1–23). Later, under Lysias himself, they had attacked from the south (ch. iv. 28–34). Lysias now repeated this movement.

they of Bethsura.] These words are wanting in the original, but are rightly supplied by our translators.

and burned them with fire.] This was a usual practice of besiegers. As the military engines of the time were chiefly composed of wood, they readily took fire. We find the Assyrians protecting their engines against fire by means of curtains of cloth, leather, or other non-inflammable material ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 471); and a similar practice seems to have been known to the Greeks (Thucyd. ii. 75). Sometimes, however, the flames were simply met and kept in check by means of a supply of water.

32. *Judas removed from the tower.*] The first result of the attack on Bethsura was to raise the siege of "the tower." Judas felt that his presence was required to meet and check the enemy in the south, and accordingly gave up the siege, struck his camp, and marched to Beth-Zacharias, which Josephus says ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 4) was 70 stades, or eight miles, from Bethsura. It commanded a narrow pass, and has been almost certainly identified with the modern Beit-Sakariyeh, which lies nearly due north of Beit-sur, at a distance by the road of about nine Roman miles (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 284).

over against the king's camp.] This expression is hard to reconcile with the distance assigned by Josephus. (See the last note.) It implies that the two camps were, at any rate, within sight of each other.

33. *the king . . . marched fiercely.*] In the

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mies made them ready to battle, and sounded the trumpets.

34 And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.

35 Moreover they divided the beasts among the armies, and for every elephant they appointed a thousand men, armed with coats of mail, and with helmets of brass on their heads; and beside this, for every beast were ordained five hundred horsemen of the best.

36 These were ready at every occasion: wheresoever the beast was, and whithersoever the beast went, they went also, neither departed they from him. B. C. cir. 162

37 And upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood, which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them with devices: there were also upon every one two and thirty strong men, that fought upon them, beside the Indian that ruled him.

38 As for the remnant of the

original, the "fierceness," or "eagerness to attack the foe," is ascribed, not to the king, but to the host. Translate—"Then the king, rising very early, marched his host, which was eager for the fight, toward Beth-Zacharias."

sounded the trumpets.] Rather, "sounded **with** trumpets." On the use of trumpets in war by the Greeks and Romans, see note on ch. v. 31.

34. *to the end they might provoke the elephants, &c.*] It has been supposed that the elephants were "provoked" by the sight of red wine and of a spirituous liquor obtained from mulberries, both being beverages of which they were fond (Grimm); but wine is not called "the blood of grapes" except in highly wrought poetry (Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14; Ecclus. l. 15); nor is a spirituous liquor obtained from mulberries a thing known to antiquity. Probably the two liquids were the expressed juice of the two fruits, unfermented, and were intended to represent blood to the animals, and so to remind them of battle and prepare them for it.

35. *they divided the beasts among the armies.*] Rather, "among the **legions**" or "**companies.**" It was more usual to draw up the elephants in a separate body, generally in front of the other troops, and to make them advance first upon the enemy. Antiochus the Great had, however, at Magnesia interposed his elephants in pairs between the divisions of his phalanx (Liv. xxxviii. 40; App. 'Syriac.' § 32), and thus set the example of separating them. A new disposition was now tried.

armed with coats of mail.] Rather, "**wearing corslets of chain armour.**" Chain armour was known to the Assyrians, but appears to have been used by them only as an appendage to the helmet ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 441, plates). Corslets were in the early times generally of leather, protected by metal scales. In Roman times, however, the corslets here mentioned became common. (See Polyb. vi. 21; Arrian, 'Tact.' pp. 13, 14, &c.)

36. *These were ready at every occasion, &c.*] Rather, "these **were with the beast, wherever he was, even before the fight began.**" (Πρὸ καιροῦ cannot possibly mean "on every occasion.") The object was to accustom the elephants to the men and horses of their own side, and to accustom the horses to them. In default of such mutual acquaintance, elephants were apt to inflict more damage on the army to which they belonged than on the enemy.

37. *upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood.*] In the Indian war of Alexander the Great, where elephants first make their appearance in Greek warfare, we do not hear of "towers" being placed on them. Apparently, the practice commenced with the Syrians, whose "beasts" were thus armed at Magnesia in B.C. 190, nearly thirty years before the present engagement. (See Liv. xxxvii. 40.) The "towers" cannot really have been of any great size, or have contained more than three or four soldiers.

with devices.] "Girths" seem to be intended. So heavy a fabric as a "tower" could not otherwise have been kept in place.

two and thirty strong men.] This is quite impossible. Livy (*l. s. c.*) makes the number of soldiers to each elephant in the army of Antiochus the Great *four*; Ælian gives, as the ordinary Indian equipment, *three*; some moderns say that in recent times towers on elephants have held a garrison of *five*. Probably, either no number was given here in the original text; or else the text ran, ἐφ' ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἄνδρες δυνάμεως δύο ἢ τρεῖς—"on each of them strong men to the number of two or three."

beside the Indian that ruled him.] Lite-

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horsemen, they set them on this side and that side at the two parts of the host, ‖giving them signs what to do, and being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.

‖ *Or, stirring them and being commanded with the ranks*, or, *intended with the valleys.*

39 Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistered therewith, and shined like lamps of fire.

40 So part of the king's army being spread upon the high mountains, and part on the valleys below, they marched on safely and in order.

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41 Wherefore all that heard the noise of their multitude, and the marching of the company, and the rattling of the harness, were moved: for the army was very great and mighty.

42 Then Judas and his host drew near, and entered into battle, and

rally, "beside his Indian." It is assumed that, as a matter of course, each elephant would have an Indian driver. The elephants employed by the Seleucidæ were originally derived from India, and, though bred in part at Apamea, no doubt required to be kept up by frequent importations from the region where they were indigenous. Expert Hindoo drivers would accompany each such importation.

38. *the remnant of the horsemen.*] Those that remained over, after the thirty-two troops attached to the elephants had been deducted. They would have amounted, according to the numbers previously given, to four thousand.

they set them on this side and that side.] Compare the arrangement at Magnesia (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 32: ἱππεῖς δ' ἑκατέρωθεν παρατετάχατο).

giving them signs what to do.] The meaning of the text is very uncertain. Κατασείω is properly "to shake down," and is used primarily of shaking down fruit from trees. It also means "to shake up and down," as "the hand," or "a stick;" and hence signifies sometimes "to make a sign with the hand," as in Acts xii. 17, xiii. 16, xix. 33, and xxi. 40, where, however, τῇ χειρὶ is always added. It has further the meanings "to disturb," "to throw down," "to make a man unsteady through drink," and "to affright." None of these significations seems particularly appropriate here; and hence the reading is with reason suspected.

being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.] This clause is even more difficult than the preceding. There are two readings, ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξιν and ἐν ταῖς φάραγξιν, of which the latter, being the most difficult, should, according to the ordinary laws of criticism, be preferred. "Being harnessed all over" is a possible meaning of καταφρασσόμενοι, but grammatically the word does not refer to the horsemen, but to the generals who set them their places, whose wearing of complete armour would scarcely be mentioned. Schleusner explains καταφρασσόμενοι here as "guarding" or "covering their flanks with them." Ἐν ταῖς φάραγξιν would mean "among the precipices," where extra precaution would no doubt be necessary.

39. *the shields of gold and brass.*] It is not probable that "shields of gold" were ever employed in warfare. They were used as the ornaments of temples (1 Kings x. 16) or sent as presents to the authorities of foreign states (1 Macc. xiv. 24; xv. 18, &c.). Silver shields were, however, actually borne by troops in the field, notably by those of Alexander the Great (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' vii. 11) and his successors (Polyb. v. 79, § 4; Liv. xxxvii. 40; App. 'Syriac.' § 32, &c.). These may have been mistaken by the Jews for golden shields, when the sun shone upon them, or the writer may only mean that the shields were partly of brass and partly of gold, which is quite possible.

40. *the high mountains . . . the valleys.*] Rather, "the high **hills**—the **low ground**." The hills of southern Judæa do not attain the dignity of "mountains," nor are the wadys which separate them exactly "valleys." The army of Antiochus advancing from the south upon Beth-Zacharias probably proceeded up the Wady Shukheit, which is "straight and *shallow*" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 283), its flanks crowning the hills on either side, which are quite practicable, even for cavalry. The country presents no remarkable difficulties, though Beth-Zacharias is strongly posted.

41. *the army was very great and mighty.*] It was the utmost force that Syria could raise under the circumstances, larger (according to one account, Liv. xxxvii. 40) than that which had met the Romans at Magnesia, and very much the largest army with which Judas had as yet contended.

42. *Judas and his host drew near.*] Judas followed his usual tactics. He did not shut himself up within Beth-Zacharias, or even stand on the defensive, but advanced to meet the foe. (See ch. iii. 11, 16, 23; iv. 12, 29; v. 43, &c.)

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there were slain of the king's army six hundred men.

43 ¶ *f* Eleazar also, *surnamed* Savaran, perceiving that one of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest, and supposing that the king was upon him,

f ch. 2. 5.

44 Put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people, and get him a perpetual name:

45 Wherefore he ran upon him courageously through the midst of the battle, slaying on the right hand and on the left, ‖ so that they were divided from him on both sides.

‖ Or, *so that he cut them in pieces.*

46 Which done, he crept under the elephant, and thrust him under, and slew him: whereupon the elephant fell down upon him, and there he died.

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47 Howbeit *the rest of the Jews* seeing the strength of the king, and the violence of his forces, turned away from them.

48 ¶ Then the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king pitched his tents ‖ against Judea, and against mount Sion.

‖ Or, *i Judea*

49 But with them that were in Bethsura he made peace: ‖ for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land.

‖ Add of Jose phus, *they yielded themselves.*

50 So the king took Bethsura, and set a garrison there to keep it.

51 As for the sanctuary, he be-

there were slain of the king's army six hundred men.] The first assault was, apparently, successful. But numbers prevailed in the end, and Judas felt himself compelled to beat a retreat (*v.* 47).

43. *Eleazar, surnamed Savaran.*] Compare ch. ii. 5, where he is said to have been called "Avaran." Dean Stanley conjectures that the name was given on account of the deed here recorded, and translates, "the Beast-Sticker" ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 318).

armed with royal harness.] Heavy armour was worn, both by elephants and horses, in the wars of this period. By "royal harness" we must understand armour of unusual richness and magnificence, such as seemed to indicate a royal rider. Grimm supposes that the beast was really "the royal elephant," though it did not at this time carry the king, who was too young to take actual part in the battle.

supposing that the king was upon him.] Literally, "he looked as if the king was upon him." The phrase used implies that the fact was otherwise.

44. *and get him a perpetual name.*] On the prevalence of this motive among the best Jews of the time, see note on ch. ii. 51.

45. *through the midst of the battle.*] Literally, "into the midst of the phalanx." Eleazar cut his way through the enemy's ranks until he reached the elephant which he was bent on attacking.

46. *and thrust him under.*] Rather, "and got beneath him." We must supply ἑαυτὸν after ὑπέθηκεν. It is impossible to supply ξίφος.

47. The author is loth to acknowledge the complete defeat of the Jews, and seeks to throw a veil over it; but nevertheless he makes it sufficiently apparent by the facts of his narrative. The Jews, he admits, "turned away" from their foes—*i.e.* retired before them—retreated (as Josephus tells us, 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 5) to Jerusalem. The Syrians felt strong enough to divide their forces. While a part besieged Beth-zur (*v.* 49), the bulk marched on Jerusalem, and commenced the siege of the Temple fortress (*vv.* 48, 51).

49. *with them that were in Bethsura he made peace.*] Again a softening of the facts. We see from what follows that Bethsura was besieged, reduced to extremity, and "taken" (*v.* 50). The garrison may have been allowed terms, but what they were is not stated. Josephus (*l. s. c.*) says that they surrendered themselves on the condition that their persons should be safe.

it being a year of rest to the land.] *I.e.* it was a sabbatical year, and the granaries were exhausted. (Compare *v.* 53.) It may seem strange that greater precautions had not been taken; but Judas's long career of success had probably blinded him to the danger which might impend in case of a reverse. Evidently, neither Beth-zur nor Jerusalem had been properly provisioned against the chance of a siege.

51. *As for the sanctuary, he besieged it many days.*] The Temple had now become a fortress. Judas had fortified it "with high walls and strong towers round about" (ch. iv.

sieged it many days: and ‖set there artillery with engines and instruments to cast fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts and slings.

52 Whereupon ‖they also made engines against their engines, and held them battle a long season.

53 Yet at the last, their vessels being without victuals, (for that it was the seventh year, and they in Judea, that were delivered from the Gentiles, had eaten up the residue of the store;)

54 There were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the famine did so prevail against them, that they were fain to disperse themselves, every man to his own place.

55 At that time Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the king, whiles he lived, had appointed to bring up his son Antiochus, that he might be king,

56 Was returned out of Persia and Media, and the king's host also that went with him, and that he sought to take unto him the ruling of the affairs.

57 Wherefore he went in all haste, and said to the king and the captains

60), defences of such strength that, soon after this, the Syrians destroyed them, though they had bound themselves by an oath to do nothing of the kind (*v.* 62). The advantage of the situation was great—the artificial bulwarks strong—the siege must in any case be long. If the place had been duly provisioned, it would have been in no danger, unless regularly invested, and besieged for months or years.

artillery.] Rather, "**towers.**" (See note on *v.* 20.)

instruments to cast fire and stones.] Arrows with tow twisted round their heads, dipped in pitch, and set alight, were shot from catapults, to fire the works or dwellings of an enemy. (See Thucyd. ii. 75.) Stones were hurled from *ballistæ* to break down battlements, and crush their defenders.

52. *they also.*] *I.e.* the besieged.

made engines against their engines.] Such engines as those already mentioned (*v.* 51) were used for the defence no less than for the attack, and were mounted on the walls and towers of besieged places, whence they played upon the enemy with the advantage of a higher position. (See 2 Chr. xxvi. 15.)

53. *their vessels being without victuals.*] The same neglect to provide sufficient stores, which had lost Beth-zur (*v.* 49), now endangered Jerusalem. The author offers two excuses for it. (1) It was a sabbatical year; (2) The influx of Jews from distant parts, rescued from among the heathen by Simon (ch. v. 23) and Judas (*ib. v.* 45), had caused an unusual consumption, and so exhausted the magazines.

54. *There were but a few left.*] The garrison diminished in number day by day,—in part, no doubt, by the ordinary casualties of a siege, but mainly through desertion, the famine driving many to quit the place and seek safety in flight.

§ 4. LYSIAS, CALLED OFF TO ANTIOCH BY THE PROCEEDINGS OF PHILIP, MAKES PEACE WITH THE JEWS, BUT DOES NOT OBSERVE ITS TERMS.

55–63. Jerusalem was at the last gasp. The revolt seemed about to be crushed. Judas can have had no hope of relief, and must have been contemplating surrender, or death amid the enemy's ranks, when an unexpected event saved him, and with him his nation. Philip, the regent appointed by Epiphanes just before his decease, arrived at Antioch with the army which had accompanied Epiphanes to the Eastern provinces, was admitted into the town, and assumed the government of the kingdom. It was necessary to march against this new foe at once; and Lysias, without a moment's hesitation, resolved to make peace with the Jews. The terms he granted them were all that they could desire—they were to return to their allegiance, but were to be allowed the free observance of all their own laws and usages, as before the edict of Epiphanes (*v.* 59). Their fortifications were also to remain untouched. This last stipulation was, however, not kept (*v.* 62). Eupator (or rather Lysias), who must have been the real director of everything, when he saw the strength of the defences, "commanded to pull down the wall." This done, he marched his army off to Antioch (*v.* 63).

55. *Philip.*] See *v.* 14; and compare 2 Macc. ix. 29.

56. *Was returned out of Persia and Media.*] *I.e.* from the eastern provinces, into which Epiphanes had marched for the purpose of collecting money (ch. iii. 31, 37).

the king's host also that went with him.] Half the forces of the empire, according to ch. iii. 37.

57. *he went in all haste, and said.*] Rather, "**he hastened to depart, and to say.**" His special haste was to depart, and set out

B. C. cir. 162. of the host and the company, We decay daily, and our victuals are but small, and the place we lay siege unto is strong, and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us:

[1] Gr. *give hands.* 58 Now therefore let us [1]be friends with these men, and make peace with them, and with all their nation;

59 And covenant with them, that they shall live after their laws, as they did before: for they are therefore displeased, and have done all these things, because we abolished their laws.

60 So the king and the princes were content: wherefore he sent unto them to make peace; and they accepted thereof.

61 Also the king and the princes made an oath unto them: whereupon they went out of the strong hold.

62 Then the king entered into mount Sion; but when he saw the strength of the place, he brake his oath that he had made, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about. B. C. cir. 1

63 Afterward departed he in all haste, and returned unto Antiochia, where he found Philip to be master of the city: so he fought against him, and took the city by force.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Antiochus is slain, and Demetrius reigneth in his stead.* 5 *Alcimus would be high priest, and complaineth of Judas to the king.* 16 *He slayeth threescore Assideans.* 43 *Nicanor is slain, and the king's forces are defeated by Judas.* 49 *The day of this victory is kept holy every year.*

IN the hundred and one and fiftieth year [a]Demetrius the *son* of cir. 1 [a] 2 Ma 14. 1.

for Antioch; but to effect this, he had to persuade the king and the commanders. So he "hastened" also to speak to them. The power of a regent would seem not to have been absolute.

We decay daily, and our victuals are but small.] The besiegers, it would seem, suffered almost as much as the besieged. They also were ill-provisioned, and could obtain but little from the adjacent country, which had no crops on account of the sabbatical year. They, too, "decayed," or lost men, "daily" by casualties.

the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us.] Rather, "press upon us." The situation is pressing, and brooks no delay.

60. *he sent unto them to make peace.*] The author of the Second Book professes to give the letters which passed on the occasion (1) between Lysias and the Jews; (2) between Antiochus and Lysias; and (3) between Antiochus and the Jews (ch. xi. 16–33). But his documents seem to be forgeries. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 318, note [5], E. T.)

61. *the king and the princes made an oath.*] The treaty was concluded with all the customary forms. Oaths were interchanged. As the king was a minor, "the princes"—Lysias and the other generals—took the oath also.

they went out.] This may have been a condition, for the honour of the royal arms.

62. *he brake his oath that he had made.*] We must not impute the perjury to the king, who was a mere boy. The orders to destroy the wall were, no doubt, given by Lysias.

63. *where he found Philip.*] According to the writer of the Second Book, Philip, fearing Eupator, fled into Egypt, and found a refuge with Ptolemy Philometor (2 Macc. ix. 29). It is possible that he escaped after the siege of the city was begun.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. DEMETRIUS ASSUMES THE SYRIAN CROWN, AND KILLS EUPATOR AND LYSIAS.

1–5. Demetrius, first cousin of Eupator, and the son of the elder brother, had an undoubted claim to the Syrian throne, especially as he was grown up, while Eupator was a minor. His father had sent him, when a child, to Rome as a hostage; and he had been retained there ever since, despite his many remonstrances. At last, despairing of getting the Senate's permission to quit Rome, he secretly made his escape, sailed to Syria, was received with favour by the mass of the inhabitants, and having got Lysias and Eupator into his power, caused them to be put to death (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 47). He then reigned for some years without a rival, but was ultimately dispossessed by Alexander Balas, Eupator's half-brother.

1. *In the hundred and one and fiftieth year.*] The year B.C. 162–1.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus.] Demetrius was the only son, so far as appears, of Seleucus IV. (Philopator), who succeeded his

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Seleucus departed from Rome, and came up with a few men unto ‖a city of the sea coast, and reigned there.

‖ *Tripolis,* Jos. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 16.

2 And as he entered into the ‖palace of his ancestors, so it was, that his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him.

‖ Gr. *house of the kingdom of his father.*

3 Wherefore, when he knew it, he said, Let me not see their faces.

4 So his host slew them. Now when Demetrius was set upon the throne of his kingdom,

5 There came unto him all the wicked and ungodly men of Israel, having Alcimus, who was desirous to be high priest, for their captain:

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6 And they accused the people to the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have slain all thy friends, and driven us out of our own land.

7 Now therefore send some man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see what havock he hath made among us, and in the king's land, and let him punish them with all them that aid them.

8 Then the king chose Bacchides, a friend of the king, who ruled

father, Antiochus the Great, in B.C. 187–6, and was himself succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes in B.C. 176–5. According to the strict law of primogeniture, as understood in modern times, he was the rightful king; but, as the crown had, on account of his minority at his father's death, passed to a brother, by the Macedonian law his title was disputable.

departed from Rome.] Made his escape secretly, as we learn from Polybius (xxxi. 19–23) and Appian (*l. s. c.*). The Senate preferred that Syria should be under the rule of a boy, and lent no encouragement to the claims of Demetrius. After consultation with Polybius, who was his private friend, and with others, he determined to depart clandestinely, and succeeded in effecting his purpose.

a city of the sea coast.] Demetrius landed at Tripolis in Phœnicia, according to the author of the Second Book (ch. xiv. 1), who is followed by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 1).

reigned there.] *I.e.* "was proclaimed king." He does not appear to have remained at Tripolis more than a very short time.

2. *he entered into the palace of his ancestors.*] The royal palace of the Syrian kings was at Antioch. It was situated in the northern part of the city, close upon the Orontes.

his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias.] Demetrius landed in Syria with but "a few men" (*v.* 1); but the Syrian army almost immediately declared in his favour. Eupator and Lysias were arrested by their own guards, who would have delivered them alive to the new monarch, but, on the intimation of his pleasure recorded in *v.* 3, put them to death.

§ 2. DEMETRIUS MAKES ALCIMUS HIGH PRIEST, AND SENDS BACCHIDES TO ARRANGE AFFAIRS IN JUDÆA.

4–9. On quitting Jerusalem with Eupator, Lysias had carried off the High Priest, Onias or Menelaus, and had caused him to be put to death, thus leaving the high priesthood vacant. The rightful successor to the office was Menelaus' son, Onias; but another claimant arose in the person of Alcimus, who was of a different family from Menelaus, but claimed to be descended from Aaron, and had had ancestors among the High Priests (2 Macc. xiv. 7). According to Josephus, Lysias invested Alcimus with the office ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7); but our author evidently supposes him to have first received the appointment from Demetrius. Demetrius, at any rate, acknowledged him, and at his instigation sent Bacchides with a large army into Judæa, with orders to crush Judas and his party, and to instal Alcimus as governor of the country.

5. *the wicked and ungodly men of Israel.*] *I.e.* the men of the Hellenizing party. (See above, ch. i. 43, 52; ii. 44; iii. 8, &c.)

Alcimus.] Ewald identifies the name with the Hebrew "Eliakim" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 319, note [9], E. T.); but Josephus says that the original name of Alcimus was not Eliakim, but Jakim or Jehoiakim. In meaning the words are equivalents, but, as names, they were considered to be distinct and different (2 Kings xxiii. 34). Alcimus was a good Greek name, meaning "valiant."

was . . . their captain.] Rather, "their leader"—the chief man of the embassy, not a military commander.

6. *they accused the people to the king.*] By "the people" here, we must understand the patriots—that part of the nation which clung to the Law, and accepted Judas for their leader. It was true that Judas and his followers had pursued to the death those of their nation who took the opposite view and sided with the Syrians. (See ch. ii. 44; iii. 8.)

8. *Bacchides, a friend of the king.*] Josephus calls him "a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2). He is not mentioned by the classical writers.

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beyond the flood, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king.

9 And him he sent with that wicked Alcimus, whom he made high priest, and commanded that he should take vengeance of the children of Israel.

10 So they departed, and came with a great power into the land of Judea, where they sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with peaceable words deceitfully.

11 But they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they were come with a great power.

12 Then did there assemble unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of ‖scribes, to require justice.

‖ Or, *officers, governors, chief men,* or, *men in authority.*

13 Now the Assideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them:

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14 For said they, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army, and he will do us no wrong.

15 So he spake unto them peaceably, and sware unto them, saying, We will procure the harm neither of you nor your friends.

16 Whereupon they believed him: howbeit he took of them threescore men, and slew them in one day, according to the words which he wrote,

17 [b]The flesh of thy saints *have* *they cast out*, and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.

[b] Ps. 79. 3.

18 Wherefore the fear and dread of them fell upon all the people, who

who ruled beyond the flood.] *I.e.* "beyond the Euphrates." Josephus says that he was "governor of all Mesopotamia."

§ 3. The Attempt of Bacchides to pacify Judæa by Fraud and Treachery.

10–20. Bacchides seems to have hoped to end all by enticing Judas to a conference, and there seizing his person. When this plot failed, he had no further resource, except to exercise his arts of persuasion and treachery upon persons of less, indeed of scarcely any, importance. What result he expected from his massacres, it is hard to say. He must have wholly misunderstood the character of the Hebrews, if he thought that severities would terrify them into submission. Armed force he appears to have been afraid to use; he made no attack upon the army of Judas or upon the Temple fortress; and after doing the Syrian cause as much harm as was possible in the time, seemingly well content with his work, he left Jerusalem and returned to Antioch.

10. *they sent messengers to Judas, &c.*] To invite to a conference and there seize the persons of obnoxious leaders has been a favourite device of Orientals in all ages. So Tissaphernes seized the Greek generals after Cunaxa; so the Parthians got possession of Crassus after Carrhae; so the Affghans entrapped MacNaughten and his staff at the beginning of the great outbreak. Judas was more prudent and cautious than most commanders. He declined all offers of a parley, and maintained a vigilant defensive attitude, probably in the Temple fortress.

12. *a company of scribes.*] The "scribes" of this verse are probably to be connected with the "Assideans" (*Khasidim*) of the next. Though Judas had been too wary to be deceived, a portion of the "party of the Pious" (see note on ch. ii. 42) suffered themselves to be entrapped. From their secure position, either in the Temple fortress, or in some other fortified place, they sent a strong deputation of "scribes" to confer with Bacchides and Alcimus, and "adjust equitable terms of peace." It seemed to them impossible that one of their own nation, more especially one "of the seed of Aaron," should act treacherously towards them.

15. *he spake unto them peaceably.*] The mask was not thrown off at once. Alcimus bound himself by an oath in no respect to injure the deputies, and then suddenly arrested sixty of them, and put them to death. Josephus throws the blame of the proceeding on Bacchides ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2): but no doubt he and Alcimus were equally in fault.

16. *according to the words which he wrote.*] It has been proposed to supply a nominative, as "Asaph," "David," "the Prophet"—and so some MSS. and versions. But the construction without a nominative is not unexampled, and may be explained as an ellipse, κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔγραψεν [ὁ γράψας].

17. *The flesh of thy saints, &c.*] See Ps. lxxix. 2, 3, which is thought to have been written in the earlier part of the Maccabee period.

18. *the fear and dread of them.*] A com-

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said, There is neither truth nor ‖righteousness in them; for they have broken the covenant and oath that they made.

‖ Gr. *judgment.*

19 After this removed Bacchides from Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Bezeth, where he sent and took many of the men that had forsaken him, and certain of the people also, and when he had slain them,

[c] Jer. 41. 7.

[c] *he cast them* into the great pit.

20 Then committed he the country to Alcimus, and left with him a power to aid him: so Bacchides went to the king.

21 But Alcimus ‖contended for the high priesthood.

B. C. cir. 161.

‖ Or, *laboured to defend his high priesthood.*

22 And unto him resorted all such as troubled the people, who, after they had gotten the land of Juda into their power, did much hurt in Israel.

23 Now when Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the Israelites, even above the heathen,

24 He went out into all the coasts of Judea round about, and took vengeance of them that had ‖revolted from him, so that they durst no more ‖go forth into the country.

‖ Or, *fled from him to the enemy.*

‖ Or, *invade the country.*

mon Hebrew pleonasm. (See Gen. ix. 2; Ex. xv. 16; Deut. ii. 25, xi. 25; Isa. viii. 13.)

19. *pitched his tents in Bezeth.*] Bezeth is probably the same as the Bezetha of later times, which was the name of the hill due north of the Temple-mount, on which a portion of the later city was built. We learn from Josephus that the word is a contraction of Beth-Zeth, which would mean "the house of the olive," and would imply that the hill was originally devoted to the cultivation of that tree. As it is a sort of continuation of the Mount of Olives, this may well have been so.

the men that had forsaken him.] Rather, "that had **deserted from him.**" After the massacre related in *v.* 16, many of the Jews who had ranged themselves on his side, naturally enough, deserted the standard of Bacchides, and fled to strongholds. Of these we must suppose "the village of Beth-Zeth" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2) to have been one.

certain of the people also.] *I.e.* "of the original inhabitants of Beth-Zeth," who had offended him by harbouring the fugitives.

the great pit.] Φρέαρ is properly "a well," and may have the meaning in this place. The massacre of Cawnpore has made moderns familiar with such a disposal of the bodies of victims.

20. *Then committed he the country to Alcimus.*] Alcimus was left to be civil ruler, as well as High Priest. Indeed, as he was excluded from the Temple, his functions would be chiefly civil.

§ 3. ALCIMUS, BEING IN DIFFICULTIES, APPLIES FOR AID A SECOND TIME TO DEMETRIUS, WHO SENDS NICANOR WITH AN ARMY.

21–26. The situation of Alcimus was full of difficulty. He claimed to be High Priest, yet had no access to the Temple. He was nominally civil governor of Judæa, but found his authority overshadowed by that of Judas. Bacchides had in fact left him in the throes of a civil war, in which he found himself losing ground continually. "Judas and his company had gotten the upper hand" (*v.* 25). Under these circumstances, he had no resource but to make a second appeal to Demetrius, for more effectual aid against his adversary. Demetrius upon this sent Nicanor at the head of a considerable army, with orders to "destroy" the party of Judas.

21. *Alcimus contended for the high priesthood.*] Until he could obtain possession of the Temple, Alcimus felt his high priesthood insecure—a mere name, not a reality. Hence the need of his "contention."

22. *all such as troubled the people.*] Compare 1 Kings xviii. 18. The irreligious and idolatrous are always the true "troublers of Israel," even when authority is on their side, and their opponents may seem to be those who cause disturbance.

24. *all the coasts of Judea.*] All parts of the country. (Compare Deut. xvi. 4; Judg. xix. 29, &c.)

them that had revolted from him.] Literally, "that had deserted." Both sides considered that those who went over from their party to the other were "deserters," and merited death. (See *v.* 19.)

they durst no more go forth into the country.] "None of them dared any longer to shew themselves openly" (Ewald).

25. *said all the worst of them that he could.*] Literally, "accused them of evil deeds." In the eyes of Alcimus, and of Demetrius no less, all the gallant actions of Judas and his followers were "evil deeds"—acts of rebellion against lawful authority.

B. C. cir. 161.

25 On the other side, when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company ‖ had gotten the upper hand, and knew that he was not able ‖ to abide their force, he went again to the king, and said all the worst of them that he could.

‖ Or, *were grown very strong.*

‖ Gr. *to abide them.*

26 [d] Then the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel, with commandment to destroy the people.

[d] 2 Mac. 14. 12.

cir. 161.

27 So Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great force; and sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully with ‖ friendly words, saying,

‖ Gr. *peaceable.*

28 Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may ‖ see you in peace.

B. C. cir. 161.

‖ Gr. *see your faces.*

29 He came therefore to Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. Howbeit the enemies were prepared to take away Judas by violence.

30 Which thing after it was known to Judas, *to wit*, that he came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more.

31 Nicanor also, when he saw that his counsel was discovered, went out to ‖ fight against Judas beside ‖ Caphar-salama:

‖ Gr. *meet Judas in battle.*

‖ Or, *Carphasalama.*

26. *the king sent Nicanor.*] It is uncertain if this was the "Nicanor" of ch. iii. 36, who was selected to command in the Jewish war by Lysias. He was undoubtedly the person mentioned by Polybius (xxxi. 22, § 4) as among the friends of Demetrius at Rome, and as having accompanied him in his flight. (Cf. Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 4.) Josephus calls him "the best-affectioned and most faithful of Demetrius's friends." The author of the Second Book says, that he had been "master of the elephants" (2 Macc. xiv. 12).

a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel.] These words are curiously at variance with the representations of the writer of the Second Book, who makes Nicanor studiously mild towards the Jews at first (ch. xiv. 23–28), and says that he "loved Judas from his heart" (*ib. v.* 24). It has been supposed that his hatred arose from his having been defeated at Emmaus (ch. iv. 14, 15).

with commandment to destroy the people.] Compare above, ch. iii. 35, 36.

§ 4. The Expedition of Nicanor and its Results—The Battles of Caphar-salama and Adasa.

27–50. Nicanor, like Bacchides, seems to have thought at first, that he might effect the object of his expedition by craft and guile. He entered into negotiations with Judas, and even persuaded him to come to a conference, at which he intended to seize his person (*v.* 29). Judas, however, had guarded against the treachery by having soldiers at hand (2 Macc. xiv. 22), who would have repelled force with force; and the attempt therefore was not actually made. Failing here, the Greek general commenced hostilities, and engaged the forces of Judas at Caphar-salama on the Samaritan frontier, but was defeated with the loss of 5000 men (*v.* 31). He then endeavoured to induce his own party to surrender Judas by threats, that, if they refused, he would destroy the Temple (*v.* 35); but, finding that his menaces had no effect, he once more resorted to arms, and fell upon a small force which was encamped with Judas at Adasa. Here again, however, he was unsuccessful: his army suffered a complete defeat; and he was himself slain in the battle. Judæa had then "rest a little while" (*v.* 50).

27. *with a great force.*] The amount is nowhere stated. According to the author of the Second Book, thirty-five thousand were slain in the battle of Adasa (2 Macc. xv. 27); but the numbers of this writer cannot be trusted.

28. *that I may see you.*] Literally, "that I may see your faces." A common Hebraism.

29. *the enemies were prepared to take away Judas.*] Josephus says that Nicanor in the middle of the interview gave a signal to his subordinates to seize Judas ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 4). Judas, however, perceiving his danger, jumped up and flew to his friends. The writer of the Second Book notes that he had prepared his friends for the emergency (ch. xiv. 22).

31. *beside Capharsalama.*] This place is unknown to the Hebrew Scriptures. The first element of the word may compare with the "Caper" in Capernaum, which means "village," and the second with the "salem" in Jerusalem, which means "peace." In the Middle Ages we find a "Carvasalim" near Ramleh, on the Samaritan frontier, N.W. of Jerusalem, which is probably the same place. From 2 Macc. xv. 1 we learn that, about this time, "Judas and his brethren were in the strong places about Samaria."

B. C. cir. 161.

32 Where there were slain of Nicanor's side about five thousand men, and *the rest* fled into the city of David.

33 After this went Nicanor up to mount Sion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests and certain of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered for the king.

34 But he mocked them, and laughed at them, and ‖abused them shamefully, and spake proudly,

‖ Gr. *defiled them.*

35 And sware in his wrath, saying, Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands, if ever I come again ‖in safety, I will burn up this house: and with that he went out in a great rage.

B. C. cir. 161.

‖ Gr. *in peace.*

36 Then the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping, and saying,

37 Thou, *O Lord*, didst choose this house to be called by thy name, and to be a house of prayer and petition for thy people:

38 Be avenged of this man and his

32. *the rest fled into the city of David.*] The western portion of Jerusalem, which had always remained in the possession of the Syrians. (See ch. i. 33–38; iv. 41; vi. 18–26, &c.)

33. *went Nicanor up to mount Sion.*] Nicanor made a demonstration against the Temple fortress. He descended from the Akra, and "ascended" the Temple hill, and probably approached the gates, and demanded a conference with the authorities. Whether he was admitted within the enclosure into the great outer court, as the author of the Second Book supposes (2 Macc. xiv. 31–33), is perhaps doubtful. The statement here, that the priests "came out" to meet him, rather implies the contrary. But, on the other hand, we are told (in *v.* 35) that he "went out," so that seemingly he must have penetrated inside. It is, however, quite clear that he was at no time master of the fortress, which was held for Judas by the "priests" and "people."

there came out of the sanctuary.] "The sanctuary," τὰ ἅγια, may mean either the Temple, taken altogether, τὸ ἱερόν, or the sacred building in the centre of the inner court, ὁ ναός.

the elders of the people.] The Temple fortress sheltered at this time, not only a body of priests, but a "people," the families of those who were in the field with Judas. It also had, in all probability, a garrison. (See ch. iv. 61.)

to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered for the king.] The Jews did not as yet claim actual independence. Their demand was to live under their own laws and enjoy the free exercise of their own religion, while at the same time they were subjects of the Syrian king. They therefore, according to their universal practice when under foreign government, offered special sacrifices and prayers for the Syrian monarch. (See Ezra vi. 10; Jer. xxix. 7; Philo, 'Leg. ad Caium,' vol. ii. p. 592.)

34. *he . . . abused them shamefully.*] Literally, "he polluted them." Gorionides says, "by spitting upon them;" but this can be no more than a conjecture.

35. *Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands.*] Nicanor appears to have thought that Judas was within the Temple fortress, and that the priests and elders had it in their power to deliver him up. This was not the case (2 Macc. xiv. 32). Judas was still with his army in the field.

I will burn up this house.] The author of the Second Book gives a somewhat different account. According to him, Nicanor "stretched out his right hand towards the Temple, and made an oath in this manner—If ye will not deliver me Judas as a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect a notable temple to Bacchus" (2 Macc. xiv. 33). The threat, however expressed, reminded those who heard it of the blasphemous menaces of Sennacherib. (See *v.* 41, and compare 2 Kings xviii. 29–35.)

he went out.] On the force of this expression, see the comment on *v.* 33.

36. *the priests entered in.*] We may understand this of the priests quitting the outer, and entering the inner, court. They would then, naturally, stand "before the altar and the Temple"—the altar being directly in front of the Temple building.

37. *Thou, O Lord.*] The word Κύριε is wanting in many MSS., and is probably not from the hand of the author, who systematically avoids the use of the holy Name. (See note on ch. iii. 22.)

didst choose this house, &c.] See Deut. xii. 5, 11, 14, &c.; 1 Kings xi. 36, xiv. 21, &c.

to be a house of prayer and petition.] See Solomon's dedication speech (1 Kings viii.

B. C. cir. 161.

host, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to continue any longer.

39 So Nicanor went out of Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Beth-horon, where an host out of Syria met him.

40 But Judas pitched in Adasa with three thousand men, and there he prayed, saying,

[c] 2 Kings 19. 35. Isai. 37. 36. Ecclus. 48. 21. 2 Mac. 8. 19. & 15. 22.

41 [e] *O Lord*, when they that were sent from the king of the Assyrians blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote an hundred fourscore and five thousand of them.

42 Even so destroy thou this host before us this day, that the rest may know that he hath spoken blasphemously against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness. B. C. 161.

43 So the thirteenth day of the month Adar the hosts joined battle: but Nicanor's host was discomfited, and he himself was first slain in the battle.

44 Now when Nicanor's host saw that he was slain, they cast away their weapons, and fled.

45 Then ‖ they pursued after them a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera, sounding an alarm after them with their trumpets. ‖ Or, *the Jews.*

46 Whereupon they came forth out of all the towns of Judea round about, and closed them in; so that they, turning back upon them that pursued them, were all slain with the sword, and not one of them was left.

28–52), and compare Is. lxi. 7, Matt. xxi. 13, &c.

39. *in Beth-horon.*] On the situation of Beth-horon, see note on ch. iii. 16.

40. *in Adasa.*] According to Josephus, Adasa was 30 stades (3½ miles) distant from Beth-horon. Eusebius places it near Gophna (*Jifna*). Recent research has shewn that it lay at the junction of the two main lines of advance on Jerusalem from the north, not far from *El-Jib* (Gibeon).

with three thousand men.] This is a surprisingly small number, since we have found Judas previously at the head of a body of 10,000 (ch. iv. 29), and on one occasion, when he divided his forces into three parts, they exceeded 13,000 (ch. v. 20, 60). Small as the number is, however, Josephus reduces it still further, making it no more than 1000 ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 5). The forces on the other side he estimates (*l. s. c.*) at 9000. The author of the Second Book makes them 35,000 (2 Macc. xv. 27).

41. *O Lord.*] Here, again, as in *v.* 37, most MSS. omit Κύριε, which was probably not expressed by the original writer. (See note on *v.* 37.)

the king of the Assyrians.] *I.e.* Sennacherib. It has been observed already that Nicanor's menaces recalled to the minds of those who heard them the threats of Rabshakeh. It may be added, that Jewish tradition makes the destruction of Sennacherib's host to have taken place in the same region where Judas was at the present time encamped. This view, however, is not borne out by Scripture.

an hundred fourscore and five thousand.] See 2 Kings xix. 35.

42. *the rest.*] *I.e.* "our other enemies"—Syrians, apostate Jews, Edomites, Ammonites, &c.

43. *the thirteenth day of the month Adar.*] "Adar" corresponded to the latter part of February and the first three weeks of March. The thirteenth day of Adar was the day immediately preceding the two days' Feast of Purim, which was kept on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar (Esther viii. 21–32), the fourteenth day being known as "the day of Mordecai" (2 Macc. xv. 36). Henceforth three days were observed, the first of them being called "Nicanor's day."

45. *a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera.*] On the position of Gazera and its identity with the modern Tel-Jezar, see the comment on ch. iv. 15. The direct distance from Adasa is about 15 miles, which the turns and twists of the passes would increase to about 20—a good "day's journey."

sounding an alarm, &c.] Literally, "and they trumpeted after them with their signal trumpets." The notes of the trumpets announced victory, and gave a signal to the villagers and others to intercept the passes and cut off the retreat. (See the next verse.)

46. *they came forth out of all the towns.*] Rather, "villages" (κωμῶν).

closed them in.] Literally, "out-flanked them." (See Polyb. xi. 23, § 5; Plutarch, 'Vit. Brut.' § 23.)

B. C. 161. 47 Afterwards they took the spoils, and the prey, and smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so proudly, and brought them away, and hanged them up toward Jerusalem.

48 For this cause the people rejoiced greatly, and they kept that day a day of great gladness.

f 2 Mac. 15. 36. 49 Moreover *f* they ordained to keep yearly this day, being the thirteenth of Adar.

50 Thus *g* the land of Juda was in rest a little while. B. C. cir. 161.

ch. 9. 57. & 14. 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Judas is informed of the power and policy of the Romans,* 20 *and maketh a league with them.* 24 *The articles of that league.*

NOW Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men, and such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves unto them,

47. *they took the spoils, and the prey.*] The inanimate and animate objects—women, children, and slaves—that the enemy had left behind him. For this sense of *προνομὴ* see the Septuagint version of Deut. xxi. 10.

smote off Nicanor's head.] This barbarous practice was common in antiquity. The Egyptian kings represent themselves as bringing home the heads of rebel enemies, suspended to their chariots (Lepsius, 'Denkmäler,' part iii. pl. 128 *a*) and even as smiting off their heads with their own hands (*ib.* pl. 61). The Philistines cut off Saul's head, and "sent it into their land round about" (1 Sam. xxxi. 9). Judith is represented as cutting off the head of Holofernes in his tent and carrying it away with her (Jud. xiii. 8–15). Xerxes had the corpse of Leonidas beheaded after Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 238). The similar indignity offered to the body of Pompey by the semi-barbarous Egyptians of the time is too well known to need more than simple mention.

and his right hand.] This was unusual. Right hands were sometimes cut off as a means of counting the slain; but the present instance does not come under this category. It must be ascribed wholly to the action of Nicanor in threatening the Temple with a gesture of his right hand (2 Macc. xvi. 33). The guilty right hand was cut off in the way of punishment.

hanged them up toward Jerusalem.] They were probably hung up on one of the Temple gates looking westward, toward the fortress and city occupied by the Syrians. The later traditions, and even the details of 2 Macc. xv. 32–35), are scarcely trustworthy. Such exposures naturally followed on the barbarities practised upon the corpses of enemies in the ancient world generally. (See the author's 'Hist. of Egypt,' vol. ii. p. 255; 1 Sam. xxxxi. 12; 'Behist. Inscr.' col. ii. par. 13, § 7; par. 14; § 16; &c.)

50. *the land of Juda was in rest a little while.*] A few weeks only. The second expedition of Bacchides followed on the defeat of Nicanor within a month at the utmost. (Compare ch. vii. 1, 43 with ch. ix. 1–3.)

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. JUDAS RECEIVES INFORMATION CONCERNING THE POWER AND GREATNESS OF THE ROMANS.

1–16. The account of the Romans contained in this passage is interesting, as shewing, not so much the amount of knowledge which Judas Maccabeus possessed of them, as the amount possessed by the writer of the Book, some thirty or forty years after the death of Judas. The picture is graphic, and, despite its inaccuracies (*vv.* 8, 15, 16), not unfaithful, presenting to us fairly enough the general outlines, at once of their national character, of their military history, and of their institutions. The writer evidently holds the nation in high respect and esteem. He recognises all its good qualities; he is apparently not aware of its bad ones. The policy of Judas in opening communications with the Romans has his approval. He expects nothing but good to result from it; he sees no peril as threatening either the religious life or the political independence of his people. Yet the facts stated in *v.* 13 might well have stirred some feelings of distrust and suspicion.

1. *Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans.*] The Romans first became known in the East as a great military power at the beginning of the second century B.C., by the war which they waged with Antiochus the Great. The battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190, established their reputation. The treaty which followed gave them a right, which they were not slow to use, of perpetual interference in the affairs of Asia. Their "commissioners" (*legati*) were constantly visiting the different courts, making demands and imposing conditions. It was a part of their policy to support all the weak states against the stronger ones, in order that no one power might swallow up the rest.

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B. C. cir. 161. and make a league of amity with all that came unto them;

2 And that they were men of great valour. It was told him also of their wars and noble acts which they had done among the ‖Galatians, and how they had conquered them, and brought them under tribute;

‖ Or, *Frenchmen.*

B. C. 189.

3 And what they had done in the country of Spain, for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold which is there;

B. C. cir. 201.

4 And that by their policy and patience they had conquered ‖all the place, though it were very far from them; and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, till they had discomfited them, and given them a great overthrow, so that the rest did give them tribute every year:

‖ Or, *every place.*

mighty and valiant men.] Literally, "mighty in strength," a phrase equivalent to the "mighty men of valour" of the Canonical Books (Judg. vi. 12, xi. 1; 1 Kings xi. 28; 2 Chr. xvii. 17, &c.).

such as would lovingly accept, &c.] The Romans had received into alliance Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philometor, and the Rhodians. They were on such terms with Demetrius Soter as made it probable that they would accept an offer of friendship from any state that was hostile to him.

2. *they were men of great valour.*] This clause is repeated from *v.* 1, either by accident, or for the sake of emphasising it.

their wars . . . among the Galatians.] The Galatians of Asia Minor were the remnant of that vast body of emigrants which entered Macedonia from the valley of the Danube in B.C. 279, and for a time threatened to overwhelm Macedonian and Greek civilisation. Repulsed at last, they made their way into Thrace, and thence passed over into Asia Minor, some of them on the invitation of Nicomedes (B.C. 277), others of their own accord. Here they settled in Northern Phrygia (which became "Galatia") and continued for nearly a century an annoyance and a terror to their neighbours. At last, in B.C. 189, the year after Magnesia, Cn. Manlius Vulso undertook an expedition against them, which was completely successful, and in a great measure put a stop to their ravages. (See Liv. xxxviii. 37; Polyb. xxi. 38, &c.)

brought them under tribute.] This is, probably, an inaccuracy. The Romans withdrew from Asia altogether after the campaign of B.C. 189, and left the Galatians to themselves, merely enjoining upon them the discontinuance of their constant raids (Liv. xxxvii. 40).

3. *what they had done in the country of Spain.*] The conquest of Spain was effected, nominally, in the course of the Second Punic War (B.C. 218–201); and its cession was one of the conditions enforced on the Carthaginians in the last-named year. But the Celtic and Iberian tribes were not really subdued till much later, resistance being only terminated by the campaigns of Agrippa and Carisius in B.C. 27–19.

for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold.] The wealth of Spain in the precious metals was no doubt the main reason of its possession being coveted, alike by the Romans and the Carthaginians. Silver was especially plentiful (Polyb. xxxiv. 9, § 8); and the silver-mines of New Carthage (Carthagena) formed the great attraction which originally drew the Carthaginians to the Spanish shores. Gold was also obtained in considerable quantities; and Pliny goes so far as to say, that "*almost the whole* of Spain abounds with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, and gold" ('H. N.' xxxiii. 21). The influx of the precious metals into Italy, chiefly from Spain, after the close of the Second Punic War, was very great, and caused a marked decline in their value.

4. *by their policy and patience they had conquered all the place.*] This was certainly not true at the time when Judas sent his embassy. The name "Spain" applied to the whole of the peninsula, which was not entirely reduced, as already observed, until B.C. 19. But the reduction of the Lusitani in B.C. 140, and of Numantia in B.C. 133, had produced a cessation of open resistance at the time when our author wrote.

though it were very far from them.] It is remarkable that the distant Spain was conquered, while the nearer Gaul remained independent, and indeed unattacked, the Roman armies being sent to Spain by sea.

kings . . . from the uttermost part of the earth.] The author has perhaps in his mind the invasions of Italy by Pyrrhus (B.C. 280) and Hannibal (B.C. 218), whom he may regard as a king, though, strictly speaking, he was only a general. But he has evidently no more than a vague acquaintance with the Roman military history.

a great overthrow.] No particular battle is intended, but rather the whole course of

B. C. 197. 5 Beside this, how they had discomfited in battle Philip, and Perseus, king of the ‖ Citims, with others that lifted up themselves against them, and had overcome them:

‖ Or, *Macedonians.*

6 How also Antiochus the great king of Asia, that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants, with horsemen, and chariots, and a very great army, was discomfited by them; B. C. 190.

7 And how they took him alive, and covenanted that he and such as reigned after him should pay a great tribute, and give hostages, and that which was agreed upon,

Roman victory, the word πληγὴ being used "distributively" (Grimm).

5. *how they had discomfited in battle Philip.*] Philip III., king of Macedon, made alliance with Hannibal in the year B.C. 215, and went to war with the Romans in the year following. After seven years of not very successful warfare, he was glad to conclude a separate peace in B.C. 207. In B.C. 200, however, he voluntarily renewed the war, but after a short struggle was completely defeated by the Roman general, Flamininus, at Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly, B.C. 197. This is no doubt the "discomfiture" whereto our author alludes.

and Perseus.] Perseus, son and successor of Philip III., and last king of Macedon, was forced into a war with Rome against his will in B.C. 171, and, after three years of desultory fighting, suffered complete defeat at the hands of L. Æmilius Paullus in the great battle of Pydna, which extinguished the Macedonian monarchy. (Polyb. xxix. 17; Liv. xliv. 40, *et seqq.*)

king of the Citims.] The Citim, Chittim, or Citæans, were, properly, the inhabitants of the town called Citium (Κίτιον), in Cyprus; but the Hebrew writers had from the time of Moses (Gen. x. 4; Num. xxiv. 24) been accustomed to use the term in a wider sense, either for the Cyprians, or even for the inhabitants of the isles and coasts of Greece generally (Is. xxiii. 1, 12; Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Dan. xi. 30; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' i. 6, § 1, &c.). Compare above ch. i. 1, and the comment *ad loc.*

6. *Antiochus, the great king of Asia.*] Antiochus III., son of Seleucus Callinicus, ascended the Syrian throne in B.C. 223, and reigned thirty-six years, dying B.C. 187. He is called "the Great King of Asia," as representing in the extent and geographical position of his dominions the old Persian monarchs, to whom the title of "Great King" had attached for more than two centuries. He assumed as his distinctive epithet the term ὁ Μέγας—"the Great," and is generally so designated by the classical historians (Polyb. xx. 8; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 66; Cic. 'Orat. pro Sextio,' § 27, &c.).

that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants.] Antiochus III. first engaged the Romans with a small force at Thermopylæ in B.C. 192 (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 18–20), and suffered a severe defeat; but the present reference is not to this conflict, where only a few elephants were present, but to the far more important battle of Magnesia—one of the "decisive battles of the world"—in which the whole strength of the Syrian kingdom was pitted against Rome, and proved unequal to the encounter. The elephants brought into the field on this occasion were probably all that were available, and formed a conspicuous feature of the engagement (Liv. xxxvii. 39; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 32); but their number, according to Livy, did not exceed fifty-four.

with horsemen, and chariots.] The "horsemen" in the army of Antiochus are said by Livy (xxxix. 40) to have exceeded 11,700, of whom 6000 were clothed in heavy armour, and mounted on armoured horses. The chariots carried scythes at their axles, and were greatly feared by the adversaries of the Syrians, but actually caused most damage to their own side (App. 'Syriac.' § 33).

a very great army.] Amounting to 170,000 men, according to Appian ('Syriac.' § 32, *ad init.*).

7. *they took him alive.*] This is contrary to the fact. Antiochus fled from the field of battle to Sardis, thence to Celænæ, and thence to Antioch (*ib.* § 36). His ambassadors concluded peace with Rome in the course of the same year (B.C. 190).

and covenanted that he . . . should pay a great tribute.] Antiochus agreed to pay down 500 Eubœic talents, to pay 2500 more on the ratification of the treaty by the senate, and further to send to Rome 1000 talents yearly for the next twelve years (Liv. xxxviii. 39; Appian, § 38). This annual payment might be viewed as a (temporary) "tribute."

such as reigned after him.] Antiochus the Great outlived the battle of Magnesia by only three years. His obligations, consequently, had to be discharged by his successors, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. The payments were not made with regularity, and we find them running on into the reign of Epiphanes, who made the last remittance under the treaty in B.C. 173, seventeen years after Magnesia (Liv. xlii. 6).

B. C. 190. 8 And the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the goodliest countries, which they took of him, and gave to king Eumenes:

9 Moreover how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them;

10 And that they, having knowledge thereof, sent against them a certain captain, and fighting with them slew many of them, and carried away captives their wives and their children, and spoiled them, and took possession of their lands, and pulled down their strong holds, and brought them to be their servants unto this day:

B. C. cir. 190.

B. C. 146.

and give hostages.] Twenty hostages were required, with liberty to the Romans to select whom they pleased (Appian, § 38). Among those chosen was Epiphanes, the younger son of Antiochus the Great, who was afterwards exchanged for Demetrius, his nephew.

and that which was agreed upon.] The word thus translated (διαστολή) is rare in Hellenistic, and not very common in classical, Greek. In Ex. viii. 23, it signifies "division," or "difference;" but that sense will not suit here. Some suppose the meaning here to be "exchange," since the hostages might be exchanged for fresh ones from time to time (Appian, *l. s. c.*). Others suggest the rendering, "a portion of his kingdom." But the word has nowhere else either of these senses.

8. *India, and Media, and Lydia.*] India proper was at no time included within the dominions of Antiochus the Great, and therefore could not have been ceded by him to Rome. His furthest eastern possession was Arachosia, a portion of Affghanistan. Media and Lydia were under his rule, the former permanently, the latter from B.C. 221 to 214. But Media is not mentioned as ceded by any other writer, and lay too far to the east to have been made over to Eumenes. Attempts have been made to save our author's credit by turning "India" into "Ionia," and "Media" into "Mysia;" but the simple fact seems to be that he had no accurate knowledge of any history which was not immediately connected with that of the Jews. He is correct in saying that the Romans compelled Antiochus to cede to them a portion of his dominions, and that the countries ceded were attached by Rome to the kingdom of Eumenes; he is mistaken as to the territories which thus changed masters. What Antiochus ceded was all Asia north of the Taurus (Liv. xxxvii. 44). The greater part of this tract Rome gave to Eumenes (*ib.* 56).

of the goodliest countries.] Literally, "of *their* goodliest countries" (ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων χωρῶν αὐτῶν). It is proposed to read αὐτοῦ ("his") for αὐτῶν; but the change is unnecessary. "Their" refers to the Syrians. On the goodliness of the countries yielded, see Herod. i. 142; and compare Sir C. Fellows's 'Asia Minor,' pp. 16, 22, 27, &c.

king Eumenes.] This was Eumenes II., the eldest son and successor of Attalus I., fourth king of Pergamus, one of the lesser kingdoms formed out of the dominions of Alexander the Great. From a small principality this kingdom became under Eumenes II. the principal power in Asia Minor, Rome rewarding his services at Magnesia and elsewhere with the gift of all the territory that she had taken from Antiochus the Great, except Lycia and part of Caria, which were assigned to the Rhodians.

9. *how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them.*] This representation of the grounds of quarrel between the Romans and the Greeks breathes the spirit of a thoroughgoing partisan of the former. In reality, it was Rome which aimed at destroying Greece, not Greece which even dared to think of destroying Rome. The Ætolians indeed, on one occasion, threatened to invade Italy, and give an answer to the Roman demands on the banks of the Tiber (Liv. xxxv. 33); but the real aggressor in the contest was Rome, and it was Rome which insisted on carrying matters to the last extremity.

10. *a certain captain.*] Manius Acilius Glabrio, who was sent against the Ætolians in B.C. 191, has been looked upon as the "captain" here spoken of: but the rest of the verse points, not to the Ætolian war of B.C. 194–190, but to the final struggle of the Achæans in B.C. 146. If we understand the passage in this sense, the "captain" will have to be regarded as L. Mummius, who crushed Grecian independence at Leucopetra; and the author will have been guilty of an anachronism.

carried away captives their wives and their children.] On the capture of Corinth, all the full-grown men were put to death, while the women and children were sold to be slaves (Justin, xxxiv. 2). Achæa was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and the last remnant of Grecian independence was swept away.

pulled down their strong holds.] The fortifications of Thebes and Chalcis were destroyed in the last Achæan war; Corinth was burnt; and the other strongholds generally were dismantled.

B. C. cir. 170.

11 *It was told him* besides, how they destroyed and brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them;

12 But with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity: and that they had conquered kingdoms both far and nigh, insomuch as all that heard of their name were afraid of them:

13 Also that, whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would, they displace: finally, that they were greatly exalted:

B. C. cir. 170.

14 Yet for all this none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby:

15 Moreover how they had made for themselves a senate house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat

11. *all other kingdoms.*] As that of Demetrius of Pharos, conquered in B.C. 219; Cis-Alpine Gaul, conquered in B.C. 191; Liguria, conquered in B.C. 154; Lusitania, conquered in B.C. 140, &c.

and isles.] Sicily was ceded to Rome by the Carthaginians at the close of the First Punic War, B.C. 241. Sardinia was seized in B.C. 238, and ceded the next year. Corsica was annexed in B.C. 236. Corcyra became Roman about B.C. 228.

12. *with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity.*] This, again, is the estimate of a partisan. Rome's principle was to favour her friends, so long as she needed them; to cast them aside, so soon as she could dispense with their services. Each friend in turn becomes an enemy, when he has ceased to be valuable, and is swallowed up as Ulysses would have been by Polyphemus, if he had not made his escape. But at the time when our author wrote, this was not generally recognised. The aggrandizement of Eumenes and the Rhodians after Magnesia placed the conduct of Rome towards her allies in a very favourable light.

all that heard of their name were afraid of them.] Signal indications of the alarm felt, even by the most powerful kings, are seen in the submission of Epiphanes to the dictation of Popillius (Liv. xlv. 12) and the murder of Hannibal by Prusias at the first hint that Rome was displeased at his harbouring her enemy (*ib.* xxxix. 51).

13. *whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign.*] From about the year B.C. 169 Rome acted as arbiter among the rival claimants of the Egyptian throne. In Asia Minor, from the date of the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190) her influence was frequently employed to establish or displace monarchs. Alexander Balas owed his throne in a great measure to the hostility of Rome towards Demetrius. Nicomedes II. of Bithynia, Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, and others, succeeded in establishing themselves, because Rome favoured their claims.

14. *Yet for all this none of them wore a crown.*] To an Oriental this seemed the most extraordinary fact of all—royal power exercised, yet the insignia of royalty carefully eschewed—the State everything, the individual nothing. Crowns of gold were continually sent to Rome as acknowledgments of sovereignty by the Eastern communities (Polyb. xxii. 17, § 4; xxiv. 1, § 7; xxviii. 18, § 3, &c.). These, however, were not appropriated by any individuals, but went into the public treasury.

or was clothed in purple.] Purple first appears as a specially *royal* colour in the Book of Judges, where we hear of the "purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian" whom Gideon slew (Judg. viii. 26). It does not appear to have been worn by the Assyrian monarchs, but was first brought into general repute by being selected for their wear by the Median kings (Xen. 'Cyrop.' i. 3, § 2). From the Medes the Persians adopted it (*ibid.* viii. 3, § 13); and from them it passed to the Greco-Macedonians (Q. Curt. 'Vit. Alex. Magn.' vi. 6), and ultimately to the Romans. Though no Roman of the times of the republic clothed himself in purple habitually, it was an ordinary colour of the *paludamentum* or general's cloak, the emblem of supreme command.

15. *a senate house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat.*] The number of the Roman Senate was at no time legally fixed at three hundred *and twenty* members. The original number was 100 (Liv. i. 8)—the complete number under the monarchy, 300 (Dionys. Hal. iii. 67; Liv. ii. 1). No further augmentation was formally made until the dictatorship of Sulla, when he arbitrarily increased the Senate to between 500 and 600. Our author's estimate of 320 may be a simple mistake, or it may have arisen from the fact that in his time the actual number, including the two classes of full senators and persons having a right to a seat from their having served certain offices, was commonly about 320. (See Dr. W. Smith's 'Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.' p. 1018; 2nd edit.)

B. C. cir. 161. in council daily, consulting alway for the people, to the end they might be well ordered:

16 And that they committed their government to one man every year, who ruled over all their country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them.

17 In consideration of these things, Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, *the son* of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, B. C. cir. 161.

18 *And to intreat them* that they would take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of

daily.] This statement is also inaccurate. The Senate sat regularly, only on the Calends, Nones, and Ides of each month (Cic. 'Ad Q. Fratrem,' ii. 13); though extraordinary meetings might be convoked, on any day that was not *nefastus*, by the proper magistrate. Continuous sittings occurred only in the month of February, when audience was given to foreign ambassadors *de die in diem;* but this practice belongs only to the last period of the Republic. It may, however, have misled the writer.

16. *they committed their government to one man every year.*] Another mistake, but one which foreigners were not unlikely to make. The two consuls were ordinarily required *sortiri provincias*, "to cast lots for their respective provinces;" and their spheres were for the most part not only distinct, but distant one from the other. The Orientals would never be brought into contact with more than one consul at a time. It is unnecessary to suppose a reference to the temporary and occasional dictatorship.

there was neither envy nor emulation among them.] This view of the Roman polity is far too rose-coloured. In addition to the old rivalry of patrician and plebeian, and the constant struggle between consuls and tribunes, there was not infrequently a jealousy felt by the consuls one towards the other, which seriously interfered with the right conduct of affairs. In the early part of the Second Punic War, the rivalry between Servilius and Flaminius, Æmilius Paullus and Terentius Varro, had very disastrous consequences. Even a "Master of the Knights" was occasionally a thorn in the side of a dictator (Liv. xxii. 14, 27–29).

§ 2. EMBASSY SENT BY JUDAS TO THE ROMANS, AND TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

17–30. The determination of Judas to ask the aid of Rome was a piece of worldly policy which seemed prudent at the time, and which for many years had no ill consequences, but which implied a lack of simple earnest faith, and which ultimately led to the destruction of the Jewish state. Humanly speaking, and apart from a miraculous deliverance, Rome must no doubt have in the end absorbed the Israelite community: but it is to be regretted, for the sake of Judas himself, with his general nobility of character, that he was not above "trusting to an arm of flesh," and calling in a foreign power to give the help which could only have been given effectually by Jehovah. The history of his own nation might have warned him how fatal was the step he took. The appeals of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xvi. 7), and of Hezekiah to Merodach-Baladan (*ib.* xx. 13), had produced the most unfortunate results. A protector naturally becomes a sovereign. Had Judas known a little more of the real history of the Roman State, he would have recognised the fact, that he was calling in the wolf to mount guard over the sheep. As it was, he appears to have been deceived by the conduct of Rome towards Eumenes, which *seemed* disinterested, and which had vastly aggrandized the kingdom of Pergamus. (See *v.* 8.)

17. *In consideration of these things.*] These words are interpolated by our translators. The Greek has simply *καί*—the original had doubtless the mere *vau* connective.

Judas chose Eupolemus . . . and Jason.] It has been remarked (Stanley) that these names are Greek, and inferred that "Judas, with his usual sagacity, chose his envoys, not from the stricter, but from the free-minded section of his nation."

the son of John.] This John is mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 11, as having been the intermediary by means of whom special privileges had been obtained for the Jews from Antiochus the Great. His son, Eupolemus, is identified by some with the writer on Jewish history, so largely quoted by Alexander Polyhistor. (See the fragments of Polyhistor in C. Müller's 'Fr. Hist. Graec.' vol. iii.)

Accos.] This is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Hakkoz, or Hakkots, a common priestly name (1 Chr. xxiv. 10; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21).

18. *to intreat them that they would take the yoke from them.*] The embassy was probably sent before the defeat of Nicanor,

B. C. cir. 161. the Grecians did oppress Israel with servitude.

19 They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey, and came into the senate, where they spake and said,

20 Judas Maccabeus with his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

21 So that matter pleased the Romans well.

22 And this is the copy of the epistle which *the senate* wrote back again in tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that there they might have by them a memorial of peace and confederacy: B. C. cir. 161.

23 Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and enemy be far from them.

24 If there come first any war upon the Romans or any of their confederates throughout all their dominion,

when the cause of the patriotic party seemed well-nigh desperate.

the kingdom of the Grecians.] *I.e.* the Greco-Macedonian kingdom established in Syria under the Seleucidæ.

19. *They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey.*] The journey had to be made by sea, and followed the line of the coast, except that the Ægean and the Adriatic might be crossed at their mouths, the former by way of the Cyclades, or of Cnidus, Carpathus, and Crete, the latter from Corcyra to Iapygia. The voyage of St. Paul from Cæsarea to Puteoli seems to have taken about six months; but half of this time was spent at Melita. Three months was probably about the usual time spent in the passage.

and came into the senate.] The practice of introducing foreign ambassadors into the Senate, and allowing them to speak for themselves, is well attested by the classical writers (Liv. vii. 20; viii. 1, 5, &c.; Polyb. xxxi. 6, 14; xxxii. 1, 7, 24, &c.; Cic. 'Ad Q. Fratrem', ii. 13, &c.). It was the established usage during the entire period of the Republic.

where they spake and said.] Literally, "where they *answered* and said." But our translators are probably right as to the meaning. See the comment on ch. ii. 17.

20. *Judas Maccabeus, &c.*] It must not be supposed that this is all that the ambassadors said. No doubt, they fully stated their case, and recommended the alliance by all the arguments which they thought likely to be effectual. But the sum of all was the request to be inscribed on the list of Rome's allies. We are not to suppose that there was an official "register;" the names and number of the allies were known by means of the treaties preserved in the Tabularium of the Capitol.

22. *this is the copy of the epistle which the senate wrote back again.*] The reply of the Senate was to send back a duplicate copy of the treaty, which they formally concluded with the Jewish ambassadors, for the Jews to preserve in their own archives, while they retained another similar document themselves. Duplicate treaties on plates of metal were as old as the time of Rameses the Great (B.C. 1350), whose treaty with the Hittites in his twenty-first year was inscribed on two tablets of silver ('Records of the Past,' vol. iv. pp. 27–32).

in tables of brass.] Rather, "**on tablets of bronze.**" The custom of inscribing treaties on bronze tablets was ancient at Rome. Polybius says that the various treaties between Rome and Carthage, commencing with the one concluded in the first year of the Republic, were preserved to his day in the Capitol ἐν χαλκώμασι (iii. 26, § 1). Dionysius states that the laws of the Twelve Tables were engraved on brazen pillars (στήλαις χαλκαῖς, x. 57); and Pollux says that laws of all kinds, both sacred and profane, were inscribed similarly (viii. 128).

23. *Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews.*] A translation, as has been well noted (Grimm), of the old Roman formula, "Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit populo Romano et genti Judæorum," with which the treaty would naturally begin.

24–30. We have here a specimen of the sort of treaty which Rome was at all times ready to conclude with any independent power, beyond the line of her frontiers, but within the sphere of her activity. To such powers she was always ready to promise protection and assistance, in return for an engagement on their part, to help her with a contingent when required (*v.* 25), and to render no aid to her enemies (*v.* 26). A studious appearance of equity and moderation is observable in such documents. See the

B. C. cir. 161.

25 The people of the Jews shall help them, as the time shall be appointed, with all their heart:

26 Neither shall they give any thing unto them that make war upon them, or aid them with victuals, weapons, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants without taking any thing therefore.

27 In the same manner also, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them with all their heart, according as the time shall be appointed them:

28 Neither shall victuals be given to them that take part against them, or weapons, or money, or ships, as it hath seemed good to the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants, and that without deceit.

B. C. cir. 161.

29 According to these articles did the Romans make a covenant with the people of the Jews.

30 Howbeit if hereafter the one party or the other shall think meet to add or diminish any thing, they may do it at their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be ratified.

31 And as touching the evils that Demetrius doeth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews?

32 If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.

three treaties with Carthage given by Polybius (iii. 22, 24, and 25).

25. *as the time shall be appointed.*] *I.e.* on the day, and in the manner that Rome shall appoint. Rome would not always, nor indeed very often, ask aid.

with all their heart.] Literally, "with a full heart"—*i.e.* heartily and zealously.

26. *Neither shall they give any thing.*] A common stipulation, generally expressed more briefly by the phrase, "nulla ope juvato," or "neu commeatu, neu qua alia ope juvato." (See Liv. xxxviii. 11, 38, &c.)

as it hath seemed good unto the Romans.] These words seem to imply that Rome had a list of "contraband of war" extending beyond the four items enumerated, which are given as suggestive, not as exhaustive. The Jews were not to supply to nations at war with Rome any of the articles on the Roman list.

without taking any thing therefore.] Without expecting to be paid for it.

28. *without deceit.*] The Latin form was, no doubt, "sine dolo malo." (Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 11.)

30. *Howbeit, &c.*] This was a supplemental clause, and is therefore separated off by the parenthetic *v.* 29 from the rest of the treaty. Such a power to add to, or take from, the provisions of treaties by mutual agreement was often provided, though occasionally it gave rise to suspicion and complaint (Thucyd. v. 23, 29), as do "secret clauses" in modern treaties.

§ 3. THREATENING MESSAGE SENT BY ROME TO DEMETRIUS.

31–32. If the treaty was to give any immediate relief to the Jews, it was necessary that the fact of its conclusion should be notified to Demetrius. Rome gave the notification in the rudest and bluntest way. Ever since Magnesia, she had domineered over the Syrian kings; and Demetrius was especially odious to her, since he had assumed the crown without her authorisation, and against her wishes (Polyb. xxxi. 19–23).

31. *we have written unto him, saying.*] Here again we are not to suppose that the writer gives the entire rescript. Though the forms of ancient diplomacy were simpler and more direct than those which prevail at the present day, still for the most part proposals, and even commands, were wrapt up in a number of unmeaning phrases, which softened them to the recipient. Here, the main thing was to intimate that the status of the Jews was changed—they had become "friends and confederates" of the Romans. Rome therefore could not suffer them to be oppressed. But the question, "Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy?" &c., can scarcely have been put so barely as it is expressed in the text.

32. *If therefore they complain any more.*] Rather, "if they **apply to us** any more." The application would, of course, involve a complaint.

we will . . . fight with thee by sea and by land.] "Terra marique pugnabimus contra te." This was at least explicit. Demetrius was

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B. C. cir. 161.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Alcimus and Bacchides come again with new forces into Judea.* 7 *The army of Judas flee from him,* 17 *and he is slain.* 30 *Jonathan is in his place,* 40 *and revengeth his brother John's quarrel.* 55 *Alcimus is plagued, and dieth.* 70 *Bacchides maketh peace with Jonathan.*

B. C. cir. 161. FURTHERMORE when Demetrius heard that Nicanor and his host were slain in battle, [1] he sent Bacchides and Alcimus into the land of Judea the second time, and with them [2] the chief strength of his host:

2 Who went forth by the way that leadeth to [3] Galgala, and pitched their tents before Masaloth, which is in Arbela, and after they had won it, they slew much people.

3 Also the first month of the hun-

[1] Gr. *he added*, or, *proceeded to send.*

[2] Or, *the right wing.*

[3] Or, *Galilea.*

told what he had to expect. Rome, however, was in no hurry to carry out her threats. She had numerous wars on her hands, and waited with more prudence than boldness until the appearance of a pretender to the Syrian crown enabled her to wreak her vengeance on Demetrius without risking too much. (See ch. x. 1–50.) Meanwhile the Jews suffered at the hands of the Syrians as much as ever, or even more grievously (ch. ix. 1–66).

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. RENEWED ATTACK UPON JUDÆA BY BACCHIDES AND ALCIMUS—DEFEAT OF JUDAS AT ELEASA—HIS DEATH AND BURIAL.

1–22. The application to Rome was made too late to be of any service to Judas. While his ambassadors were on their way to Italy, Demetrius made a fresh effort. Nicanor being dead, Bacchides was a second time intrusted with the command, and Alcimus, whom the Hellenizing party among the Jews acknowledged as High Priest, accompanied him. The "strength" of the Syrian army (*v.* 1)—twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse (*v.* 4)—was sent into Palestine, Masaloth was taken (*v.* 2), and Judas challenged to an engagement. As at Adasa against Nicanor (ch. vii. 40), so now, Judas was unable to muster more than 3000 men (*v.* 5); and these were so faint-hearted that their number continually diminished by desertions, until no more than 800 were left. The inclination of these 800 was to retire (*v.* 9), and probably to disperse; but Judas would not hear of such an end to all his efforts, and preferred to resist to the last. With his small band he engaged the hosts of Syria at Eleasa, not far from Jerusalem, and, after a battle which lasted all day, and which seemed at one time about to terminate in his favour (*v.* 15), he suffered complete defeat, and with the greater part of his troops was slain (*v.* 18). His two most famous brothers, Jonathan and Simon, obtained possession of his body, and buried him in his ancestral sepulchre at Modeïn, with a funeral ceremony which lasted "many days" (*v.* 20). Such was the heroic end of the first and greatest of the Maccabees, the life and soul of the insurrection during the space of seven years.

1. *Nicanor and his host were slain in battle.*] Compare ch. vii. 43, 44, where we learn that the greater part of the host escaped.

he sent Bacchides and Alcimus . . . the second time.] On the previous sending of Bacchides and Alcimus, and their respective positions, see ch. vii. 8, 9, and the comment *ad loc.*

the chief strength of his host.] Literally, "the right wing." This is explained to mean the half of the Syrian army which guarded the countries on the right bank of the Euphrates. (Compare ch. iii. 32–37.) The strength of that division had, however, been *seven* thousand horse and *forty* thousand foot a few years previously (ch. iii. 39).

2. *by the way that leadeth to Galgala.*] "Galgala" seems to be the same as "Galilee" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 11); and the meaning is, that the expedition was sent by land, and entered Palestine on the north, not (as former ones) by sea to the western coast. (See ch. iii. 40; vi. 31; &c.)

Masaloth.] It is conjectured that "Masaloth" represents the cave-region only to be reached by steps (*ni'silloth*) on the north side of the Wady-el-Humâm, near Irbil (Arbela), which was anciently used as a sort of fortress, and which in the time of Herod stood a long siege (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 16, § 4). See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 324, note [2]. Certainly the campaign described in this verse, which must have belonged to the close of the 151st year, appears to have been quite distinct from that of the 152nd year, which was in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

in Arbela.] Arbela is usually spoken of as a village, or town; but here the name must designate a tract. (Compare the double use of the word "Samaria.") The tract would seem to be that immediately south of the Wady-el-Humâm, on the west coast of the Sea of Galilee, where the name Arbela still lingers in the modern "Irbid" or "Irbil."

B. C. 160. dred fifty and second year they encamped before Jerusalem:

4 From whence they removed, and went to ‖ Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.

‖ Or, *Berretho*, Joseph.

5 Now Judas had pitched his tents at Eleasa, and three thousand chosen men with him:

6 Who seeing the multitude of the other army to be so great were sore afraid; whereupon many conveyed themselves out of the host, insomuch as there abode of them no more but eight hundred men.

7 When Judas therefore saw that his host slipt away, and that the battle pressed upon him, he was sore troubled in mind, and much distressed, for that he had no time to gather them together. B. C. 160

8 Nevertheless unto them that remained he said, Let us arise and go up against our enemies, if peradventure we may be able to fight with them.

9 But they dehorted him, saying, We shall never be able: ‖ let us now rather save our lives, and hereafter we will return with our brethren, and fight against them: for we are but few.

‖ We follow here the Roman Copy.

3. *the first month of the hundred fifty and second year.*] The 152nd year of the Seleucidæ began in October B.C. 161, according to Clinton. The "first month" is, however, in all probability, the first month *of the Jews* —April B.C. 160.

they encamped before Jerusalem.] Without, it would seem, encountering any resistance. Ewald supposes that the Jews were surprised as they were keeping the Passover ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 323); but Grimm points out that chronological considerations (see ch. vii. 49) make it impossible that the appearance before Jerusalem can have taken place until the later part of the month Nisan, when the Passover would have been completed some weeks. Judas seems certainly to have been taken off his guard. Perhaps he supposed that the defeat and death of Nicanor had secured for Israel a time of quiet.

4. *From whence they removed, and went to Berea.*] Beræa is probably the modern *Bireh*, which is the ancient Beeroth, situated about ten miles north of Jerusalem on the road to Samaria. The removal of Bacchides, from the near vicinity of Jerusalem to a place ten miles distant, must have been the result of intelligence that Judas was collecting a relieving army, which might threaten the communications of the Syrians, and place them between two dangers. Bacchides must have felt it necessary to deal with Judas first.

with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.] A moderate number, compared with others previously mentioned (ch. iii. 39; iv. 28; vi. 30). It may well be accepted as authentic.

5. *Judas had pitched . . . at Eleasa.*] A site called "Ilasa" has been found in the near vicinity of Bir-ez-Zeit: and this is now thought to be "Eleasa." (See the 'Quarterly Statement' of the Palestine Exploration Fund for Jan. 1881, p. 45.) It commands "the narrow pass through which the road from Samaria to Jerusalem leads in the vicinity of Ain-el-Haramiyeh."

three thousand chosen men with him.] The same number as at Adasa (ch. vii. 40) against Nicanor—perhaps as many as the nature of the ground permitted—certainly not as many as he was able to collect in the time (Ewald), since they were "picked men"—*i.e.* carefully selected out of a greater number.

6. *Who seeing the multitude . . . were sore afraid.*] It is not clear why this was so, since the soldiers of Judas were accustomed to contend against greater odds than were now arrayed against them. Perhaps the presence of Alcimus with the enemy exercised a paralysing influence—perhaps they experienced one of those unreasonable panics to which all troops are from time to time subject. Had the 3000 firmly stood their ground, there is no reason why the same successful result should not have been achieved at Eleasa as at Adasa.

7. *his host slipt away.*] Little by little his soldiers drew off, dispersed themselves, and retired to their homes. Had Judas acted with his usual promptness, this would scarcely have occurred.

the battle pressed upon him.] The enemy, that is, allowed him no respite, but sought by all means to force on a general engagement.

8. *Let us arise and go up.*] Here the old spirit of the hero shews itself. (Compare ch. iii. 16–23; iv. 8–12, 29–34, &c.) It was his general system to take the offensive, however small his forces might be.

9. *they dehorted him.*] Not for the first time. Compare ch. iii. 17.

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10 Then Judas said, God forbid that I should do this thing, and flee away from them: if our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and ‖let us not stain our honour.

‖ Gr. *let us not leave any just cause behind us, why our glory should be spoken against.*

11 With that the host *of Bacchides* removed out of their tents, and stood over against ‖them, their horsemen being divided into two troops, and their slingers and archers going before the host, and they that marched in the foreward were all mighty men.

‖ Or, *the Jews.*

12 As for Bacchides, he was in the right wing: so the host drew near on the two parts, and sounded their trumpets.

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13 They also of Judas' side, even they sounded their trumpets also, so that the earth shook at the noise of the armies, and the battle continued from morning till night.

14 Now when Judas perceived that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, he took with him all the hardy men,

15 Who discomfited the right wing, and pursued them unto the mount Azotus.

16 But when they of the left

10. *if our time be come, let us die manfully.*] Judas, it would seem, had a presentiment of his defeat and death. Never before had he been deserted by his troops; never, probably, before had he fought at the head of so small a company. Eight hundred to twenty-two thousand was a disproportion of numbers against which even his valour and strategic skill could not hope to obtain success. So, like Leonidas at Thermopylæ, he made up his mind to die.

let us not stain our honour.] Compare ch. ii. 51, 64; iii. 3, 9; v. 57, &c.

11. *the host* of Bacchides *removed out of their tents.*] Rather, "the host **of Judas**." (So Grimm.) At the stirring words of Judas, *his* host marched forth; whereupon "they," *i.e.* the Syrians, went out to meet them: with their horse (*v.* 4) divided, as was usual, into two bodies, and placed no doubt at the extremity of either wing. The light-armed, archers and slingers, marched first, like the Roman *hastati;* behind them came the πρωταγωνισταί, the strength of the army, like the Roman *principes.* (See Liv. viii. 8.)

all mighty men.] Rather, "all **the** mighty men." All the best soldiers were massed together, and fought in the front rank of the phalanx, immediately behind the light-armed.

12. *Bacchides . . . was in the right wing.*] An Oriental leader usually placed himself in the centre of his army (Herod. vii. 121; Xen. 'Anab.' i. 3, § 6, 12; Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 11); but a Greek frequently preferred to command one wing. Alexander the Great led the right wing in each of his three battles against the Persians (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' i. 14, § 10; ii. 9; iii. 12).

the host drew near.] Literally, "the phalanx," *i.e.* the main army of the Syrians, advanced against the enemy.

on the two parts.] Rather, "**with both divisions.**" The Syrian army is regarded as formed of two divisions, a right wing and a left, without any centre. Both wings advanced simultaneously to the attack.

13. *the earth shook.*] A common hyperbole. (See 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Ezek. xxvi. 10, 15; xxvii. 28, &c.) The concussion of the air causes men to feel as if the earth were trembling beneath them.

the battle continued from morning till night.] This is a tangible and very important fact. Judas with his "little band" of eight hundred men was able to make head against the entire host of Syria, to resist and continue the combat during the whole day, "until night," or rather, "until evening." So prolonged a resistance of a mere handful of men to overwhelming numbers, in a position of no very great strength, is scarcely on record.

14. *when Judas perceived, &c.*] This incident is even more extraordinary than the prolonged resistance. There is, however, no reason for doubting it. After a combat of hours, which must have seriously diminished the number of his troops, Judas concentrated his efforts on the attack of the enemy's right wing, where Bacchides was, and actually succeeded, "discomfited" it, and drove it from the field in headlong flight to a neighbouring mountain.

all the hardy men.] Rather, "the **valiant** men"—those who were most courageous.

15. *mount Azotus.*] The reading is uncertain. Some MSS. have "Azara," while Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' x. 11, § 6) has "Aza." The mountain near Bir-ez-Zeit, to which the name Atâra now attaches, seems to be intended (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 264).

16. *when they of the left wing saw, &c.*] The Syrian left wing, sweeping before it the

B. C. 160. wing saw that they of the right wing were discomfited, they followed upon Judas and those that were with him hard at the heels from behind:

17 Whereupon there was a sore battle, insomuch as many were slain on both parts.

18 Judas also was killed, and the remnant fled.

19 Then Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers in Modin.

20 Moreover they bewailed him, [a] and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, B. C. 160. saying,

[a] ch. 13. 26.

21 How is the valiant man fallen, that delivered Israel!

22 As for the other things concerning Judas and his wars, and the noble acts which he did, and his greatness, they are not written: for they were very many.

23 ¶ Now after the death of Judas the wicked began to put forth their heads in all the coasts of Israel, and there arose up all such as wrought iniquity.

few men whom Judas had not taken with him to make his attack, wheeled round in the rear of the Israelites, and fell on them from behind while they were still engaged with the right wing in front. The result was that they were crushed between the two masses.

18. *the remnant fled.*] Very few indeed can have escaped, and they, probably, only under cover of the darkness, which by this time must have set in. (See *v.* 13.)

19. *Jonathan and Simon took Judas.*] Apparently they had been in the fight, and seeing their brother fall they gave up resistance, contenting themselves with carrying off his body to Modeïn, which lay at no great distance from the battle-field. On the sepulchre of the Maccabee family at Modeïn, see ch. xiii. 25–30, and the comment *ad loc.*

20. *all Israel made great lamentation for him.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, and *infra*, ch. xiii. 26. Great public lamentations for their dead kings were not very usual among the Jews. They seem to have been reserved for such as were slain by a public enemy.

and mourned many days.] The mourning for Jacob lasted seventy days (Gen. l. 3), that for Aaron (Num. xx. 29) and for Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8) thirty. Thirty days are also mentioned as the period for a solemn mourning by Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 9, § 5).

21. *How is the valiant man fallen.*] Compare the refrain in David's lament for Saul and Jonathan—"How are the mighty fallen!" (2 Sam. i. 19, 25, 27.)

that delivered Israel.] Rather, "that was wont to deliver Israel." The present participle has a frequentative force.

22. *the other things concerning Judas.*] Or "the rest of the acts of Judas." Compare 1 Kings xi. 41; xiv. 29; xv. 23, &c. The author has evidently these and similar passages in his mind; but, instead of referring us to other sources of information for the remainder of Judas' acts, as do the writers of Kings and Chronicles for those of their heroes, he simply declares, that they have not been written (by himself), since they were (too) many. He gives us no indication of acquaintance with any other historian who had written concerning Judas.

§ 2. Interregnum and Appointment of Jonathan to be Governor.

23–30. The sudden death of Judas had left the patriotic party without a head. Three sons of Mattathias still survived: John, the eldest, who was comparatively speaking undistinguished; Simon, the second, whom his father had recommended to be his brethren's counsellor (ch. ii. 65); and Jonathan, the youngest, whom Judas had made his special companion in war (ch. v. 17, 24). No one of these could assert any clear right of precedence over the others, and it would seem that no one of them preferred any claim at all. The leadership was the post of danger, and the post of danger was perhaps not coveted by any. Thus the death of Judas was followed by an interregnum, during which the patriots suffered grievously (*vv.* 23–27). The scourge of famine was added to the horrors of persecution; and the affliction was such as seemed almost unparalleled (*v.* 27). Under these circumstances the need of a leader became palpable, and the chief friends and counsellors of Judas assembled together to select one. Jonathan, though the youngest, was chosen, as the greatest captain, and, unanimously as it would seem, appointed to succeed his brother (*vv.* 28–30).

23. *the wicked began to put forth their heads.*] "The wicked" are, not the heathen, but the idolatrous Jews, whom Judas had kept in check (ch. vii. 24, 25). They began now to raise their heads and "peep forth," which is the exact meaning of ἐκκύπτω.

all such as wrought iniquity.] These are

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B. C. 160. 24 In those days also was there a very great famine, by reason whereof the country revolted, and went with ‖ them.

‖ *Bacchides and his company.*

25 Then Bacchides chose the wicked men, and made them lords of the country.

26 And they made enquiry and search for Judas' friends, and brought them unto Bacchides, who took vengeance of them, and ‖ used them despitefully.

‖ Gr. *mocked them.*

27 So was there a great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not [b] since the time that a prophet was not seen among them.

[b] ch. 4. 46.

28 For this cause all Judas' friends came together, and said unto Jonathan,

29 Since thy brother Judas died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies, and Bacchides, and against them of our nation that are adversaries to us. B. C. 160.

30 Now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and captain in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles.

31 Upon this Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up instead of his brother Judas.

32 But when Bacchides gat knowledge thereof, he sought for to slay him.

33 Then Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and all that were with him, perceiving that, fled into the wilder-

the same persons. The second clause repeats and intensifies the first, but adds no new fact.

24. *was there a very great famine.*] On the liability of Palestine to famine, see Gen. xii. 10, xlii. 5, xlvii. 13; Ruth i. 1; 2 Sam. xxi. 1, &c. If the spring rains fail, there is no possibility of a crop; irrigation, except in the valley of the Jordan, being impracticable.

the country revolted, and went with them.] Ewald takes this to mean, that "the land itself deserted the holy cause, and was as false and faithless as its children ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 324); but it may be doubted whether the prosaic paraphrase of Josephus—"so that many through lack of provisions deserted to the Syro-Macedonians"—does not better express the writer's meaning. By "the country" he intends "its inhabitants."

25. *Bacchides chose the wicked men.*] Bacchides put idolatrous Jews in positions of authority all over the country.

26. *Judas' friends.*] "The early friends of Judas were," as Ewald says, "sought out, betrayed, mocked, and punished." Ἐνέπαιζεν is "mocked," rather than "used despitefully."

27. *since the time that a prophet was not seen.*] Malachi was regarded as "the last of the Prophets." His date is not altogether certain; but upon the whole it appears most probable that he was contemporary with Nehemiah during the later portion of his governorship (B.C. 431–430). The expression used would thus mean, "for the last 270 years."

30. *to be our prince and captain.*] Rather, "our ruler and captain." Jonathan, like Judas (ch. ii. 66), is called ἄρχων, "ruler;" Simon is the first who bears the formal title of ἐθνάρχης, "prince" (ch. xv. 1, 2).

§ 3. War of Jonathan with Bacchides—He avenges the Death of his Brother John, and defeats the Syrians at the Jordan.

31–49. The news of Jonathan's appointment moved Bacchides to fresh efforts. He had slain Judas: could he slay the remaining sons of Mattathias, he hoped that the insurrection would come to an end. He therefore once more took the field. Jonathan retreated before him into "the wilderness of Thecoë," or the wild district south-east of Jerusalem, towards the Dead Sea. Here, encumbered with baggage and non-combatants, he sent these under the conduct of his brother John to be cared for by his friends (ch. v. 25), the Nabathæans, in their remote country near Petra. The line of their march is not clear; but it appears that they were attacked on their way by a tribe of roving Arabs, called the Beni Jambri, who killed John, and took the convoy. Jonathan, to revenge his brother's slaughter, crossed the Jordan into the Beni Jambri territory, surprised a wedding party by an ambush, and was returning laden with booty, when he found his retreat cut off by Bacchides on the left bank of the river. Forced to risk an engagement, he was so far successful as to inflict on Bacchides the loss of a thousand men, and to make good the return of his own men to the right bank by means of their swimming the river.

31. *Jonathan . . . rose up instead of his brother Judas.*] Compare ch. iii. 1, where the same expression occurs.

B. C. 160. ness of Thecoe, and pitched their tents by the water of the pool Asphar.

‖ Or, *When Bacchides understood, on the sabbath day he came near.*

34 ‖ Which when Bacchides understood, he came near to Jordan with all his host upon the sabbath day.

‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1.

35 Now Jonathan had sent his brother ‖ *John*, a captain of the people, to pray his friends the Nabathites, ‖ that they might leave with them their carriage, which was much. B. C. 160.

36 But the children of ‖ Jambri came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way with it. ‖ Gr. *Ambri.*

37 After this came word to Jonathan and Simon his brother, that the children of Jambri made a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from ‖ Nadabatha with a great

‖ Gr. *that he might leave with them their carriage*, or, *stuff.*

‖ Or, *Medaba.*

33. *the wilderness of Thecoe.*] Thecoë is the same as "Tekoah" or "Tekoa" (2 Sam. xiv. 2, xxiii. 26; Neh. iii. 5, 27, &c.). It was a small town in Southern Judæa, six miles south of Bethlehem. The site is reasonably identified with the modern Teku'a. "The wilderness of Thecoë" is the broad tract of high ground lying east and south-east of the city, which is at first a table-land, but breaks up into rugged and desolate mountains as it descends to the level of the Dead Sea (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. i. p. 486). Compare 2 Chr. xx. 20.

the pool Asphar.] Λάκκος is not a natural pool, but a "**cistern**" or "**reservoir**." It is probable that there were many such in the Judæan hill-country, besides the well-known ones near Jerusalem. The rain-water was stored in them. No other author mentions the λάκκος Ἀσφάρ.

34. This verse appears to be an anticipation of *v.* 43. The author was about to hasten from the account of Jonathan's encampment at "the pool Asphar" to his engagement east of the Jordan with Bacchides; but, on second thoughts, perceived that his narrative would scarcely be intelligible unless he explained the circumstances which had brought Jonathan to that locality. He therefore interposed at this point the narrative of John's death and the vengeance taken for it (*vv.* 35–42), which is a sort of long parenthesis.

near to Jordan.] This is a mistranslation —πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου can mean nothing but "**across the** Jordan."

35. *a captain of the people.*] Rather, "**in command of the camp-followers**," which is a common meaning of ὄχλος (Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 4, § 26; iv. 3, § 26, &c.).

his friends the Nabathites.] Compare above, ch. v. 25, and see the comment *ad loc.*

their carriage.] Literally, "their baggage." No doubt the wish was to deposit with the Nabathæans all the *impedimenta* — women, children, camp-followers, baggage, &c. "Carriage" may stand, if it be taken in the sense of all that the army carried with it.

36. *the children of Jambri.*] A tribe not otherwise known—unless we suppose the Amorites to be meant. Josephus has οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 2), and several MSS. read Ἀμβρί or Ἀμβροί for Ἰαμβρί. At an early date the Amorites certainly held portions of the Moabite country (Num. xxi. 31); and they may never have been wholly dispossessed.

Medaba.] "Medaba" appears as a Moabite town as early as the time of Moses (Num. xxi. 30). On the Moabite Stone it is said to have been taken by the Israelites under Omri, and held for forty years, after which the Moabites recovered it ('Records of the Past,' vol. xi. p. 166). Isaiah mentions it among the towns of Moab (Is. xv. 2). The place retains its name almost unchanged, and has been visited by many modern travellers. It is in the Belka, or down county, of Moab, about four miles S.E. of Heshbon.

took John.] It appears, by *v.* 42, that John was not made prisoner, but slain. Perhaps he fell into the hands of the enemy when mortally wounded.

all that he had.] All the persons, and all the baggage, that he was conveying into the Nabathæan country.

37. *from Nadabatha.*] "Nadabatha" (Ναδαβάθ) is known to us only from this passage. It was probably a small town, or village, in the Moabite country, or at any rate in the region east of Jordan. Josephus has "Gabatha" ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1. § 4)—a name equally obscure.

with a great train.] The custom of escorting a bride from her own home to the bridegroom's house, is one practised commonly in the East, and often involves the passage of "a great train." The bridegroom is accompanied by a larger or smaller number of his intimate friends (Judg. xiv. 11), and frequently by a band of musicians (Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9). The bride has her own atten-

B. C. 160. train, as being the daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan.

38 Therefore they remembered John their brother, and went up, and hid themselves under the covert of the mountain:

39 Where they lifted up their eyes, and looked, and, behold, there was much ado and great carriage: and the bridegroom came forth, and his friends and brethren, to meet them with ‖drums, and ‖instruments of musick, and many weapons.

‖ Or, *timbrels.*
‖ Or, *musicians.*

40 Then Jonathan and they that were with him rose up against them from the place where they lay in ambush, and made a slaughter of them in such sort, as many fell down dead, and the remnant fled into the mountain, and they took all their spoils. B. C. 160.

41 Thus was the marriage turned into mourning, and the noise of their melody into lamentation.

42 So when they had avenged fully the blood of their brother, they turned again to the marsh of Jordan.

43 Now when Bacchides heard hereof, he came on the sabbath day unto the banks of Jordan with a great power.

44 Then Jonathan said to his company, Let us go up now and fight for our lives, for it standeth not with us to day, as in time past:

45 For, behold, the battle is be-

dants; and when the two parties unite, the entire procession is sometimes very numerous. The more wealthy and important the families to which the bride and bridegroom belong, the larger the accompanying train. In the present instance, both families were evidently of high rank, the bride especially, who was "the daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan."

Chanaan.] The term is large enough to cover the Moabites (Judith v. 3), to whom the bride's family probably belonged. By "great princes" we must understand leading men in the city to which the bride belonged.

38. *hid themselves under the covert of the mountain.*] The mountain region east of Jordan is in many places richly clothed with wood, and is very suitable for ambuscades. "The traveller," says Canon Tristram, "rides up and down *deep concealed glens;* sometimes by a track meandering along the banks of a brook, with a *dense fringe of oleanders.* . . . Lovely knolls and dells open out at every turn, gently rising to the *wooded plateau* above. Then we rise to higher ground, and ride through *noble forests of oak*" ('Bible Places,' p. 322).

39. *there was much ado and great carriage.*] Rather, "**much noise and great convoy of baggage.**"

to meet them.] *I.e.* to meet the bride and her attendants.

with drums.] Drums, shaped like a kettle-drum, were in use among the Syrians and other Oriental nations, and were much employed in religious orgies of a wild and enthusiastic character, such as those of Bacchus and Cybele. It is possible that they may have been also used on such an occasion as the bringing home of a bride. Or the word translated "drums" may here mean "tambourines," which would almost certainly have been among the "instruments of music" employed.

many weapons.] The Easterns always go armed, and would think it especially necessary to carry arms when they were about to serve as escort for a bride. Ὅπλα will include both defensive and offensive arms, but scarcely "torches," as Grimm supposes.

40. *fell down dead.*] Literally, "fell wounded." Compare ch. iii. 11. Josephus says that the number of the slain was 400 ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 4).

42. *the marsh of Jordan.*] "Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest" (Josh. iii. 15); and this overflow leaves a marshy tract on either side of the river for several weeks, more especially in the lower part of its course, near its entrance into the Dead Sea (Lynch, 'Expedition to Jordan and Dead Sea,' p. 171; Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 502). Jonathan had to encamp in this marshy district.

43. *Bacchides . . . came . . . unto the banks of Jordan.*] Bacchides, who had already crossed the river (*v.* 34)—probably by a ford higher up—interposed his army between the Jordan and the place where Jonathan was encamped, thus cutting off his retreat.

on the sabbath day.] Under the notion, apparently, that the Jews would not fight on the sabbath (ch. ii. 32–38), or at any rate would not interfere with his troops taking up their position.

45. *the battle is before us and behind us.*]

B. C. 160. fore us and behind us, and the water of Jordan on this side and that side, the marsh likewise and wood, neither is there place for us to turn aside.

46 Wherefore cry ye now unto heaven, that ye may be delivered from the hand of your enemies.

47 With that they joined battle, and Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, but he turned back from him.

48 Then Jonathan and they that were with him leapt into Jordan, and B. C. 160. swam over unto the farther bank: howbeit the other passed not over Jordan unto them.

49 So there were slain of Bacchides' side that day about ‖a thousand men.

‖ *two thousand men,* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1.

50 Afterward returned *Bacchides* to Jerusalem, and ‖repaired the strong cities in Judea; the fort in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Thamnatha,

‖ Or, *built.*

The Syrians were in front, the Beni Jambri, burning for revenge, behind. The Jordan barred their progress both to the right and left, if they should attempt to avoid the host of Bacchides by making a circuit. In their rear lay marsh and jungle. The situation might well have seemed almost desperate.

46. *cry ye now unto heaven.*] Compare ch. iii. 18, 50; iv. 10. The author avoids, as usual, the introduction of the name of God.

47. *he turned back from him.*] Bacchides did not altogether decline an engagement. It would have been scarcely possible for him to do so, with the river directly at his back. But after a resistance in which he lost a thousand men (*v.* 49), he drew off his forces, probably towards the north, and left the passage of the river clear. Jonathan immediately took advantage of the movement, and with his men swam the river. None of the Syrian host attempted to follow.

§ 4. Bacchides establishes Garrisons in all the chief Towns of Judæa, and takes the Sons of the chief Men as Hostages — Attempt of Alcimus to dismantle the Temple, and his Death — Bacchides returns to Antioch.

50–57. Despite the slight success obtained by Jonathan over Bacchides at the Jordan, the fortunes of the insurrection were now at their lowest ebb. Bacchides was master of Jerusalem, and of all the more important of the Jewish cities. Alcimus, his creature, lorded it in the Temple. For the better repression of patriotic effort, the Syrian garrisons were spread over the land. All men of note, suspected of disaffection, were compelled to give their sons as hostages for their good behaviour. Alcimus, the Hellenizing High Priest, began alterations in the Temple, which were probably intended to weaken it as a fortress, and perhaps to assimilate it to the Grecian model. The patriots made no head; they were weak and scattered; they appeared to have almost ceased to exist; and when, upon the death of Alcimus, tranquillity continued undisturbed, Bacchides, regarding the insurrection as put down, returned to Antioch, and left Judæa to itself for two years.

50. *the fort in Jericho.*] Jericho, one of the chief strongholds of the Canaanites, was a place of little importance under the independent Jewish monarchy, but rose to eminence after the return from the Captivity, and became a favourite residence of Herod the Great. When Pompey took it, two forts, called "Threx" and "Taurus," commanded its approaches (Strab. xvi. 2, § 40). Whether it was one of these that Bacchides now built is uncertain.

Emmaus.] This is probably the place mentioned in ch. iii. 40, which afterwards became Nicopolis, and is now 'Amwâs, about 20 miles west by north of Jerusalem.

Bethhoron.] On the site of Beth-horon, see the comment on ch. iii. 16.

Bethel.] Bethel, the southern seat of the idolatrous calf-worship instituted by Jeroboam, was attached to the kingdom of Judah by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 15) and re-occupied by some of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 28), continuing thenceforth to be recognised as a Jewish city (Neh. xi. 31). It was, however, of small importance, and obtains no mention in the later Jewish history, except in the present passage.

Thamnatha, Pharathoni.] No comma should separate these words. The "Thamnatha" here mentioned is distinguished from other cities of the same name by the epithet of "Pharathoni." There was a Timnath-heres (Judg. ii. 9) or Timnath-serah (Josh. xix. 50) in Mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (*ib.* xxiv. 30), and a Timnathah in the Philistine country, from which Samson took his wife (Judg. xiv. 1–5). The latter is mentioned, under the form of Tamna, in Sennacherib's inscriptions. Timnatha-Pharathoni was probably distinct from both.

B. C. cir. 161. Pharathoni, and ‖Taphon, *these did he strengthen* with high walls, with gates, and with bars.

‖ Joseph. *Tecoa.*

51 And in them he set a garrison, that they might work malice upon Israel.

‖ Gr. *the city in Bethsura.*

52 He fortified also ‖the city Bethsura, and Gazara, and the tower, and put forces in them, and provision of victuals.

53 Besides, he took the chief men's sons in the country for hostages, and put them into the tower at Jerusalem to be kept.

B. C. 159. 54 Moreover in the hundred fifty and third year, in the second month, Alcimus commanded that the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down; he pulled down also the works of the prophets. B. C. 159.

55 And as he began to pull down, even at that time was Alcimus plagued, and his enterprizes hindered: for his mouth was stopped, and he was taken with a palsy, so that he could no more speak any thing, nor give order concerning his house.

56 So Alcimus died at that time with great torment.

57 Now when Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king: whereupon [c]the land of Judea was in rest two years. [c] ch. 7. 50.

Taphon.] Rather, "Tepho"—probably identical with the "Beth-Tappuah" of Josh. xv. 53, near Hebron, which is now "Teffeh" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 70).

51. *in them.*] *I.e.* "in each of them."

work malice upon Israel.] Literally, "be at enmity with Israel."

52. *Bethsura and Gazara.*] On "Bethsura," see above, ch. iv. 61, and compare ch. vi. 26, 31, 50; on Gazara, or Gazera, see ch. iv. 15, and the comment *ad loc.*

the tower.] The Syro-Macedonian fortress in the city of Jerusalem (ch. i. 33–36; iii. 45; iv. 41; vi. 18–24, 61).

53. *he took the chief men's sons . . . for hostages.*] A new stroke of policy, and one likely to prove very effective. It had long been employed by the Romans (*supra*, ch. viii. 7).

54. *in the hundred fifty and third year.*] B.C. 160–159. The "second month" is probably the *Jewish* second month, Zif or Iyar, corresponding mainly with our May, and, as the Syro-Macedonian year began in October, would be May B.C. 159.

Alcimus commanded that the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down.] The inner court of the sanctuary was that accessible to the Priests and Levites only. Its destruction would tend to obliterate the difference between clergy and laity, thus assimilating the Jews to their Grecian neighbours, among whom there was no such thing as a priest caste. At the same time, its destruction would tend to weaken the defences of the Temple, since each enclosing wall might be defended separately, and a besieged force would retreat from one court to another. The Temple, though in a certain sense under Alcimus, who was now generally accepted as High Priest, seems to have been still viewed as probably, in the last resort, the fortress to which the patriots would gather, and where they would resist to the uttermost.

he pulled down also the works of the prophets.] What these were is uncertain. The second Temple had been built by Zerubbabel under the guidance and encouragement of Zechariah and Haggai (Ezra v. 1; vi. 14; Hag. i. 1, 12–14; Zech. iv. 6–10, &c.); but it is not clear that they had had any part in the arrangement of the plan of the building. Still, it may well be, that, at the distance of above 350 years, some special parts of the edifice were ascribed to them.

55. *And as he began to pull down, even at that time was Alcimus plagued.*] The writer undoubtedly regards the death of Alcimus as God's judgment upon him for his impiety in meddling with the time-honoured arrangements of the Temple building. He seems to have had a stroke of paralysis (ἐπλήγη) exactly at the time when the workmen commenced to carry out his alterations. His illness caused a stoppage of the works.

his mouth was stopped.] Some obstruction of the power of speech is a common feature of paralysis. The affliction of Alcimus was such that he could not even leave directions concerning his household affairs.

56. *Alcimus died . . . with great torment.*] He died—as we should now express it—after severe sufferings.

57. *when Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king.*] It is probable that Alcimus, like other renegades, had been more bitter against those who kept to the old faith, than the party to which he had

B. C. cir. 157.

58 Then all the ungodly men held a council, saying, Behold, Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care: now therefore we will bring Bacchides hither, who shall take them all in one night.

59 So they went and consulted with him.

60 Then removed he, and came with a great host, and sent letters privily to his adherents in Judea, that they should take Jonathan and those that were with him: howbeit they could not, because their counsel was known unto them.

B. C. cir. 157.

61 Wherefore they took of the men of the country, that were authors of that mischief, about fifty persons, and slew them.

62 Afterward Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were with him, got them away to Bethbasi, which is

joined himself. He had, it would seem, stimulated the lukewarm zeal of Bacchides, and held him to the work of persecution. No sooner, therefore, was Alcimus dead, than the Syrian chief changed his policy, left the religious Jews in peace, and returned to Antioch. The result was a respite from suffering. "The land of Judæa was in rest two years."

§ 5. Last Efforts of Bacchides and their Failure—Peace made between Bacchides and Jonathan—Jonathan rules Judæa from Michmash.

58–73. In Judæa, left to itself, the patriotic party speedily revived, and obtained the upper hand. "Jonathan and his company were at ease and dwelt without care" (*v.* 58). All that they needed was to be let alone, and the nation would be sure to rally to them. But, in the space of two years (*v.* 57), this became fully evident to the opposite party, who saw that without external aid they were lost. Once more, therefore, they had recourse to Bacchides, and induced him, in B.C. 158–7, to make a fresh invasion, under promise that they would deliver Jonathan into his hands. But they were unable to redeem their pledge, and Bacchides, enraged at his failure, put fifty of them to death (*v.* 61). Still, he did not desist, but made a further attack, probably in B.C. 157–6, when he besieged the stronghold of Beth-basi, which the patriots had made their headquarters. Defeated here by a combined movement, skilfully executed by Jonathan and Simon (*vv.* 65–68), he again vented his wrath on his supporters, by fresh executions (*v.* 69); and determined to give up the struggle. Though Bacchides alone is mentioned, we must suppose Demetrius cognizant of all, and a party to the change of policy. It is a reasonable conjecture that Roman influence was the main factor in producing the change, and that the agreement between Jonathan and Bacchides (*vv.* 70–72) was the direct consequence of the treaty made by Judas with Rome (ch. viii. 17–30), and of the message sent to Demetrius, warning him against interference with Rome's allies (*ibid.* 31, 32). The new policy was probably inaugurated about B.C. 156, and for four years Jonathan governed Israel quietly from the ancient city at Michmash.

58. *the ungodly men.*] *I.e.* the Hellenizing party. (See ch. ii. 44; iii. 5, 8, &c.)

Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care.] Literally, "dwell at ease and are trustful." They had confidence in the good faith of Bacchides, and were, therefore, quite easy in their minds, expecting nothing hostile.

who shall take them all in one night.] Apparently the design was to bring Bacchides with an army into the country secretly, and to make a night attack on Jonathan and his friends, whom it was expected to surprise and capture.

60. *Then removed he, and came.*] Rather, "Then removed he, **to come**." The intention, not its execution, is stated.

and sent letters.] On starting from Antioch, Bacchides wrote to his partisans in Judæa, throwing on *them* the duty of seizing Jonathan and his friends, which they had assigned to him (*v.* 58). This duty they were unable to execute, since their designs had got wind, and Jonathan was upon his guard.

their counsel was known unto them.] *I.e.* the counsel of the Hellenizers was known to Jonathan and his friends.

61. *they took.*] A new subject is to be supplied by the common sense of the reader, viz. "the Syrians." The Syrians, disappointed at the failure of an enterprise, which had been represented as so easy, took vengeance on those who had deluded them by putting fifty of them to death. So Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 5). Grimm, however, and Ewald suppose that the executions were the work of Jonathan.

62. *Bethbasi.*] This is a wholly unknown site, and receives no light from the alternative reading of "Beth-alaga" in Josephus (*l. s. c.*).

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B. C. cir. 156.

in the wilderness, and they repaired the decays thereof, and made it strong.

63 Which thing when Bacchides knew, he gathered together all his host, and sent word ‖ to them that were of Judea.

‖ Or, *to such of the country as were his friends to take his part.*

64 Then went he and laid siege against Bethbasi; and they fought against it a long season, and made engines of war.

65 But Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went forth himself into the country, and with a certain number went he forth.

‖ Or, *Odomarra.*

66 And he smote ‖ Odonarkes and his brethren, and the children of Phasiron in their tent.

67 And when he began to smite them, and came up with his forces, Simon and his company went out of the city, and burned up the engines of war,

68 And fought against Bacchides, who was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore: for his counsel and travail was in vain.

69 Wherefore he was very wroth at the wicked men that gave him counsel to come into the country, insomuch as he slew many of them, and purposed to return into his own country.

B. C. cir. 156.

70 Whereof when Jonathan had knowledge, he sent ambassadors unto him, to the end he should make peace with him, and deliver them the prisoners.

71 Which thing he accepted, and did according to his demands, and sware unto him that he would never do him harm all the days of his life.

72 When therefore he had restored unto him the prisoners that he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judea, he returned and went his way into his own land, neither ‖ came he any more into their borders.

‖ Gr. *added he to come any more.*

73 Thus the sword ceased from Israel: but Jonathan dwelt at Machmas, and began to ‖ govern the people; and he destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel.

‖ Gr. *judge.*

The place was probably in some part of "the wilderness of Tekoa" (*v.* 33). It had been fortified, but had fallen into decay.

63. *all his host.*] *I.e.* the "great host" of *v.* 60, which he had brought with him from Antioch.

sent word to them that were of Judea.] To his partisans among the Jews — the Hellenizers.

64. *and made engines of war.*] Bacchides had not expected a severe struggle, and had, therefore, not brought with him a siege train. He was consequently compelled to set to work and make his own military engines. This delay afforded an opportunity to Jonathan.

65. *Jonathan left his brother Simon, &c.*] Jonathan divided his forces. Leaving Simon in the city under the protection of walls, he took the post of danger, and "went out," with the object of collecting a relieving army and so saving the place. The operation was completely successful (*vv.* 66–68).

with a certain number.] Rather, "with a small number." Compare Is. x. 19; Eccles. xvii. 2.

66. *he smote Odonarkes.*] The MSS. have either "Odoarrhes" or "Odomera." Neither form of the name is otherwise known; nor can it be determined whether an independent chief, or an officer in the service of Bacchides, is intended.

children of Phasiron.] One of the many desert tribes that are not otherwise known to us.

69. *he slew many of them.*] Compare *v.* 61, and for the readiness of Bacchides to massacre men in cold blood, see ch. vii. 19, 24; ch. ix. 26.

70. *the prisoners.*] *I.e.* those of the patriotic party whom he had previously arrested and held as prisoners. See *vv.* 26 and 72.

73. *Jonathan dwelt at Machmas.*] "Machmas" is undoubtedly the "Michmash" of 1 Sam. xiii. and xiv., where Saul and Jonathan defeated the Philistines. It lay about seven miles north of Jerusalem, in a very strong position, on the northern edge of the great Wady Suweinit. Sennacherib occupied it on his first expedition against Hezekiah (Is. x. 28); and it was among the places where the Jews re-established themselves on their return from the Captivity (Ezra ii. 27; Neh.

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CHAPTER X.

B. C. cir. 152. 1 *Demetrius maketh large offers to have peace with Jonathan.* 25 *His letters to the Jews.* 47 *Jonathan maketh peace with Alexander,* 50 *who killeth Demetrius,* 58 *and marrieth the daughter of Ptolemeus.* 62 *Jonathan is sent for by him, and much honoured,* 75 *and prevaileth against the forces of Demetrius the younger,* 84 *and burneth the temple of Dagon.*

‖ Joseph. *the son of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

IN the hundred and sixtieth year Alexander, ‖the *son* of Antiochus *surnamed* Epiphanes, went up and took Ptolemais: for the people had received him, by means whereof he reigned there. B. C. cir. 152.

2 Now when king Demetrius heard thereof, he gathered together an exceeding great host, and went forth against him to fight.

3 Moreover Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with loving words, so as he magnified him.

4 For said he, Let us first make

vii. 31, xi. 31). The site is still known as "Mukhmas"—a small and poor village. Jonathan's choice of Michmash indicates a feeling of insecurity, and a desire to establish himself in a position where he could not be easily surprised or overpowered.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. ALEXANDER BALAS SETS HIMSELF UP AS A RIVAL TO DEMETRIUS—BOTH PRINCES COURT THE FAVOUR OF THE JEWS, WHO DETERMINE TO SIDE WITH ALEXANDER.

1–47. Rome had never cordially forgiven Demetrius his escape from her custody and seizure of the Syrian crown without her permission. She had actually acknowledged him as king, but she was glad of any opportunity to do him an injury. In this spirit she had promised the Jews her protection (ch. viii. 22–32) about the year B.C. 160, and now in B.C. 153–2 she openly supported the pretensions of a Syrian, who assumed the name of Alexander, and claimed to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Syro-Macedonian throne (Polyb. xxxiii. 16). Under her sanction he enrolled troops, allied himself with Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and Ptolemy Philometor, and landing at Ptolemaïs, on the coast of Palestine, assumed the title of king. Demetrius had rendered himself odious to a large number of his subjects; he had become a habitual drinker, and was intoxicated during the greater part of each day (*ibid.* xxxiii. 14, § 1). Alexander's pretensions were consequently received with a considerable degree of favour; the Syrians were divided into two parties, and a civil war of some duration ensued. Under these circumstances, it was natural that both parties should desire the friendship of the Jews, and should endeavour to outbid each other in the offers which they made to Jonathan. The first offers of Demetrius are contained in *vv.* 3–6, those of Alexander in *vv.* 18–20, the second offers of Demetrius in *vv.* 25–45. These last were very tempting: but it was felt that no dependence could be placed upon the king's adherence to them, if he were successful. The Jews therefore threw in their lot with Alexander, and continued his firm adherents throughout the struggle (*v.* 47).

1. *In the hundred and sixtieth year.*] The 160th Seleucid year commenced in October, B.C. 153, and terminated in October B.C. 152. The seizure of Ptolemaïs is thought to have taken place in the first half of the latter year (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 325).

Alexander, the son of Antiochus.] It was natural that the Jews should accept this view of the matter, which even the Roman Senate did not shrink from endorsing with their authority (Polyb. xxxiii. 16, § 9). But it is generally maintained by the classical writers, that there was in reality no such relationship between Alexander Balas and Epiphanes (Polyb. xxxiii. 16, § 10; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 67; Justin. xxxv. 1). Justin goes so far as to say that Balas was a man of low birth.

and took Ptolemais.] On the situation of Ptolemaïs, see the comment on ch. v. 22. It was at this time, next to Seleucia, the most important city on the Syrian coast.

the people had received him.] *I.e.* the people of Ptolemaïs.

2. *Demetrius . . . went forth against him to fight.*] Justin (*l. s. c.*) tells us that Demetrius shewed much courage and spirit in defending his crown. In the first battle which he fought with his antagonist he was successful; and it was only when the forces of Egypt, Cappadocia, and Pergamus were brought into the field against him that he succumbed. Nearly two years elapsed between the landing of Alexander at Ptolemaïs and the defeat and death of his adversary.

3. *with loving words.*] Literally, "with *peaceful* words."

so as he magnified him.] Rather, "**so as to magnify him.**" That proposals of peace and alliance should have been made to him by the great Syrian king was for the honour of

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B. C. cir. 152. peace with him, before he join with Alexander against us:

5 Else he will remember all the evils that we have done against him, and against his brethren and his people.

6 Wherefore he gave him authority to gather together an host, and to provide weapons, that he might aid him in battle: he commanded also that the hostages that were in the tower should be delivered him.

7 Then came Jonathan to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in the tower:

8 Who were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together an host.

9 Whereupon they of the tower delivered their hostages unto Jonathan, and he delivered them unto their parents.

10 This done, Jonathan settled himself in Jerusalem, and began to build and repair the city. B. C. cir. 152.

11 And he commanded the workmen to build the walls and the mount Sion round about with square stones for fortification; and they did so.

12 Then the strangers, that were in the fortresses which Bacchides had built, fled away;

13 Insomuch as every man left his place, and went into his own country.

14 Only at Bethsura certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments remained still: for it was their place of refuge.

15 Now when king Alexander had heard what promises Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan: when also it was told him of the battles and noble acts which he and his brethren had done, and of the pains that they had endured,

Jonathan, and raised him in the opinion of his neighbours.

6. *he gave him authority to gather together an host.*] Even in seeking their alliance, Demetrius did not fail to maintain his sovereign rights as lord paramount over the Jews. His permission implied that they might not levy an army, or forge weapons, unless he gave them leave.

the hostages that were in the tower.] See above, ch. ix. 53.

7. *Jonathan . . . read the letters.*] Jonathan summoned an assembly of the people, and invited the Syrian authorities who held "the tower" to attend it. He then read aloud before them the letters which he had received from Demetrius. Their genuineness was at once admitted, and acted on. The hostages were given up.

9. *their hostages.*] Rather, "the hostages."

10. *Jonathan settled himself in Jerusalem.*] *I.e.* removed from Michmash, and made Jerusalem the seat of his government.

began to build and repair the city.] Instead of collecting troops and forging arms, as Demetrius had suggested, in order to come to his help against Balas, Jonathan considered primarily his own interests and those of his nation. These required the immediate renovation of the Temple fortress, which had been much weakened by Lysias (ch. vi. 62) and Alcimus (ch. ix. 54).

11. *the mount Sion.*] *I.e.* the Temple mount. (See the comment on ch. iv. 37.)

with square stones.] Rather, "squared stones" — stones hewn into a rectangular form. Ordinary fortifications were often constructed of stones that were unhewn and of irregular shapes.

12. *the strangers.*] The foreign garrisons, placed by Bacchides in the various strongholds which he fortified in different parts of the country (ch. ix. 50–52).

15. *king Alexander . . . heard.*] The importance of an alliance with the Jews had not occurred to Alexander at first. It was only when he heard of the offers made by his rival, that he woke up to an appreciation of the aid which it was in their power to render to the side whose cause they espoused. He was thus somewhat tardy in his application. He had it, however, in his favour,—1. That no bitter memories overshadowed his past—2. That there was no reason to doubt his good faith. It may also have been an important circumstance in his favour that he was known to have the support of Rome, and that an alliance with him would certainly not injure the Jews with their Western protectors.

the battles and noble acts which he and

B. C. cir. 152.

16 He said, Shall we find such another man? now therefore we will make him our friend and confederate.

17 Upon this he wrote a letter, and sent it unto him, according to these words, saying,

18 King Alexander to his brother Jonathan sendeth greeting:

19 We have heard of thee, that thou art a man of great power, and meet to be our friend.

20 Wherefore now this day we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's friend; (and therewithal he sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold:) and *require thee* to take our part, and keep friendship with us.

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21 So in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of the tabernacles, Jonathan put on the holy robe, and gathered together forces, and provided much armour.

22 Whereof when Demetrius heard, he was very sorry, and said,

23 What have we done, that Alexander hath prevented us in making amity with the Jews to strengthen himself?

24 I also will write unto them words of encouragement, *and promise them* dignities and gifts, that I may have their aid.

his brethren had done.] See above, ch. iii.–vii. and ch. ix.

18. *King Alexander to his brother Jonathan.*] The expression "brother" was a full acknowledgment of Jonathan's independence and actual sovereignty. Demetrius had not gone nearly so far. We may fairly conclude that the concession, which was not a mere flattery (Grimm), had considerable weight in determining Jonathan to accept the alliance of Balas.

19. *We have heard.*] The plural of dignity was commonly affected by the Oriental kings, from an early, though not from the very earliest, date. Traces of its use are found in Herodotus (i. 32, 35). But it scarcely seems to have become the ordinary form of speech until the time of which our author treats. (Compare ch. xi. 31–35, xiii. 37–40, xv. 9; 2 Macc. xi. 23–26, 28, 29, &c.) Even then it was frequently superseded by the first person singular. (See below, *vv.* 29–40, 52–56; xi. 9, 10; xv. 3–6, &c.)

20. *we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation.*] The Syrian kings, from the time of Epiphanes, had claimed the right of appointing the Jewish High Priests from among the qualified persons, *i.e.* from among the descendants of Aaron. Epiphanes had appointed successively as High Priests Jason and Menelaus, deposing Onias to make room for Jason, and Jason to make room for Menelaus (2 Macc. iv. 7–26). Demetrius had given the office to Alcimus (*supra*, vii. 9). Since the death of Alcimus in B.C. 159 (ix. 56) it had remained vacant, neither Jonathan nor any other person having ventured to assume the position, and Demetrius having made no fresh appointment. It now occurred to Balas, or his advisers, that it would be an excellent way of securing the favour of Jonathan to confer the office on him, since he could not but covet it, and his accepting it at the hands of Balas would be an acknowledgment of him as Syrian king.

and to be called the king's friend.] See the comment on ch. ii. 18.

a purple robe and a crown of gold.] The symbols of sovereignty. Compare ch. viii. 14, and the comment *ad loc.*

21. *in the seventh month.*] The seventh (Jewish) month, Ethanim or Tisri, corresponding with the latter part of September and the earlier of October, would be the twelfth Syrian month of the year. The Feast of Tabernacles was on the fifteenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 34).

the holy robe.] Not the "purple robe" which Balas had sent him (*v.* 20), but the entire priestly *dress* (στολήν), as described in Ex. xxviii. 4–39.

22. *Demetrius . . was very sorry.*] Literally, "was grieved." He saw that he had been outbid—he had missed a great opportunity by not offering terms sufficiently liberal at once. Still, he hoped that it might not be too late to retrieve his error; and certainly the terms that he now submitted for the consideration of the people were sufficiently liberal. As Ewald observes, "there seems every reason to regard the document contained in *vv.* 25–45 of this chapter as genuine, and of high historical importance" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 328, note 2). It throws a large amount of light on the ordinary fiscal relations subsisting between the Syrian monarchs and their Jewish subjects.

24. *promise them dignities.*] Rather, "promise them **exaltation**." It was a general

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B. C. 152. 25 He sent unto them therefore to this effect: King Demetrius unto the people of the Jews sendeth greeting:

26 Whereas ye have kept covenants with us, and continued in our friendship, not joining yourselves with our enemies, we have heard hereof, and are glad.

27 Wherefore now continue ye still to be faithful unto us, and we will well recompense you for the things ye do in our behalf,

28 And will grant you many immunities, and give you rewards. B. C. 152.

29 And now do I free you, and for your sake I release all the Jews, from tributes, and from the customs of salt, and from crown taxes,

30 And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part of the seed, and the half of the fruit of the trees, I release it from this day forth, so that they shall not be taken of the land of Judea, nor of the three governments which

elevation of their position among his subjects, rather than any special "dignities" or offices, that Demetrius now offered.

25. *King Demetrius unto the people of the Jews.*] The contrast between this address and that of Balas (*v.* 18) is striking. Demetrius ignores Jonathan altogether, regarding him doubtless as pledged to his rival, and addresses himself to the "people," whom he perhaps hopes to separate from their leader. Throughout his whole long letter he makes no allusion to Jonathan's existence.

26. *Whereas ye have kept covenants with us.*] Rather, "**your** covenants." As no overt act of hostility had been yet committed, Demetrius is able to assume the friendliness of the Jews towards himself, and their fidelity to the engagements which existed between him and them (ch. ix. 70–72). He thinks it prudent to take this line, as making it easier for them to revert to his alliance, if so disposed.

28. *many immunities.*] Literally, "remissions." (See the enumeration of them in *vv.* 29–31.)

29. *I free you, and for your sake I release all the Jews.*] There is nothing corresponding to "for your sake" in the original. By "you" Demetrius means the Jewish community in Palestine; by "all the Jews," all those settled in any part of his dominions. There were many thousands at Antioch.

from tributes.] Rather, "**from the poll-tax.**" In Oriental countries, a poll-tax (not necessarily the same for all) is always levied on all the inhabitants. It is ordinarily levied by the head men of each town and village, and remitted by them to the government. The Syro-Macedonians, and after them the Romans, kept up the immemorial practice (Luke xx. 22, xxiii. 2; Rom. xiii. 6).

from the customs of salt.] Or "from the duty on salt." The salt of Palestine was derived chiefly from the Dead Sea, where it is formed naturally. Private persons were allowed to collect it, but had to pay a duty, of the nature of an excise, to the government before removing what they had collected. The effect was to raise the price of salt to the consumer generally.

and from crown taxes.] Rather, "**from the payment in lieu of crowns.**" It had been customary for the subject-nations to make presents of crowns of gold to the reigning monarch on various occasions, as when he gained a victory, or recovered from an illness, or when they had any petition to ask of him. In course of time it was thought convenient to commute this irregular and voluntary payment into a fixed sum due to the government annually, and known as *φόρος στεφανίτης* (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 3, § 3) or *στεφανικὸν τέλεσμα* (Suidas), corresponding to the Roman *aurum coronarium* (Cic. 'Leg. Agr.' ii. 22). This is the payment of which Demetrius offered the remission.

30. *And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part of the seed.*] Rather, "for the third part of the crop." *Σπορὰ* is used here for the "crop" or "produce," as *σπόρος* is more commonly (Herod. iv. 53; Soph. 'Philoct.' l. 706, &c.). In Oriental countries, as much as one-half of the produce is said to have been sometimes claimed by the state (Mirkhond, 'Histoire des Sassanides,' p. 372); and the same proportion was required of the Spartan helots (Tyrt. Fr. 5; Pausan. iv. 14, § 3). The payment in kind had, under the Seleucidæ, been commuted for a payment in money.

and the half of the fruit of the trees.] Rather, "and **for** the half," &c. The tree-tax had been commuted, like the corn-tax. A tax on fruit-trees has been common in the East in all ages. (See Tabari, 'Chronique,' vol. ii. p. 226; Maçoudi, 'Prairies d'Or,' vol. ii. p. 204.)

the three governments which are added thereunto.] Compare *v.* 38, and see also ch. xi.

B. C. 152. are added thereunto out of the country of Samaria and Galilee, from this day forth for evermore.

31 Let Jerusalem also be holy and free, with the borders thereof, both from tenths and tributes.

32 And as for the tower which is at Jerusalem, I yield up my authority over it, and give it to the high priest, that he may set in it such men as he shall choose to keep it.

33 Moreover I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews, that were B. C. 152. carried captives out of the land of Judea into any part of my kingdom, and *I will* that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.

34 Furthermore *I will* that all the feasts, and sabbaths, and new moons, and solemn days, and the three days before the feast, and the three days after the feast, shall be all days of immunity and freedom for all the Jews in my realm.

28, 34. It appears from ch. xi. 34, that these "governments" were named respectively Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathem (= Ramathaim). "Aphærema" is thought to be a Greek corruption of the Hebrew word "Ephraim," and to designate the most southern part of the Samaritan territory. Lydda must be the tract about that town, which lay on the edge of the plain of Sharon, north-west of Jerusalem. Ramathem is probably the tract about Ramathaim, the city of Samuel's father (1 Sam. i. 1), the exact position of which is unknown. Under what circumstances these three districts had been detached from Samaria and added to Judæa, we have no record; but the transfer had probably been made to punish some Samaritan rebellion. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 227, 228.)

and Galilee.] These words seem superfluous, and are quite out of place here. Elsewhere the three districts are uniformly represented as Samaritan; and Galilee was too far off for any portion of it to have been attached to Judæa at this period. If not the error of a scribe, accustomed to couple Galilee with Samaria, the words must be ascribed to an error on the part of the author.

31. *both from tenths and tributes.*] Rather, "**and the tithes, and the taxes.**" Jerusalem was to be free of all payments to the crown, and so were to be the tithes collected for the support of the Levitical priesthood, and the taxes levied on the Jews by the native authorities for the support of the fabric and service of the Temple (Neh. x. 32–37). No deduction was to be made from either of these two sources of revenue for the benefit of the Syrian exchequer.

32. *as for the tower.*] Compare ch. i. 33–36; and see, in the present chapter, *vv.* 6–9.

I . . . give it to the high priest.] Demetrius speaks as though he were ignorant who had assumed the office of High Priest, but concluded that the nation, under the circumstances, would set one up. There can be little doubt that he knew of Jonathan's elevation, and purposely ignored it.

33. *I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews that were carried captives.*] This is a new point. In the wars between the Syrians and the patriotic party in Judæa a large number of captives must have been made. These languished in confinement in various parts of the Syrian dominions. It was a tempting offer to the friends of the captives, that they should, all of them, be at once set free.

I will that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.] This is obscure. By the context, the remission should concern especially the captive Israelites; but it is not likely that they would possess cattle. If the concession was to be general, perhaps Josephus may not have been far wrong in explaining it as an exemption of the Jewish animals from compulsory employment in the service of the Syrian state. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 3.)

34. *all the feasts . . . and solemn days.*] A distinction seems to be intended between the recognised feasts, whether commanded in the Law, or established by ecclesiastical authority, and occasional days appointed (ἀποδεδειγμένοι) from time to time to be kept holy by those to whom the right of such appointment belonged. Both classes of days were to be equally days of state exemption for the Jewish community. The exemption was to consist of ἀτέλεια, "freedom from tax"—the advantage of which, when limited to certain days, is not very apparent, and ἄφεσις, "remission of state claims on their time," which would clearly have been a considerable boon to certain classes—*e.g.* soldiers, state officials, and other *employés*.

the three days before the feast, and the three days after the feast.] The time commonly spent in their journeys backwards and forwards by such Syrian Jews as were in the habit of attending the great Jewish festivals.

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B. C. 152. 35 Also no man shall have authority to meddle *with them*, or to molest any of them in any matter.

36 *I will* further, that there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews, unto whom pay shall be given, as belongeth to all the king's forces.

37 And of them *some* shall be placed in the king's strong holds, of whom also *some* shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust: and *I will* that their overseers and governors be of themselves, and

‖ Gr. *walk.* that they ‖ live after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded in B. C. 152. the land of Judea.

38 And concerning the three governments that are added to Judea from the country of Samaria, let them be joined with Judea, that they may be reckoned to be under one, nor bound to obey other authority than the high priest's.

39 As for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining thereto, I give it as a free gift to the sanctuary at Jerusalem for the necessary expences ‖ of the sanctuary.

‖ Or, *of the holy things.*

40 Moreover I give every year

35. *no man shall have authority to meddle with them.*] We must understand, "at such times." Demetrius could not mean that no one should under any circumstances arrest, or take legal proceedings against, a Jew.

36. *I will further, that there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews.*] The enrolment of Jews among the king's forces would mark them as full citizens, trusted to bear arms, and receive a military training, as much as any others. It was a privilege, and not a burthen, especially as the soldiers received pay. The number, 30,000, would be surprising, if the Jews of Palestine only were meant; but we must remember that there were large colonies of Jews in various parts of the Empire, as, especially, at Antioch, Babylon, Seleucia, Nearda, &c.; and that the Jews of those places might have been glad to take military service.

37. *And of them some shall be placed in the king's strong holds.*] A further mark of confidence. The Jews were to be employed, equally with the rest of the Syrian troops, in garrison duty.

of whom also some shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust.] An employment of Jews in offices of trust is here promised; but the nature of the offices is not specified. The promise was vague, and might easily have been evaded. It certainly did not amount to a declaration that Jews were to be regarded as "qualified for all offices" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 328).

I will that their overseers and governors be of themselves.] This would, no doubt, have been a considerable boon. It would have secured the Jews from having heathen governors placed over them. Still it would have admitted of their being subjected to the tender mercies of renegades and Hellenizers, such as Menelaus and Alcimus.

and that they live after their own laws.] An entire revocation of the edict of Epiphanes (ch. i. 41–50), by which the Jews were required to "leave their laws," and "follow the strange laws" which he made the "law of the land" (*ib. v.* 44).

38. *concerning the three governments.*] See the comment on *v.* 30. It is probable that these districts had hitherto had separate governors, or a separate governor. Now they were to be subjected to the sole authority of the High Priest. The ungrammatical construction of the Greek, which follows a Hebrew idiom, does not introduce any ambiguity into the meaning of the stipulation.

39. *As for Ptolemais, . . . I give it as a free gift.*] It is pertinently remarked, that Ptolemaïs was not now in the possession of Demetrius, so that he could give it away. Ptolemaïs was exactly the place where the rival king had established his court, and fixed his government. It was, no doubt, selected to be made over to the Jews on this account. The appeal made to them was to this effect—"If you will lend your assistance to crush Balas and recover Ptolemaïs, which has proclaimed him king, the city and its territory shall be ceded to you as a permanent possession." To have greater weight with the religious Jews, the ceded territory was made part of the endowment of the Temple.

40. *Moreover I give every year fifteen thousand shekels.*] Rather, "**I for my part,**" or "I, **in my own person**, give," &c. This is put in contrast with the gift—given once for all—of the revenues of Ptolemaïs. The context shews that it was to be a contribution on the part of the king to the Temple service. Fifteen thousand shekels of the Maccabee period would be worth from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds sterling.

B. C. 152. fifteen thousand shekels of silver out of the king's accounts from the places appertaining.

41 And all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time, from henceforth shall be given toward the works of the temple.

42 And beside this, the five thousand shekels of silver, which they took from the uses of the temple out of the accounts year by year, even those things shall be released, because they appertain to the priests that minister.

43 And whosoever they be that flee unto the temple at Jerusalem, or be within the liberties thereof, being indebted unto the king, or for any other matter, let them be at liberty, and all that they have in my realm.

44 For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary expences shall be given of the king's accounts. B. C. 152

45 Yea, and for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof round about, expences shall be given out of the king's accounts, as also for the building of the walls in Judea.

46 Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credit unto them, nor received them, because they remembered the great evil that he had done in Israel; for he had afflicted them very sore.

47 But with Alexander they were well pleased, because he was the first that entreated of true peace with

out of the king's accounts.] To be deducted, that is, from the balance due to the king, and to be kept back by the Jewish authorities.

from the places appertaining.] Rather, "from the (most) **convenient** places."

41. *all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time.*] The intention of this is obscure. It would most naturally point to the outstanding debts due to the treasury from the collectors of taxes; but it is difficult, in that case, to understand the expression "as in former time"—literally "as in the first years"—since under any system of taxation there will always be such arrears. Perhaps in the first years of the Syrian rule the practice had been that these arrears of the king's taxes went to the Temple treasury, and Demetrius proposed a restoration of the system. "As in the first years" must then be connected with what follows, not with what precedes it.

42. *beside this, the five thousand shekels, &c.*] A temple tax of 5000 shekels a year had, apparently, been exacted by the Syrian monarchs. This Demetrius proposed to remit.

43. *whosoever they be that flee unto the temple.*] The right of asylum, which the Greeks regarded as attaching, in some degree or other, to all their own temples, was to be recognised as belonging in a high degree to the Temple at Jerusalem. It was to be possessed, not only by the main building, but by all its purlieus and precincts (ὅρια), and was to cover, not only criminals, but debtors —or at any rate, *crown* debtors. Even the goods of such debtors were to be safe from attachment, during their abode in the Temple.

44. *For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary.*] See above, *vv.* 10, 11.

of the king's accounts.] Rather, "**out** of the king's accounts."

45. *for the building of the walls in Judea.*] Rather, "for the building of the **forts**," or "**strongholds**." Compare above, ch. ix. 50–52. Demetrius was ready to undertake all these expenses, but of course on the implied condition that Jerusalem and the "strongholds" should be held for him, and against his adversary.

46. *when Jonathan and the people heard these words.*] Demetrius failed to stir up any jealousy or dissension between the people and their leader. Liberal as his offers were, and tempting as they might have been, if regarded as an honest expression of his intentions with respect to the Jewish nation, they had under the circumstances no weight or power of attraction. They were regarded as extorted from him by his needs, and no confidence was felt that he would consider himself bound to their observance, if he should succeed in crushing Balas.

he had afflicted them very sore.] Through Alcimus, Bacchides, and Nicanor. See especially ch. vii. 16, 19, 22, 34; ch. ix. 2, 25–27, &c.

47. *he was the first that entreated of true peace with them.*] Our translators have in-

B. C. 152. them, and they were confederate with him always.

cir. 150. 48 Then gathered king Alexander great forces, and camped over against Demetrius.

49 And after the two kings had joined battle, Demetrius' host fled: but Alexander followed after him, and prevailed against them.

50 And he continued the battle very sore until the sun went down: and that day was Demetrius slain. B. C. 150.

51 Afterward Alexander sent ambassadors to Ptolemee king of Egypt with a message to this effect:

52 Forasmuch as I am come again to my realm, and am set in the throne of my progenitors, and have

serted the epithet "true" before "peace," without any warrant from the original, in order to overcome the difficulty which arises from the fact, recorded earlier in the chapter (*vv.* 3–6), that Demetrius, and not Balas, began the negotiations. In point of fact, there is a contradiction between *vv.* 3 and 47, which cannot be got over. As Homer "nods" sometimes, so does our author.

§ 2. The War between Demetrius and Balas—Defeat and Death of Demetrius.

48-50. The details of the war between Demetrius and Alexander Balas are but little known. It appears to have lasted somewhat more than two years (B.C. 152–150). Attalus, king of Pergamus, induced Balas to come forward, but did not at first support him with his troops. After his seizure of Ptolemaïs, or Acre, in B.C. 152, Demetrius attacked him, and in the first engagement gained a decided victory (Justin, xxxv. 1). Attalus then took part in the war openly, as did Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, and Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia. Thus strengthened, Balas fought a second battle, which is the one here spoken of (*vv.* 49, 50). The fortunes of the fight were chequered; but in the end Balas was victorious, and Demetrius was slain (Justin, *l. s. c.*; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 4).

48. *Then gathered king Alexander great forces.*] Justin tells us that the three kings, Attalus, Ptolemy, and Ariarathes, sent their forces to his aid: Porphyry says he had an army of mercenaries, and contingents from Ptolemy and Attalus (Euseb. 'Chr. Can.' i. 40, § 15).

49. *Demetrius' host fled.*] According to Josephus, Demetrius had at first the advantage. After inflicting a great slaughter, he put the army of Balas to flight, and was hotly pursuing them, when his horse became entangled in a bog and threw him, whereupon he was overpowered and slain ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 4). The party of Balas then gained the day. Justin also says that Demetrius had "killed many thousands," before he fell fighting bravely in the thick of the struggle. The battle must have taken place about August, B.C. 150 (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 324), when Demetrius had held the throne for nearly twelve years. (See ch. vii. 1.)

§ 3. The Marriage of Balas with Cleopatra, Daughter of Ptolemy Philometor—Honours paid to Jonathan at the Time of the Wedding.

51–66. It was natural that Balas should wish to strengthen himself by a matrimonial alliance. Upstarts are always eager to obtain admittance into the family circle of kings; and Balas was an upstart of an exceedingly weak character, who could feel no confidence in himself. The Syrian monarchs had already intermarried with the Ptolemies, so that there would be nothing strange or unusual in the proposal of another such alliance. Ptolemy Philometor readily accepted it, expecting no doubt to gain something for himself by the transaction. The author relates the affair of the marriage mainly on account of the honours paid to Jonathan at the time of its celebration (*vv.* 59–65).

51. *Ptolemee king of Egypt.*] The Ptolemy contemporary with Balas was Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who ascended the Egyptian throne in B.C. 181 and reigned till B.C. 146. He became king at the age of seven, and was consequently at this time about 38 or 39 years of age. Demetrius had angered him by an attempt to obtain possession of Cyprus, which was an appanage of the Egyptian crown; and, though the attempt failed, Philometor never forgave it. His support of Balas, even to the extent of accepting him for a son-in-law, was, in fact, a mode of avenging his wrongs. But it may also have been dictated by policy. Balas was so weak that Philometor may have expected to wrest from him Cœle-Syria and Palestine—the desire of Egypt at this time—without much difficulty. (See ch. xi. 1.)

with a message.] he message was probably sent off almost immediately after the battle. Balas at once assumed all the airs of a great king. He takes to himself the whole credit of the victory, without any mention of the aid lent him by Ptolemy and the other kings. He, of course, assumes his legitimacy,

B. C. 150. gotten the dominion, and overthrown Demetrius, and recovered our country;

53 For after I had joined battle with him, both he and his host was discomfited by us, so that we sit in the throne of his kingdom:

54 Now therefore let us make a league of amity together, and give me now thy daughter to wife: and I will be thy son in law, and will give both thee and her gifts according to thy dignity.

55 Then Ptolemee the king gave answer, saying, Happy be the day wherein thou didst return into the land of thy fathers, and satest in the throne of their kingdom.

56 And now will I do to thee, as thou hast written: meet me therefore at Ptolemais, that we may see one another; for I will marry my daughter to thee according to thy B. C. 150 desire.

57 So Ptolemee went out of Egypt with his daughter Cleopatra, and they came unto Ptolemais in the hundred threescore and second year:

58 Where king Alexander meeting him, he gave unto him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great glory, as the manner of kings is.

59 Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan, that he should come and meet him.

60 Who thereupon went honourably to Ptolemais, where he met the two kings, and gave them and their friends silver and gold, and many presents, and found favour in their sight.

61 At that time certain pestilent fellows of Israel, men of a wicked

and claims descent from the old line of the Syrian monarchs. He addresses Ptolemy as altogether his equal, if not his superior, and demands, rather than requests, his daughter in marriage.

54. *I . . . will give both thee and her gifts.*] Presents to the bride and her father (ἔδνα, ἕεδνα) were usually made before marriage by the Greeks. The bride's portion was called φερνή, and became part of her dower; the father's represented the actual purchase-money of primitive times. The character of the gifts varied according to the rank of the parties.

56. *now will I do to thee, as thou hast written.*] Ptolemy's ready acceptance of the proposal of Balas is not, perhaps, surprising. He may have believed him to be a son of Epiphanes, in which case the match would have been an equal one; and he may have expected to derive advantage of some kind or other from the connection, although the exact nature of the advantage could scarcely have been as yet apparent. It would depend on circumstances and the character of Balas.

meet me therefore at Ptolemais.] The message of Balas had probably been sent from Antioch, whither he no doubt proceeded after his victory. But Ptolemaïs, halfway between Egypt and Antioch, seemed to Philometor a more convenient place for the wedding. He proposed, therefore, to bring his daughter thither.

57. *in the hundred threescore and second year.*] The 162nd Seleucid year would commence in October B.C. 151, and terminate in October B.C. 150. It was probably towards the close of the year that the wedding took place.

59. *Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan.*] Here we have the first hint of the writer's purpose in dwelling so long upon the wedding. It is Maccabee, not Syrian, history that he is writing; and, but for Jonathan being a guest at the wedding, he might scarcely have noticed it. He regards the occasion, however, as having greatly redounded to Jonathan's glory; since, 1, he went there on special invitation: 2, he stayed there as an equal and companion of two of the greatest kings of the East; 3, he received special honours while there, which are described in *vv.* 62–65.

60. *went honourably to Ptolemais.*] Rather, "went **magnificently**." A large train and much display of wealth are implied in the expression, μετὰ δόξης.

he . . . gave them and their friends . . . many presents.] According to the usual Eastern custom. It was especially incumbent on a king to be lavish of gifts (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2); and Jonathan, having been raised to the kingly rank (*supra*, *vv.* 18–20), contrived by some means or other to obtain sufficient wealth to play the part of king nobly.

61. *certain pestilent fellows.*] Literally, "men (who were) pests." The expression, rare in Greek (Demosth. in Reiske's 'Orat.

B. C. 150. life, assembled themselves against him, to accuse him: but the king would not hear them.

62 Yea more than that, the king commanded to take off his garments, and clothe him in purple: and they did so.

63 Also he made him sit by himself, and said unto his princes, Go with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation, that no man complain against him of any matter, and that no man trouble him for any manner of cause.

64 Now when his accusers saw that he was honoured according to the proclamation, and clothed in purple, they fled all away. B. C. 150.

65 So the king honoured him, and wrote him among his chief friends, and made him a duke, and ‖partaker of his dominion.

‖ Or, *governor of a province.*

66 Afterward Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

67 Furthermore in the hundred threescore and fifth year came Demetrius son of Demetrius out of Crete into the land of his fathers: cir. 148.

Att.' 794. 5), is common enough in Latin, and is well rendered in our Version.

men of a wicked life.] Literally, "men who were transgressors of the law." Probably no more is meant than by the customary ἄνομοι (ch. ii. 44; iii. 6; vii. 5; ix. 23, 58, &c.), men who had given up the observance of the Jewish law, and regarded it as no longer binding. Such persons did not necessarily lead an immoral life. On the contrary, they often sought to recommend their views by strictness and purity of living. It was natural that the leaders of the Hellenizing party, finding that Jonathan was in such favour, should make a last effort to discredit him with the Syrian king.

62. *the king commanded to . . . clothe him in purple.*] Jonathan had, apparently, not yet assumed the royal apparel which had been conceded to him (*v.* 20). At this time the efforts of his enemies resulted in his open and manifest exaltation to the royal dignity.

63. *Also he made him sit by himself.*] *I.e.*, "he (Balas) made him (Jonathan) take the seat by his side"—perhaps on the same throne—thus publicly exhibiting him as his equal.

Go with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation.] Compare Gen. xli. 43; Esther vi. 9–11. The main object was to make Jonathan's royal dignity known as widely as possible.

65. *the king . . . wrote him among his chief friends.*] It is implied that there was a catalogue in which the names of the "king's friends" were inscribed, as there was of "royal benefactors" among the Achæmenian Persians (Herod. viii. 85; Esther ii. 23, vi. 1). It appears further that there were gradations of rank among the "friends," the bulk of them forming an "ordinary" class, while a certain number were recognised as "chief friends." (See the comment on ch. ii. 18.)

made him a duke.] Rather, "a general"—*i.e.* gave him the rank of general in his army. The Latin *dux* did not come to have a mere titular force till after the time of Constantine.

partaker of his dominion.] Rather, "provincial ruler," or "governor of a district." The word used is rare, being only found in this place and in Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 5).

§ 4. DEMETRIUS II. CLAIMS THE SYRIAN CROWN—WAR BETWEEN HIS GENERAL, APOLLONIUS, AND JONATHAN—SUCCESS OF JONATHAN, AND FRESH HONOURS GRANTED TO HIM.

67–89. Balas was scarcely settled on the throne when he shewed himself quite unfit for sovereignty. He committed the affairs of the kingdom to a certain Ammonius, who robbed and murdered at his pleasure, while his master gave himself up to all kinds of vicious indulgences. He thus alienated the affections of his subjects, and gave an opportunity to the son of the late king, of which he was not slow to take advantage. In B.C. 148–7, when Balas had been king about two years, this prince left Crete, where he had been staying, accompanied by a body of Cretan mercenaries, and, landing on the coast of Cilicia, assumed the title of king. Alexander, on hearing the intelligence, quitted Ptolemaïs, his favourite residence, and went first to Antioch (*v.* 68) and thence into Cilicia (ch. xi. 14), where he endeavoured to crush the revolt. Meanwhile Jonathan maintained his cause in Palestine against the general Apollonius, who held Cœlesyria for Demetrius, and obtained the important successes which are related in *vv.* 74–86. Balas shewed his gratitude by conferring on the victorious Maccabee a new dignity and an increase of dominion (*vv.* 88, 89).

67. *in the hundred threescore and fifth year.*] The 165th Seleucid year began in

B. C. cir. 148.

68 Whereof when king Alexander heard tell, he was right sorry, and returned into Antioch.

69 Then Demetrius made Apollonius the governor of Celosyria his general, who gathered together a great host, and camped in Jamnia, and sent unto Jonathan the high priest, saying,

70 Thou alone liftest up thyself against us, and I am laughed to scorn for thy sake, and reproached: and why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?

71 Now therefore, if thou trustest in thine own strength, come down to us into the plain field, and there let us try the matter together: for with me is the power of the cities.

72 Ask and learn who I am, and the rest that take our part, and they shall tell thee that thy foot is not able to stand before our face; for thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land.

73 Wherefore now thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen and so

B. C. cir. 148.

October B.C. 148, and ended in October B.C. 147.

Demetrius, son of Demetrius.] The elder Demetrius, when attacked by Balas, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidus, to the care of a friend. Neither of them was grown up at the time (B.C. 152). Four years later, the elder, Demetrius, having attained to manhood according to Eastern ideas, came forward and claimed his father's crown (Justin, xxxv. 2).

out of Crete.] Demetrius, when he determined to assert his rights, seems to have left Cnidus and gone to Crete, where he collected a body of mercenaries, with whom he crossed the sea and landed on the coast of Cilicia (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 3).

68. *king Alexander . . . returned into Antioch.*] From Ptolemaïs, which he had made his principal capital.

69. *Demetrius made Apollonius the governor of Celosyria his general.*] The form of expression used shews that Apollonius was already governor under Balas. His defection must have been a severe blow to that monarch's cause, as Celosyria, or rather Cœlesyria, embraced the entire tract between Emesa (Hems) and the borders of Egypt. It has been suggested that the Apollonius here mentioned was the foster-brother and friend of the elder Demetrius, of whom Polybius speaks (xxxi. 21, § 2), who accompanied him when he made his escape from Rome (Grimm). The supposition is not improbable, and would account for the part which Apollonius played.

Jamnia.] See the comment on ch. iv. 15. Jamnia lay almost due west of Jerusalem, at the distance of about thirty miles. It was in the Shefelah, or low coast plain.

sent unto Jonathan.] Challenges to combat, conveyed in insulting terms, were not uncommon in the ancient world, and with the Greeks had the sanction of Homeric usage. It was expected that taunts would rouse passions strong enough to overpower reason, and lead men to fight at a disadvantage.

70. *Thou alone.*] The expression in the original is stronger—*σὺ μονώτατος*—"thou altogether by thyself."

why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?] The character of the hill-country of Judæa no doubt gave its defenders a certain advantage, though the elevation of the hills is not great, in no case exceeding 4000 feet. There was no call upon Jonathan, either of duty or of honour, to forego this advantage.

71. *with me is the power of the cities.*] The force of this argument is not quite clear. Perhaps Apollonius means that he might shut himself up in his walled cities, if he liked, as Jonathan shut himself up in his fastnesses, and that thus there was no unfairness in his asking the Jewish leader to come down and fight him in the open plain. Each side would be making a sacrifice.

72. *thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land.*] By "thy fathers" we are probably to understand "thy predecessors"—"those who have headed this revolt before thee"—Apollonius not caring to be accurate about the relationship. What two occasions are intended is uncertain; but probably one of them is the battle in which Judas was slain (ch. ix. 14–18), while the other may be either the defeat of Joseph and Azarias (ch. v. 60), or that of Judas near Beth-Zacharias, which was partially redeemed by the exploit of Eleazar (ch. vi. 42–47). It is surprising that Apollonius did not enlarge his taunt, since there were more occasions of defeat than these. (See ch. ii. 38; v. 67; vii. 19; ix. 2, 36, &c.)

73. *thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen.*] Cavalry was the arm in which the Syrians placed their principal trust. In B.C. 166–5 Nicanor and Gorgias brought into the field 7000 horse (ch. iii. 39); and Lysias, in the ensuing year, had 5000 (ch. iv. 28).

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B. C. cir. 148. great a power in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto.

74 So when Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and choosing ten thousand men he went out of Jerusalem, where Simon his brother met him for to help him.

75 And he pitched his tents against Joppe: but they of Joppe shut him out of the city, because Apollonius had a garrison there.

76 Then Jonathan laid siege unto it: whereupon they of the city let him in for fear: and so Jonathan won Joppe.

B. C. cir. 148.

77 Whereof when Apollonius heard, he took three thousand horsemen, with a great host *of footmen*, and went to Azotus [a]as one that journeyed, and therewithal [b]drew him forth into the plain, because he had a great number of horsemen, in whom he put his trust.

[a] Or, *as though he would pass through it.*

[b] Or, *led his company.*

78 Then *Jonathan* followed after him to Azotus, where the armies joined battle.

The horsemen of the same commander in B.C. 163–2 are reckoned at 20,000 (ch. vi. 30). Cavalry, however, was of little service among the Judæan hills, which were unsuitable for its movements; and an army, the chief strength of which was in its horse, would naturally desire to meet its enemy "in the plain."

where is neither stone nor flint.] Rather, "neither stone nor **shingle**." The statement is an exaggeration, but expresses in a graphic way the general contrast that exists between the hill-country of Judæa and the low Philistine plain at its base.

nor place to flee unto.] Rather, "nor place **for flight**." In the plain there was no place where flight would not be disastrous, and consequently no situation that tempted to it.

74. *when Jonathan heard these words, . . . he was moved in his mind.*] The taunts used had their intended effect. Unlike the great Fabius (Liv. xxii. 12), Jonathan allowed himself to be "moved" by them, and descended from the high ground to the level plain, there to meet his rival. Better fortune than he deserved awaited him (*vv.* 78–84).

choosing ten thousand men.] Judas, as we have seen (*v.* 36), had at one time brought into the field more than 13,000. Jonathan seems now to have at his command not fewer than 20,000. (See Grimm, *ad loc.*)

where Simon his brother met him.] Rather, "**and** Simon, his brother, met him." The place of meeting is not indicated.

75. *he pitched his tents against Joppe.*] Joppe, or Joppa (now Jaffa), is generally spoken of as "the port of Jerusalem." It was the principal harbour on the sea-board belonging to Judæa, which was of restricted dimensions, shut in by Philistia on the one hand and Phœnicia on the other. Allotted to Dan at the time of Joshua's conquest of Palestine (Josh. xix. 46), and apparently reoccupied at the return from the Captivity (Ezra iii. 7), it had at all times a Jewish population, which may have encouraged Jonathan to select it as the object of his first attempt against Apollonius. It would seem to be implied, in the latter part of the verse, that the population would have admitted him within the walls at once, had they not been overawed by the foreign garrison which Apollonius had put there.

76. *they of the city.*] *I.e.* "the native inhabitants." They took heart after a while, and admitted Jonathan despite the Syrian garrison.

77. *he took three thousand horsemen.*] Literally, "he put under arms," or "formed an expedition of" three thousand horsemen, &c. These evidently constituted his main force, and were his chief dependence (*v.* 73). It might well have seemed that in the smooth Philistian plain they would be irresistible.

and went to Azotus as one that journeyed.] Instead of marching northwards from Jamnia (*v.* 69) against Joppa, Apollonius, as though unconscious or careless of Jonathan's movement, proceeded southwards, as if he were making a mere tour of inspection, towards Azotus, spreading his troops over the plain, and thus tempting Jonathan to make an attack upon him.

and therewithal drew him forth into the plain.] Rather, "and therewithal **kept advancing** into the plain." Προῆγεν is imperfect, not aorist, and intransitive, not transitive. The action of Apollonius in spreading his troops is described.

78. *Jonathan followed after him to Azotus.*] Thus, once more, taking the exact course which Apollonius desired, and for which his plans had been laid. Apollonius must have been delighted to see that his enemy fell, as it seemed, blindly into the trap laid for him.

where the armies joined battle.] This is said with some vagueness. The armies joined

B. C. cir. 148.

79 Now Apollonius had left a thousand horsemen in ambush.

80 And Jonathan knew that there was an ambushment behind him; for they had compassed in his host, and cast darts at the people, from morning till evening.

81 But the people stood still, as Jonathan had commanded them: and so the ‖ enemies' horses were tired.

‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

82 Then brought Simon forth his host, and set them against the footmen, (for the horsemen were spent,) who were discomfited by him, and fled.

83 The horsemen also, being scattered in the field, fled to Azotus, and went into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple, for safety.

B. C. cir. 148.

84 But Jonathan set fire on Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took their spoils; and the temple of Dagon, with them that were fled into it, he burned with fire.

85 Thus there were burned and slain with the sword well nigh eight thousand men.

86 And from thence Jonathan removed his host, and camped against Ascalon, where the men of the city

battle in the neighbourhood of Azotus, not directly under the walls of the town. When the horsemen of Apollonius were "scattered in the field," they "fled to Azotus" (*v.* 83).

79. *in ambush.*] Josephus says that they were concealed in the channel of a winter torrent, which is highly probable.

80. *Jonathan knew.*] How Jonathan discovered the ambush, we are not told. He can scarcely have conjectured its existence from the mere fact, that he was surrounded and harassed with darts from morning till evening. Probably he had information from his scouts, or through deserters from the enemy.

81. *the people stood still.*] If a retreat had been ordered, the ambush would have risen up in the path of the retreating army, and would most probably have completed its discomfiture. By remaining in the position where he was attacked, and sturdily maintaining his ground, Jonathan rendered the ambush wholly useless.

the enemies' horses were tired.] The horse of Apollonius did not charge, but hovered about the force of Jonathan, and, galloping hither and thither, discharged its arrows at them. Jonathan's troops remaining absolutely on the defensive, in course of time the assailants grew weary. Both horses and men were tired out by their long-continued exertions.

82. *Then brought Simon forth his host.*] The troops of Simon had, apparently, not been as yet engaged. When the horse of Apollonius, exhausted by its efforts, desisted from the assault, and retired, Simon's force attacked the infantry of the Syrians, which was defeated with ease.

83. *The horsemen . . . went into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple.*] A temple, as the Greeks understood the term, was a consecrated space, walled round, within which, and occupying only a small part of it, was a sacred building, constituting the sanctuary or shrine. In the open space between the outer wall and the sanctuary, a beaten force not unfrequently took refuge. (See Thucyd. iv. 96, 97; and cf. above, ch. v. 43.) Beth-Dagon, "the house of Dagon," was the native name of the entire consecrated space which was sacred to that deity. Dagon's temple at Ashdod (Azotus) is mentioned in 1 Sam. v. 2–5. (On the position of Dagon in the mythology of Phœnicia, see note in "Speaker's Commentary" on Judg. xvi. 23; and cf. Rawlinson's 'Ancient Religions,' pp. 162–164.)

84. *the temple of Dagon, with them that were fled into it, he burned with fire.*] As Judas had done with the temple of Ashteroth-Karnaim, and those who sought refuge in it (*suprà*, ch. v. 44. See the comment on the passage).

86. *Jonathan . . . camped against Ascalon.*] Ascalon, or Askelon, one of the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. v. 16–18), appears as a place of importance in the Syrian wars of Rameses II.—the probable Pharaoh of the Israelite oppression—about B.C. 1350. It lay in the tract assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 45–47), and was conquered by the men of that tribe soon after Joshua's death (Judg. i. 18), but soon regained its independence (*ib.* xiv. 19). About the year B.C. 700, it was taken by Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 431). In the great Scythian invasion of B.C. 630–620, it was occupied by the hordes, who plundered its temple of Astarté, or Atargatis (Herod. i. 105), but otherwise did it no injury. On the return of the Jews from the Captivity, we find it still spoken of as powerful (Zech. ix. 5), and threatened with destruction. It now appears for the first time in the Maccabean wars, and seems to have been a place of no great strength, since it submits at once. The

B. C. cir. 148. came forth, and met him with great pomp.

87 After this returned Jonathan and his host unto Jerusalem, having many spoils.

88 Now when king Alexander heard these things, he honoured Jonathan yet more,

89 And sent him a buckle of gold, as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood: he gave him also Accaron with the borders thereof in possession.

CHAPTER XI.

B. C. cir. 146.

12 *Ptolemeus taketh away his daughter from Alexander, and entereth upon his kingdom.* 17 *Alexander is slain, and Ptolemeus dieth within three days.* 20 *Jonathan besieged the tower at Jerusalem.* 26 *The Jews and he are much honoured by Demetrius,* 48 *who is rescued by the Jews from his own subjects in Antioch.* 56 *Antiochus the younger honoureth Jonathan.* 61 *His exploits in divers places.*

AND the king of Egypt gathered together a great host, like the sand that lieth upon the sea shore, cir. 145.

position of Ascalon, half-way between Ashdod and Gaza, on the Philistine coast, is well ascertained, a small village, which occupies the site, still retaining the name.

89. *a buckle of gold.*] A buckle or rather a broach (*πόρπη, fibula*), was commonly used to fasten the cloak, or shawl, which formed the chief outer garment of both Greeks and Orientals, and prevent it from falling off the wearer. The most ordinary place for it was above the right shoulder. Several shapes were employed; but the most common was a flat circular ring with a pin passing across its centre.

as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood.] Cf. ch. xi. 58; xiv. 44. The usage here mentioned seems to have been peculiar to the Syrian kings. At least it is not recorded of any others.

he gave him also Accaron.] "Accaron" is the ordinary form used in the Septuagint to express the Hebrew Ekron. This was, like Ascalon, one of the five associated cities of the Philistines. It was the most northern of the five, and the nearest to the Hebrew border. The site is probably identified with that of the modern "Akir," a small village about five miles south-west of Ramleh, and three miles east of Yebna.

in possession.] Grimm suggests that the gift was not a transfer of jurisdiction, but a mere assignment to Jonathan individually, during his lifetime, of the crown revenues of Ekron. He compares Thucyd. i. 138; Corn. Nep. 'Vit. Themist.,' § 10; 2 Macc. iv. 30. But the term used—*κληροδοσία*—seems to imply a more complete and absolute cession.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. EXPEDITION OF PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR INTO SYRIA—HIS CRAFTY PROCEEDINGS, AND DEFEAT OF ALEXANDER — HIS DEATH. DEMETRIUS II. MOUNTS THE THRONE.

1–17. The issue of the war between Alexander Balas and the younger Demetrius was decided by the defection of Ptolemy. The cause of his defection is uncertain. Josephus says that Balas had formed designs against his life ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 6), and that, on discovering them, Ptolemy changed sides and went over to Demetrius. But our author takes an entirely different view (*vv.* 10, 11), and he is supported to some extent by Diodorus (Müller's 'Fragmenta Hist. Gr.,' vol. ii. Fr. 19, p. xvi.). Diodorus regards Ptolemy as having entered Syria with the intention of assisting Balas, and as changing his mind on finding that his son-in-law was wholly weak and incapable. Our author thinks that he was false and treacherous from the first (*v.* 1). But both agree that he invented the charge against Balas as a mere pretext for deserting him. And probability leans this way. Ptolemy seems to have been moved wholly by ambition. He thought that he saw in the weakness of Balas and the distressed state of Syria, an opportunity for his own aggrandizement, and he resolved to take advantage of it. Whether he aimed at annexing all Syria, or only Cœlesyria and Palestine, is perhaps uncertain. He may have aimed originally at the greater design and have ultimately acquiesced in the lesser. But his ambitious schemes, whatever dimensions they may have had, were cut short by his death, which was caused by the wounds received in the great battle in which Balas lost his crown (*vv.* 15–18). His removal, and that of Balas, by the treachery of an Arab sheikh, left the throne vacant for Demetrius II., who was generally recognised as Syrian king in the year B.C. 146–5.

1. *the king of Egypt.*] Ptolemy Philometor, who had assisted Balas previously, and given him his daughter in marriage (ch. x. 56–58).

gathered together a great host, like the sand that lieth upon the sea shore.] The author is here poetical beyond his wont. But the phrase was too familiar to the Jews to seem forced or out of place. (See Gen. xxii. 17;

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B. C. c.r. 146. and many ships, and went about through deceit to get Alexander's kingdom, and join it to his own.

2 Whereupon he took his journey into Syria in peaceable manner, so as they of the cities opened unto him, and met him: for king Alexander had commanded them so to do, because he was his father in law.

3 Now as Ptolemee entered into the cities, he set in every one of them a garrison of soldiers to keep it.

4 And when he came near to Azotus, they shewed him the temple of Dagon that was burnt, and Azotus and the suburbs thereof that were destroyed, and the bodies that were cast abroad, and them that he had burnt in the battle; for they had made heaps of them by the way where he should pass. B. C. cir. 146.

5 Also they told the king whatsoever Jonathan had done, to the intent he might blame him: but the king held his peace.

6 Then Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppe, where they saluted one another, and ‖ lodged. ‖ Gr. *slept*

7 Afterward Jonathan, when he had gone with the king to the river called Eleutherus, returned again to Jerusalem.

8 King Ptolemee therefore, having gotten the dominion of the cities by

xxxii. 12; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. vii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 1 Kings iv. 29.)

many ships.] Egypt was a naval power from a very early date. A sea-fight between the Egyptians and the Tekaru is represented in the sculptures of Rameses III. (See Rosellini, 'Monumenti Storici,' pl. cxxxi.) Neco had two fleets, one in the Red Sea and another in the Mediterranean (Herod. ii. 159). Apries fought at sea with the Tyrians (*ib.* 161). Egypt furnished 200 triremes to the fleet of Xerxes (*ib.* vii. 89, § 2). Under the Ptolemies a large navy was maintained (Polyb. v. 34, 35); and even Cleopatra was able to furnish Antony with sixty ships at Actium.

went about through deceit to get Alexander's kingdom.] This is probably a false charge. The writer has a strong bias in favour of Balas, and therefore a strong prejudice against all those who were instrumental in effecting his downfall. Diodorus, who has no feeling either way, says that Ptolemy entered Syria with the full intention of helping Balas (Fr. xix.). So also Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 5).

2. *they of the cities opened unto him.*] *I.e.* admitted him within their walls, with his troops.

and met him.] In friendly fashion, and probably with pomp and display. (Compare ch. x. 86.)

3. *Ptolemee . . . set in every one of them a garrison.*] The writer sees in this an ill intention; but it would have been quite natural for a friend and ally, whose forces were large (*v.* 1), to strengthen the garrisons in the various towns through which he passed, in order to secure them against the partisans of the pretender.

4. *the temple of Dagon that was burnt.*] See above, ch. x. 84. Jonathan's proceedings had been high-handed and harsh, but not beyond what the usages of war were held to justify. The Ashdodites hoped that Ptolemy would regard them as not warranted under the circumstances; but either he thought differently, or else he wished to avoid a rupture with the Jewish leader, who had shewn himself at once an able general and a faithful subject. Hence he took no notice of the Ashdodite complaints (*v.* 5).

6. *Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppe.*] After reducing Ascalon, Jonathan had returned to Jerusalem (ch. x. 87). It was open to him to have remained there; but no doubt the recognised etiquette of the time and country pointed out as proper the course which he took, namely, that of meeting the Egyptian king, and escorting him as far as he conveniently could. He met him "at Joppe," as the first city towards the south which he could claim as his own, Gaza, Ascalon, and Ashdod being Philistine, and not Judæan.

7. *the river called Eleutherus.*] The Eleutherus is made by Strabo the boundary between Syria and Palestine (xvi. p. 753). It is mentioned also by Pliny ('H. N.' v. 17) and Ptolemy (v. 15). The former says that it flows from Lebanon and empties itself into the sea between Tripolis and Orthosia. These notices are sufficient to identify it with the modern Nahr-el-Kebir, which has "its highest source at the north-east base of Lebanon," and "sweeps round the northern end of the range," falling into the sea about twenty-five miles north of Tarabulus (Tripolis). "During summer and autumn the Eleutherus is but a small stream, easily forded; but in winter it swells into a large and rapid river" (Porter, in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 519).

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B. C. cir. 146. the sea unto Seleucia upon the sea coast, imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.

9 Whereupon he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius, saying, Come, let us make a league betwixt us, and I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign in thy father's kingdom:

10 For I repent that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.

11 Thus did he slander him, because he was desirous of his kingdom. B. C. cir. 145.

12 Wherefore he took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius, and forsook Alexander, so that their hatred was openly known.

13 Then Ptolemee entered into Antioch, where he set two crowns upon his head, the crown of Asia, and of Egypt.

14 In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia, because those

8. *Seleucia upon the sea coast.*] There were numerous Seleucias. The most important was that built by Seleucus Nicator on the right bank of the Lower Tigris, opposite to which arose the city of Ctesiphon in Parthian times. This was an inland city. There was also an inland Seleucia in Syria on the course of the Orontes. From this the maritime Seleucia—the port of Antioch—is distinguished, as ἡ παραθαλασσία, or ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ (Polyb. v. 59). It lay some seven or eight miles north of the mouth of the Orontes, at the foot of a lofty mountain known as Mount Coryphæus, and was the second city of Syria Proper during the Seleucid period. The site, which is still known as Selefkiyeh, is marked by some considerable ruins (Chesney, 'Journal of the Royal Geograph. Society,' vol. viii. p. 228 *et seqq.*).

imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.] It may have been when he was at Seleucia that Ptolemy became convinced of the utter incapacity of Balas (Diod. Sic. Fr. 19), and resolved on a "new departure." Relinquishing the idea of supporting his son-in-law against Demetrius, he made up his mind to come to terms with the latter. To justify his change of sides, he professed to have discovered a plot laid by Balas against his life (*infra*, v. 10; Diod. Sic. *l. s. c.*); but of the existence of this plot there is no evidence.

9. *he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius.*] Demetrius was probably still in Cilicia, where Balas was confronting him with the chief forces of the empire (see *v.* 14). Ptolemy could easily communicate with him by sea.

I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath.] Divorce for political reasons was common at the time among all the Oriental princes. Ptolemy evidently regarded his daughter as a mere pawn to be played in the political game—to be married, divorced, remarried, perhaps divorced anew, at his pleasure. It is not clear how or when he obtained possession of her—whether at Ptolemaïs, or when he was received into Antioch.

10. *he sought to slay me.*] It is certain that Ptolemy made this charge against Balas (Diod. Sic. *l. s. c.*; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 6); whether justly or not is disputed. Diodorus considered the charge to have been unjust; Josephus admits its truth.

11. *Thus did he slander him.*] Ἐψόγησεν is not "slandered," but simply "**blamed**"—"**found fault with.**" Our author does not distinctly state whether he believed the accusation or not.

12. *he took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius.*] So Livy ('Epit.' lii.) and Diodorus (Fr. xix.).

13. *Then Ptolemee entered into Antioch.*] Diodorus (*l. s. c.*) enters into some detail. On quitting Antioch and marching into Cilicia to meet Demetrius, Balas had entrusted affairs to two men, Hierax and Diodotus. These persons, regarding his cause as desperate when Ptolemy declared against him, and being afraid of Demetrius because they had taken part against his father, made the city over to Ptolemy, in the hope that he would accept the government and protect them against both the Syrian princes. Outwardly he acquiesced in their plans, entered the city as Syrian king, and assumed the diadem; but secretly he came to an agreement with Demetrius to resign the crown in his favour, and retain only Cœlesyria and Palestine.

he set two crowns upon his head.] We must not understand this literally. The meaning is, that he accepted a second crown. Being already king of Egypt, he allowed himself to be crowned also as king of Syria. Hence, Polybius gives him the title (xl. 12).

the crown of Asia.] Syria was reckoned the *great* Asiatic monarchy at this time, the successor of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. The Seleucidæ, like the Achæmenidæ (Herod. i. 4; iv. 1, 118, 119), claimed to be "lords of Asia." (Compare above, ch. viii. 6.)

14. *In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia.*] Demetrius set himself up for king in Cilicia (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4,

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B. C. cir. 146. that dwelt in those parts had revolted from him.

15 But when Alexander heard of this, he came to war against him: whereupon *king* Ptolemee brought forth *his host*, and met him with a mighty power, and put him to flight.

16 So Alexander fled into Arabia, there to be defended; but king Ptolemee was exalted:

17 For Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head, and sent it unto Ptolemee. B. C. cir. 146.

18 King Ptolemee also died the third day after, ‖and they that were in the strong holds were slain one of another. ‖ Gr. *and those that were in the holds were slain of those that were in the holds.*

19 By this means Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year.

20 At the same time Jonathan gathered together them that were

§ 3), and was there supported by the bulk of the inhabitants. Balas attacked him in that country, and was still engaged in the struggle when he heard of the movement that had taken place in his rear. Regarding Ptolemy as the more dangerous of his two enemies, he retraced his steps, and marched upon Antioch, near which the battle was fought that cost him his crown (Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 16).

16. *Alexander fled into Arabia.*] Diodorus confirms this. "Alexander," he says, "after his defeat, fled with 500 followers to the place called Abæ in Arabia, to the dynast Diocles, with whom he had previously placed his infant son, Antiochus. Then two of those who had accompanied him, the captains Heliades and Casius, sent a message secretly to Demetrius, promising that, if he would grant them their lives, they would assassinate Alexander. Demetrius agreeing to this, from traitors they became murderers, and put the king to death. Alexander was in this way made away with by his friends" (Fr. xx.).

17. *Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head.*] Zabdiel is probably the person whom Diodorus calls "Diocles." The bearing of two names is characteristic of the Maccabee period. If, as is probable, he was privy to the designs and proceedings of Heliades and Casius, the murder might with reason be ascribed to him. His sending Alexander's head to Ptolemy is parallel to the act of those who brought Pompey's head to Julius Cæsar. The intention was to give actual proof of the death to the person chiefly interested.

18. *King Ptolemee also died the third day after.*] Ptolemy died of an injury received in the battle. His skull was fractured by a fall from his horse, and he was obliged to submit to an operation similar to the modern "trepanning." But either the surgeons were unskilful, or his system could not bear the shock, and he expired under the knife. (See Livy, 'Epit.' lii.)

they that were in the strongholds were slain one of another.] Literally, "those who were in the strongholds were slain by those who were in the strongholds." The meaning seems to be, that the garrisons which Ptolemy had left in the walled cities along the Syrian coast (*vv.* 3, 9) were massacred by the native inhabitants of the cities.

19. *Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year.*] The year beginning in October B.C. 146, and terminating in October B.C. 145.

§ 2. JONATHAN, HAVING LAID SIEGE TO THE SYRIAN FORTRESS AT JERUSALEM, IS SUMMONED TO MEET DEMETRIUS AT PTOLEMAÏS—FAVOURABLE RESULT OF THE INTERVIEW.

20–37. On the death of Balas and accession of Demetrius II., who could not but have his hands full under the troubled circumstances of the time, Jonathan thought that he saw an opportunity of quietly relieving Jerusalem of an ever-impending danger, by reducing the fortress which Epiphanes had set up (ch. i. 33–36), and which had sheltered a foreign garrison ever since. He accordingly collected siege artillery, and set himself down before the place (ch. xi. 20). But his enemies were too watchful to allow such an important matter to be carried through without opposition. They at once made representations to Demetrius (*v.* 21) on the subject, and prevailed on him to summon Jonathan to a conference, where he should give account of his proceedings (*v.* 22). Jonathan, who trusted much to his address and personal influence, obeyed the summons, and met Demetrius at Ptolemaïs, probably in B.C. 145. Terms of peace were agreed upon. Demetrius confirmed Jonathan in the High Priest's office, "gave him pre-eminence among his chief friends" (*v.* 27), and consented to most of the remissions previously offered by his father (ch. x. 29–43); but, in return, he required a payment of 300 talents (*v.* 28), and the continuance of the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem (implied in the subsequent history). The letter containing the terms, after delivery to Jonathan, was to

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B. C. cir. 145. in Judea, to take the tower that was in Jerusalem: and he made many engines of war against it.

21 Then certain ungodly persons, who hated their own people, went unto the king, and told him that Jonathan besieged the tower.

22 Whereof when he heard, he was angry, and immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not lay siege to the tower, but come and speak with him at Ptolemais in great haste.

23 Nevertheless Jonathan, when he heard this, commanded to besiege it *still:* and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and the priests, and put himself in peril; B. C. cir. 145.

24 And took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides, and went to Ptolemais unto the king, where he found favour in his sight.

25 And [a] though certain ungodly men of the people had made complaints against him, [a] ch. 10. 61, &c.

26 Yet the king entreated him as his predecessors had done before, and promoted him in the sight of all his friends,

27 And [b] confirmed him in the high priesthood, and in all the ho- [b] ch. 10. 20. & 14. 38. ver. 57.

be "set in a conspicuous place upon the holy mount" (*v.* 37).

20. *the tower that was in Jerusalem.*] See ch. i. 35; iv. 41; vi. 19–26, 32; ix. 53; x. 6–9 and 32.

he made many engines.] "Engines" were commonly made for the occasion of a siege, and probably broken up when the siege was over. They were too cumbersome to be generally kept in store and conveyed from place to place. (See ch. vi. 31, 52; ix. 64; xv. 25.) Still, we hear occasionally of "great provision" of them being laid up in a fortified town (2 Macc. xii. 27).

21. *certain ungodly persons.*] Literally, "transgressors of the law"—men who had cast off its authority, and desired to Hellenize the nation. (Compare above, ch. ii. 44; iii. 6, &c.; and see the comment on ch. x. 61.)

who hated their own people.] No doubt the feelings of the Hellenizers towards their orthodox brethren were very bitter; but so were those of the orthodox towards them (ch. ii. 44; iii. 5–8; vii. 24, &c.). Neither party "hated their own people." Both sought its advancement, but in different ways.

22. *he was angry.*] Demetrius I. had "yielded up his authority over the tower," and "given it to the High Priest, that he might set in it such as he should choose to keep it" (ch. x. 32). But this gift had been cancelled by the determination of the Jews to support Balas. Demetrius II., the present king, naturally regarded the citadel of Jerusalem as a part of his dominions, and resented the attack upon it as an act of war against himself.

immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais.] Probably from Antioch. His rapid movement would shew Jonathan that he was in earnest; and his presence at Ptolemaïs, within a hundred miles of Jerusalem, would be something of a menace. At the same time it might be viewed as an act of polite consideration, relieving Jonathan from the necessity of making a longer journey.

23. *Jonathan . . . put himself in peril.*] No doubt he incurred a considerable risk by going to Ptolemaïs, especially as he had declined to desist from the siege of "the tower." He had confidence, however, in his own adroitness, and in his power of purchasing impunity, and even favour. He may have also calculated that Demetrius would be afraid to exasperate the entire Jewish nation by treacherously arresting their High Priest and king.

24. *took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides.*] Intending evidently to procure the favour of others besides the king. Jonathan felt that if he could dispose favourably towards himself the minds of the royal attendants, officers, and ministers, he would be tolerably sure of gaining their master also. Gifts of "raiment" have always been common in the East (Gen. xxiv. 53, xlv. 22; 2 Kings v. 5; 2 Chr. ix. 24, &c.).

26. *the king entreated him as his predecessors had done before.*] The reference is especially to the treatment which Jonathan had received at the hands of Balas (ch. x. 59–65), but may include also some allusion to the "loving words" of Demetrius I. recorded in ch. x. 3–6. Ptolemy Philometor would scarcely be recognised by Demetrius II. among his "predecessors."

promoted him.] Rather, "exalted him"—*i.e.* paid him marked respect and honour.

27. *confirmed him in the high priesthood.*] The same expression is used with respect to Alcimus in ch. vii. 9, where it seems to mean

B. C. cir. 145 nours that he had before, and gave him preeminence among his chief friends.

28 Then Jonathan desired the king, that he would make Judea free from tribute, as also the three governments, with the country of Samaria; and he promised him three hundred talents.

29 So the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan of all these things after this manner:

30 King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan, and unto the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: B. C. cir. 145.

31 We send you here a copy of the letter which we did write unto our cousin Lasthenes concerning you, that ye might see it.

32 King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting:

33 We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with

"conferred on him the high priesthood;" but here confirmation in the office, rather than appointment to it, is clearly intended. (See the next clause.) Jonathan had been appointed High Priest by Balas (ch. x. 20).

all the honours that he had before.] As the right to wear a crown of gold (ch. x. 20), a buckle of gold (*ib.* 89), and a purple robe (*ib.* 20), together with the official titles of "general" and "provincial governor" (*ib.* 65).

gave him preeminence among his chief friends.] Grimm translates "made (men) regard him as among his chief friends," which is a possible rendering of the original; but the meaning suggested by our translators is a more natural one. The "preeminence" was perhaps confined to the occasion.

28. *Then Jonathan desired the king, that he would make Judea free from tribute.*] This was a bold proposal. Sovereignty over a subject nation in the East is chiefly marked by payment of tribute, and dominion over foreign races is chiefly sought as a means of increasing the revenue. To ask exemption from tribute was almost equivalent to asking independence. It is true that the king's father, Demetrius I., had promised such exemption (ch. x. 29, 30); but only in an emergency, when the Jews had shewn a preference for his rival, and with the object of outbidding him. Demetrius II. was as yet in no such difficulties. The boldness of Jonathan at this time is thus scarcely diminished by the fact of the elder Demetrius's offer. He had to persuade the Syrian king that the friendship of the Jewish nation was worth a large pecuniary sacrifice. It may be questioned whether he would have succeeded had he not been prepared to offer a considerable immediate payment for the help of the king's necessities.

as also the three governments.] Compare above, ch. x. 30, 38; and below, *v.* 34.

with the country of Samaria.] A corruption of the text is here suspected. Jonathan would scarcely have stipulated for the exemption from tribute of Samaria, a hostile country, in whose welfare he had no interest. The true reading is probably *ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρειτίδος*, or *ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας*. (See *v.* 34, and compare ch. x. 38.)

three hundred talents.] About 72,000*l.* of our money.

30. *King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan.*] Compare ch. x. 18. The term "brother" corresponded in the diplomacy of the time to the "mon cousin" of modern Europe. It marked admission into the privileged circle of royal personages.

and unto the nation of the Jews.] Compare ch. x. 25. Alexander had addressed Jonathan only; Demetrius I. the Jewish nation only; Demetrius II. addressed the two in combination.

31. *our cousin Lasthenes.*] It is a reasonable conjecture that this "Lasthenes" is the Cretan who (according to Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 5) collected the troops with which Demetrius II. effected his landing in Cilicia. His services had probably been rewarded by the governorship of Cœlesyria, on which Judæa was to a certain extent dependent. The terms granted to Jonathan had therefore to be communicated to him, and it was sufficient to send the Jews a copy of the communication. The term "cousin" of our version is somewhat too definite, the true correspondent of the Greek *συγγενὴς* being "kinsman."

that ye might see it.] Rather, "that ye *may* see it." The clause depends, not on "we did write," but on "we send you here."

32. *his father Lasthenes.*] Like "kinsman," this is a title of honour. Its application to Lasthenes implies that he was a man of some considerable age. (Compare 2 Kings ii. 12; v. 13; xiii. 14, &c.)

33. *keep covenants with us.*] Rather, "observe their duties towards us."

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B. C. cir. 145. us, because of their good will toward us.

34 ‖ Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and [c] all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the payments which the king received of them yearly aforetime out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.

35 And as for other things that belong unto us, of the tithes and customs pertaining unto us, as also [d] the saltpits, and the crown taxes, which are due unto us, we discharge them of them all for their relief.

36 And nothing hereof shall be revoked from this time forth for ever.

37 Now therefore see that thou make a copy of these things, and let it be delivered unto Jonathan, and set upon the holy mount in a conspicuous place.

38 After this, when king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet be-

‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

[c] ch. 10. 42.

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[d] ch. 10. 29.

There had not as yet been any "covenant" between the Jews and Demetrius II.

because of their good will.] The good will had been shewn by the professions, gifts, and especially the promises of Jonathan (*v.* 28), whom Demetrius was willing to regard as representing the feelings of his nation.

34. *the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem.*] See the comment on ch. x. 30.

that are added.] Rather, "that **were** added." The aorist expresses a definite point of past time. (Compare ch. x. 38.)

for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem.] A distinction is drawn between those Jews who offered sacrifice at Jerusalem and those who had laid aside the practice. Only the former were to be exempt from the payments commonly exacted by the Syrian kings from their subjects. A strong inducement was thus held out for members of the Hellenizing party to go over to the side of the orthodox, since otherwise they would enjoy none of the new privileges.

instead of the payments, &c.] The syntax is difficult, and Grimm suggests that some word or words must have fallen out. But the general meaning is tolerably clear. Instead of the customary payments to the Syrian crown on account of each of the attached provinces and of Judæa itself, the provinces with their taxation were wholly made over to the Jews themselves, who were no longer to pay anything to their nominal sovereign, the Syrian monarch.

out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.] Compare ch. x. 30, and the comment *ad loc.*

35. *And as for other things.*] Rather, "as for **the** other things"—i.e. *all* the other heads of revenue.

of the tithes and customs.] See ch. x. 31, which shews that the Syrian crown levied a tax upon the tenths paid by the Jews for the support of the Levitical priesthood, and also upon other "dues" paid to the priestly authorities, *e.g.* the half shekel for the service of the sanctuary (Neh. x. 32; Matt. xvii. 24–27). Henceforth no claim was to be made by the Syrian crown on either of these two accounts.

the saltpits.] See the comment on ch. x. 29. Shallow ponds, connected with the Dead Sea, into which its water was admitted, and the salt then allowed to form itself by evaporation, are intended. (See Ezek. xlvii. 11; Zeph. ii. 9.)

the crown taxes.] See the comment on ch. x. 29.

37. *see that thou make a copy of these things.*] The copy here spoken of is not that which Demetrius sent to Jonathan (*v.* 31) in the form of a letter, written probably on parchment or paper, but one which Lasthenes was to have made, as a permanent memorial, and which was to be set up in a conspicuous place on the Temple mountain. It was probably inscribed, like other "memorials" of the kind (ch. viii. 22), on a bronze tablet.

§ 3. DEMETRIUS OFFENDS HIS NATIVE SOLDIERS — TRYPHO PREPARES TO BRING FORWARD ANTIOCHUS, SON OF BALAS— DEMETRIUS PROMISES JONATHAN TO RECALL THE SYRIAN GARRISONS FROM JUDÆA, IF THE JEWS WILL HELP HIM AGAINST HIS ENEMIES, BUT, THOUGH HELPED, BREAKS HIS PROMISE.

38–53. Demetrius II., after he had reigned a very short time, became unpopular. He is accused by Justin of laziness, by Livy of cruelty (Justin, xxxvi. 1; Liv. 'Epit.' lii.). According to our author, he gave offence by disbanding his Syrian troops, and maintaining an army of foreign mercenaries. The charges may, one and all, be true. That of

B. C. cir. 145. fore him, and that no resistance was made against him, he sent away all his forces, every one to his own place, except certain bands of strangers, whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen: wherefore all the forces of his fathers hated him.

39 Moreover there was one Tryphon, that had been of Alexander's part afore, who, seeing that all the host murmured against Demetrius, went to Simalcue the Arabian, that brought up Antiochus the young son of Alexander, B. C. cir. 145.

40 And lay sore upon him to deliver him *this young Antiochus*, that he might reign in his father's stead: he told him therefore all that Demetrius had done, and how his men of war were at enmity with him, and there he remained a long season.

41 In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius, that he

cruelty is to some extent confirmed by Diodorus, who says he was hated for his lawlessness (Fr. xxi.). The result was a rebellion, which for a time drove Demetrius from his throne (*vv.* 55, 56). It was while this rebellion was preparing that Jonathan, probably knowing the difficulties that beset Demetrius, made a request for the withdrawal from Judæa of the Syrian garrisons, which was favourably entertained by the Syrian king (*v.* 42). The king, however, required first to be helped against his enemies, whereupon Jonathan lent him a body of troops, which put down a rising in his capital. Regarding himself as now safe, the king flung his promise to the winds, did not withdraw the garrisons, and "estranged himself" from his recent ally (*vv.* 43–53).

38. *he sent away all his forces . . . except certain bands of strangers.*] Josephus is the only writer who confirms this ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 1); but it is, intrinsically, not improbable. Demetrius had gained his first successes by the swords of his mercenaries (see note on ch. x. 67), and had been opposed by the Syrian levies. He therefore naturally distrusted the latter.

whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen.] Certainly from Crete (ch. x. 67); possibly from Rhodes, Cyprus, and the islands of the Archipelago.

the forces of his fathers.] *I.e.* of his predecessors on the Syrian throne.

39. *there was one Tryphon.*] Tryphon is mentioned by Diodorus (Fr. xxi.), by Appian ('Syriac.' § 68), by Livy ('Epit.' lv.), and by Strabo (xvi. p. 752). His real name was Diodotus, Tryphon being a surname which he adopted after he had made himself king. He was a native of Casiana, a fortified place in the district belonging to the Apamea of Syria. Alexander Balas distinguished him with his favour, and appointed him, conjointly with Hierax, to take the direction of affairs at Antioch, when he marched into Cilicia to meet Demetrius (Diod. Sic. vol. x. p. 73). This trust he abused by admitting Ptolemy Philometor into the city after he had declared against Balas (see the comment on ch. xi. 13). We now find him playing a still bolder game. He conceives the design of bringing forward a pretender to dispute the crown with Demetrius, and ultimately murders his *protégé*, and makes himself king in his place.

Simalcue the Arabian.] Rather, "Imalcuë." He is called "Malchus" by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' *l. s. c.*), and "Jamblichus" by Diodorus (Fr. xxi.). Grimm conjectures that he was the son of the "Diocles," with whom Balas placed Antiochus, when danger first threatened him (Diod. Sic. Fr. xx.). But this is very uncertain. The name is probably a formation from the root *melek* (Arab. *malik*), "king."

Antiochus, the young son of Alexander.] Antiochus is said by Diodorus (Fr. xx.) to have been "an infant" (νήπιος) when placed with Diocles. If he was the son of Alexander by Cleopatra (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 68), who became his wife in B.C. 151, he could not, when Tryphon went to seek him in Arabia (B.C. 145), have been more than five years old. Livy (according to the extant reading) makes him as little as *two* ('Epit.' lii.); but the reading is with reason questioned, and a probable emendation ("puero" for "bimulo") makes Livy merely say that he was "quite a boy." This is perhaps as much as can be affirmed with certainty.

40. *And lay sore upon him.*] *I.e.* "importuned him"—"kept urging him continually."

there he remained a long season.] Literally, "many days." Probably not more is intended than a stay of some weeks.

41. *In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius.*] Demetrius's difficulty was Jonathan's opportunity. Affairs in Syria having reached the condition described in *vv.* 38–40, Jonathan thought the time was come when the Syrian king would be prepared to pay a considerable price for the Jewish alliance. He therefore made the proposal

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would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem, and those also in the fortresses: for they fought against Israel.

42 So Demetrius sent unto Jonathan, saying, I will not only do this for thee and thy people, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if opportunity serve.

43 Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men to help me; for all my forces are gone from me.

44 Upon this Jonathan sent him three thousand strong men unto Antioch: and when they came to the king, the king was very glad of their coming.

45 Howbeit they that were of the city gathered themselves together into the midst of the city, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and would have slain the king.

46 Wherefore the king fled into the court, but they of the city kept the passages of the city, and began to fight.

47 Then the king called to the Jews for help, who came unto him

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recorded in this verse. No doubt, he gave it to be understood that, if his request were granted, Demetrius would receive a *quid pro quo*.

that he would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem.] Cause, that is, the Syrian fortress in Jerusalem (Acra) to be evacuated.

and those also in the fortresses.] Bacchides had established Syrian garrisons in Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-horon, Bethel, Thamnatha-Pharathoni, Tephon, Beth-shur, and Gazara (ch. ix. 50–52). At the commencement of the war between Balas and Demetrius I., most of these places were evacuated (ch. x. 12, 13). Beth-shur, however, was not yielded (*ib. v.* 14), and probably others of the cities named were re-occupied. Jonathan asked that the garrisons should, one and all, be withdrawn.

they fought against Israel.] The main object of garrisoning the Jewish town was to afford a support to the Hellenizing Jews. It is not probable that the garrisons came often into collision with the patriots; but they were felt to be a hostile force ranged on the side of the opposite party.

42. *I will not only do this for thee, &c.*] Demetrius was prompt to promise, since he did not regard any promise as binding. He "dissembled in all that ever he spake" (*v.* 53). His short-sighted policy led him to tide over each difficulty, as it arose, by giving pledges which it was not his intention to redeem. The result was that his difficulties continually increased upon him. Probably a real honest alliance with Jonathan would have been more for his true interest than any other course. But he was not clear-sighted enough to see this. He supposed that political advantage was only to be gained by treachery and intrigue.

I will greatly honour thee and thy nation.] Literally, "Glorifying I will glorify thee." Cf. ch. xiv. 29, 39; xv. 9. The idiom is a common one in Hebrew (Gen. iii. 16; xxii. 17, &c.).

44. *three thousand strong men.*] This seems a weak contingent under the circumstances, and one from which no very important service could be expected. But even a small body of trained soldiers is of value against a city rabble, which was what Demetrius had chiefly to fear. His troops had been disbanded, and sent away to their homes (*v.* 38). It was the populace of Antioch that especially threatened disturbances—a populace very fickle, very unruly, and very cowardly. By "strong men" is meant "good soldiers, brave and experienced."

45. *they that were of the city gathered themselves together.*] This revolt, or riot, is not mentioned by the classical writers, whose notices of the reign of Demetrius II. are few and scanty. It is, however, quite in accord with the general character of the Antiochene populace.

to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men.] The population of Antioch is said to have amounted to 400,000; so that a riot in which 120,000 *men* took part would be quite possible.

46. *the king fled into the court.*] *I.e.* "into the palace." The rioters chose a time when he was outside the palace walls, hoping no doubt to seize his person; but in this intention they were baulked. Demetrius succeeded in escaping from them, and shutting himself up within the royal residence, which was a defensible position.

the passages.] The main "thoroughfares" of the city seem to be intended—those especially which led from the palace to the city gates. The object was to prevent the escape of the king.

47. *the king called to the Jews for help.*]

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B. C. cir. 145. all at once, and dispersing themselves through the city slew that day in the city to the number of an hundred thousand.

48 Also they set fire on the city, and gat many spoils that day, and delivered the king.

49 So when they of the city saw that the Jews had got the city as they would, their courage was abated: wherefore they made supplication to the king, and cried, saying,

‖ Or, *Be friends with us.* 50 ‖Grant us peace, and let the Jews cease from assaulting us and the city.

51 With that they cast away their weapons, and made peace; and the Jews were honoured in the sight of the king, and in the sight of all that were in his realm; and they returned to Jerusalem, having great spoils. B. C. cir. 145.

52 So king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him.

53 Nevertheless he dissembled in all that ever he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, neither rewarded he him according to the benefits which he had received of him, but troubled him very sore.

Josephus says, that Demetrius called to his aid "the Jews sent by Jonathan, *and his own mercenaries*" ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 3), which is probable. The latter, no doubt, amounted to some thousands (see *v.* 38). Together, they effected a great slaughter of the rioters; but we may be excused from believing that the slain were really 100,000. The estimate is manifestly one of the roughest kind; and we may detect in it the usual Oriental exaggeration.

48. *Also they set fire on the city.*] Perhaps not intentionally. In every great disturbance within an Oriental town, where the buildings are chiefly of wood, there is much danger of an accidental conflagration.

gat many spoils.] They had probably the king's permission to plunder, not only the persons, but the houses, of the rioters.

49. *their courage was abated.*] Literally, "they fainted in their spirits." (Cf. Is. vii. 4; where the LXX. have nearly the same expression.)

51. *they cast away their weapons.*] The rabble of Antioch was not an unarmed rabble. In the East almost every man carries some weapon or other, life being so insecure that it is necessary to have the means of defending it. The expression "cast away their arms" seems to imply, not so much a formal surrender, as a tumultuary movement, in which each strove to rid himself of the incumbrance of armour and weapons.

the Jews were honoured.] Rather, "**glorified**." The entire series of events was honourable to the Jews; and all faithful subjects of the Syrian king naturally gave them praise and glory. They had risked their lives in defence of the monarch—they had fought against enormous odds—they had carried all before them. Their exertions had saved the king's life (*v.* 48). Faithful subjects could not but give honour and glory to those who had so acted.

52. *the land was quiet before him.*] Cf. the opening clause of *v.* 38. Again, it must be understood that the tranquillity was of very short duration. Tryphon came forward as the champion of the young Antiochus before the close of the 168th Seleucid year, which began in October B.C. 145, and ended in October B.C. 144. Probably he was only absent a few months in Arabia, and proclaimed his *protégé* before the year B.C. 145 was ended. (See Clinton, 'Fasti Hellenici,' vol. iii. p. 327.)

53. *he dissembled in all that ever he spake.*] Rather, "he **gave the lie to all his professions**"—that is, all those that he had made to Jonathan (*vv.* 42, 43).

but troubled him very sore.] Josephus says that Demetrius threatened Jonathan with war, unless all the payments were made regularly, which had been customary under the early Syrian kings. This, if true, was a revocation of the terms granted by his letter (*vv.* 32–36), which had been set up by his orders in a conspicuous place upon the holy mount (*v.* 37). Nothing could be a more palpable breach of faith.

§ 4. TRYPHON BRINGS FORWARD ANTIOCHUS, SON OF BALAS, AND SEATS HIM UPON THE THRONE — FRIENDLY RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE NEW KING AND THE JEWS.

54–59. Tryphon found some difficulty in persuading the Arab chief (*v.* 39) to entrust Antiochus to his care; but his importunity prevailed after a time. Antiochus was proclaimed king in B.C. 145–4, and given the names of "Epiphanes" and "Dionysus." He could not have been more than five or six years old at the time. The disbanded sol-

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B. C. cir. 144.

54 After this returned Tryphon, and with him the young child Antiochus, who reigned, and was crowned.

55 Then there gathered unto him all the men of war, whom Demetrius had put away, and they fought against Demetrius, who turned his back and fled.

56 Moreover Tryphon took the ‖elephants, and won Antioch.

‖ Gr. *beasts.*

57 At that time young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm thee in the high priesthood, and appoint thee ruler over the four governments, and to be one of the king's friends.

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58 Upon this he sent him golden vessels ‖to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, and to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle.

‖ Gr. *and service.*

diers of Demetrius embraced his cause with ardour, and flocked to the standard of Tryphon, who marched upon Antioch, met Demetrius in the field and defeated him, captured his elephants, and became master of the capital (*vv.* 55, 56). Tryphon, upon this, caused letters to be written to Jonathan in the name of the boy-king, confirming him in the High Priesthood, and granting him various privileges (*vv.* 57, 58). At the same time, he conferred on Simon, Jonathan's brother, a military command extending from "the ladder of Tyre" to the borders of Egypt (*v.* 59).

54. *the young child Antiochus.*] See the comment on *v.* 39.

who reigned and was crowned.] Literally, "who reigned and assumed the diadem." The fact of the reign is proved by coins, which extend from the 168th Seleucid year to the 170th. It is allowed by Appian ('Syriaca,' § 68) and Diodorus (Fr. xxi.). Porphyry, on the other hand, omits it (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, p. 194). Of course the boy-king was a mere puppet in the hands of Tryphon, as Eupator was in those of Lysias (*supra*, ch. vi. 17, 63).

55. *there gathered unto him all the men of war whom Demetrius had put away.*] See above, *v.* 38. Diodorus tells us that Tryphon had at first only a small force, with which he took up a position near Chalcis, on the borders of Arabia. Demetrius despised him as a mere robber-chief, and ordered his arrest, but sent no expedition against him. Tryphon, thus left to himself, largely increased his troops, the discontented flocking to him from all quarters, so that Demetrius was compelled to regard him as a serious rival (Fr. xxi.).

they fought against Demetrius, who turned his back and fled.] The defeat of Demetrius by Tryphon is confirmed by Livy ('Epit.' lii.), who says that after the battle he fled to Seleucia. No description of the battle has come down to us.

56. *Tryphon took the elephants.*] Literally, "the *beasts*;" but no doubt elephants are meant. Though by the treaty of Magnesia the Syrian monarchs were to cease to maintain any war-elephants, they undoubtedly continued to do so. Antiochus Eupator had at least twenty-two (see the comment on ch. vi. 30). Demetrius is likely to have maintained at least as large a number.

and won Antioch.] The occupation of Antioch by Tryphon follows naturally from the retreat of Demetrius to Seleucia, attested by Livy ('Epit.' lii.). It has also the witness of Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17).

57. *young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan.*] The letter was, no doubt, written in the name of the young prince, but really emanated from Tryphon. (Compare ch. vi. 57–61.)

I confirm thee in the high priesthood.] Compare ch. x. 20; xi. 27.

and appoint thee ruler over the four governments.] The "four governments" are Judæa, Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathaim. See *v.* 34.

one of the king's friends.] See above, ch. x. 20, 65; ch. xi. 27.

58. *he sent him golden vessels to be served in.*] Literally, "golden vessels and service"—an instance of *hendiadys*. Our translation gives the true sense. Gifts of golden vessels, or ornaments, by kings to those whom they delighted to honour were common in the East from very ancient times. An Egyptian of the age of Thothmes III. (B.C. 1600) boasts that Amenophis I. had given him "two golden armlets, a bracelet, a sword, and a crown inlaid with gems;" Thothmes I., "two golden armlets, four collars, a bracelet, a sword, and two golden war-axes;" and Thothmes II., "two gold armlets, six collars, three bracelets, and a war axe of silver" ('Records of the Past,' vol. iv. p. 8). The Persian practice is abundantly witnessed to by Xenophon ('Cyrop.' viii. 3, § 35; 'Anab.' i. 2, § 27, &c.) and others. The Syro-Macedonians adopted the usage from the Persians.

gave him leave to drink in gold.] Com-

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B. C. cir. 144. 59 His brother Simon also he made captain from the place called The ladder of Tyrus unto the borders of Egypt.

60 Then Jonathan ‖ went forth, and passed through the cities beyond the water, and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to help him: and when he came to Ascalon, they of the city met him honourably.

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61 From whence he went to Gaza,

‖ Or, *went beyond the river, and passed through the cities,* or, *went and passed beyond the river and through the cities,* Gr.

pare 1 Esdras iii. 6. It may be doubted whether such permission was ever practically necessary, but it may have been a piece of court etiquette to grant it. So with ourselves, the Crown grants permission to a man to assume a name, which he can assume with equal ease apart from any such permission.

and to be clothed in purple.] See the comment on ch. x. 20.

and to wear a golden buckle.] Compare ch. x. 89, with the comment *ad loc.*

59. *His brother Simon.*] Simon had greatly distinguished himself in the war which Jonathan waged, on behalf of Alexander Balas, against Apollonius, the general of Demetrius (ch. x. 74–82), and seemed therefore to deserve special honour at the hands of Alexander's son.

the place called The ladder of Tyrus.] According to Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' ii. 10, § 2), "the ladder of Tyre" was a high mountain on the Syrian coast, 100 stades north of Ptolemaïs, or Acre. A lofty headland, the Ras-en-Nakhurah, which descends sheer into the sea, and effectually cuts off the Bay of Acre from the maritime plain to the north, is found in this position, and is generally regarded by modern travellers (Stanley, Porter, Robinson, &c.) as the "ladder" in question. It is surmounted by a path cut in zigzags, and exceedingly steep. Dean Stanley notes that it forms "the natural barrier between Phœnicia and Palestine" ('Sinai and Palestine,' p. 264).

the borders of Egypt.] The Wady-el-Arish (or "Torrens Ægypti") was commonly regarded as forming the southern boundary of Palestine and separating it from Egypt. Simon's authority over the tract within the limits named is somewhat doubtful. It certainly did not supersede that of his brother.

§ 5. Campaign of Jonathan on behalf of Antiochus VI.—Submission of Ascalon and Gaza—Battle of Kadesh.

60–74. Embracing with ardour the cause of the young king, Jonathan busied himself in bringing all Palestine, and Syria as far as Damascus, under his rule. He seems to have first received the submission of the Trans-Jordanic region (*v.* 60), after which he visited Philistia, occupied Ascalon, and besieged Gaza, which was forced to submit (*vv.* 61, 62). Hence he marched northward to Damascus, suppressing resistance on his way, and establishing everywhere the authority of the son of Balas. Meanwhile Demetrius had recovered from his first defeat, and recommenced the struggle for the Syrian crown. His generals proceeded against Palestine, which they entered on the north by way of Kedesh and Hazor. Jonathan met them near the site of the latter city, and a battle was fought, in which he narrowly escaped defeat and destruction, but ultimately retrieved the day by the help of two of his officers (*v.* 70), and gained a complete victory (*vv.* 73, 74). Meanwhile Simon, who had been left behind in Judæa, besieged Beth-zur, and forced it to surrender (*vv.* 65, 66).

60. *beyond the water.*] Rather, "beyond the river." "The river" here can only be the Jordan. Jonathan began with a progress through the Trans-Jordanic region, already well known to him from the expedition of Judas in B.C. 164 (ch. v. 24–52), which he accompanied, and from his own raid in B.C. 160 (ch. ix. 37–48).

all the forces of Syria.] The Syrian garrisons in Judæa are probably intended. They had embraced the cause of Antiochus, and were ready to give Jonathan all the help in their power. The main force of the empire, divided between Demetrius and Tryphon, carried on the civil war in the neighbourhood of Antioch.

when he came to Ascalon.] The transition is abrupt, and can only be excused by the author's desire of studying brevity. After arranging matters in the country east of the Jordan, Jonathan must have returned into Judæa proper, and commenced a second progress through Philistia, where he suspected disaffection. Ascalon, the first town which he visited, received him readily, being quite willing to acknowledge Antiochus as king.

61. *From whence he went to Gaza.*] Gaza was the most southern of the five cities forming the Philistine Pentapolis. It lay at the distance of twenty stades (2¼ miles) from the sea, about fifteen miles south-west of Ascalon. With the exception of Ashdod, it was the strongest of the cities; and its position

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but they of Gaza shut him out; wherefore he laid siege unto it, and burned ‖ the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them.

‖ Or, *the places thereabout.*

62 Afterward, when they of Gaza made supplication unto Jonathan, ‖ he made peace with them, and took the sons of their chief men for hostages, and sent them to Jerusalem, and passed through the country unto Damascus.

‖ Gr. *he gave them the right hand.*

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63 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Cades, which is in Galilee, with a great power, purposing ‖ to remove him out of the country,

‖ Or, *to remove him from the affairs of the kingdom.*

64 He went to meet them, and left Simon his brother in the country.

65 Then Simon encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it a long season, and shut it up:

gave it an importance beyond that which could be claimed even by Ashdod. It was the key of Syria on the one hand and of Egypt on the other. The ancient Egyptian Pharaohs had to occupy it before they could safely conduct any expedition into Asia; and hence it is frequently mentioned in the early hieroglyphical inscriptions, where it is called "Gazatu" ('Records of the Past,' vol. ii. pp. 38, 115, &c.). The Assyrian conquerors were equally bound to make themselves masters of it before they could invade Egypt; and hence we find accounts of its siege and capture in the inscriptions of the Sargonidæ. Sargon himself took it about B.C. 720, after defeating Khanun, its king. Asshur-bani-pal marched through it on his way to Egypt, and received the submission of its king (G. Smith, 'Assurbanipal,' pp. 18, 31). It is probably the "Cadytis" which was taken by Pharaoh-Necho (Herod. ii. 159). Cambyses made himself master of it before he entered Egypt (Pomp. Mel. i. 11); and Alexander the Great was detained before it for five months (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' ii. 26, 27). It is now "Ghuzzeh," a town of 16,000 inhabitants, on the verge of the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine.

they of Gaza shut him out.] Trusting, no doubt, in the strength of the position and the defences.

burned the suburbs.] As he had formerly burned those of Azotus (*supra*, *v.* 4).

62. *he . . . took the sons of their chief men for hostages.*] Compare ch. ix. 53, where Bacchides is represented as acting similarly. It marks the semi-independence of Jonathan, that he retained the hostages in his own power, and did not hand them over to Tryphon.

passed through the country unto Damascus.] Damascus was far beyond the limits of Jonathan's proper territory; but in his zeal to serve the cause of Antiochus he pushed his conquests as far north as this ancient town, which had once been the capital of Syria.

63. *Demetrius' princes.*] Literally, "Demetrius' *rulers*"—i.e. his generals.

Cades, which is in Galilee.] There were at least four cities of the name of Kadesh (= "Holy"), or Kedesh, one at the extreme south of Judah, known as Kadesh-Barnea (Num. xxxii. 8; Josh. x. 41); another in Issachar (Josh. xii. 22; 1 Chr. vi. 72); a third in Naphtali (Josh. xix. 37; Judg. iv. 6); and a fourth in the Orontes valley, the scene of the famous battle between Rameses II. and the Hittites ('Records of the Past,' vol. ii. pp. 67–78). The only one of these that was "in Galilee" is the Naphtalite town, which was in the hilly region north-west of the Lake of Merom, not far from Hazor (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 6; 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18, § 1; iv. 2, § 3). It was the home of Barak, the son of Abinoam (Judg. *l. s. c.*), in the early days of the Judges, and was taken by Tiglath-Pileser in his first campaign against Israel (2 Kings xv. 29). The site is almost certainly that occupied by the modern "Kedes," four miles from the north-west corner of Lake Merom in a north-westerly direction (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 366).

purposing to remove him out of the country.] Rather, "purposing to remove him **from his office**." As Ewald remarks ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 331, note [5]), "office" or "public occupation" is a common meaning of χρεία (ch. xiii. 15, 37). Polybius has almost the exact phrase here used for "removing from office" ('Hist.' iv. 87, § 9).

64. *He went to meet them, and left Simon.*] Jonathan had probably returned from Damascus to Jerusalem before he heard of the attack on his northern frontier. Resolving to go in person and fight his antagonists, he "left Simon" as his representative, in Judæa.

65. *Simon encamped against Bethsura.*] Bethsura (Beth-zur) was taken by the Syrians in the reign of Eupator (ch. vi. 50), and strongly garrisoned. The fortifications were strengthened by the elder Demetrius (ch. ix. 52). When the fortresses generally were evacuated by the Syrian garrisons at the commencement of the war between Demetrius and Balas (ch. x. 12), Bethsura formed an exception (*ib. v.* 13). It was no doubt one

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B. C. cir. 144. 66 But they desired to have peace with him, which he granted them, and then put them out from thence, and took the city, and set a garrison in it.

67 As for Jonathan and his host, they pitched at the water of Gennesar, from whence betimes in the morning they gat them to the plain of Nasor.

68 And, behold, the host of strangers met them in the plain, who, having laid men in ambush for him in the mountains, came themselves over against him. B. C. cir. 143.

69 So when they that lay in ambush rose out of their places, and joined battle, all that were of Jonathan's side fled;

70 Insomuch as there was not one of them left, except Mattathias the *son* of Absalom, and Judas the *son* of Calphi, the captains of the host.

of the places from which Jonathan had requested the younger Demetrius to withdraw his forces (ch. xi. 41), and which he had promised to evacuate (*ib.* v. 42). But this promise had remained a dead letter (v. 53). Under these circumstances it was resolved that an effort should be made by Simon to expel the garrison by force.

shut it up.] *I.e.* strictly blockaded it. The defences were, probably, so strong that it could only be reduced in this way.

67. *the water of Gennesar.*] Undoubtedly the "Sea of Galilee" or "Lake of Gennesareth." We have here for the first time, the name in a form from which "Gennesaret" would be an easy derivation. In the earlier Scriptures the lake has been called "the Sea of Chinnereth" (Num. xxxiv. 11; Deut. iii. 17), from a town in its neighbourhood (Josh. xix. 35). Etymological laws do not allow of Chinnereth having become Gennesar, and it is therefore best to suppose an entirely distinct origin for the latter name. It appears to have belonged primarily to the fertile tract at the north-western angle of the lake, which was called "the land of Gennesaret" (Matt. xiv. 34), and was a "garden" (*gannah*), perhaps a "garden of princes" (*gannath sarim*) at some ancient date. Or, *sar* may be the residuum of a proper name. The water of Gennesaret, so seldom mentioned in the Old Scriptures, obtains a position of high honour in the New, and to the Christian is inseparably associated with the life, teaching, and miracles of his Lord.

they gat them to the plain of Nasor.] Several MSS. have "Asor" for "Nasor;" and so Josephus, and the Syriac and Vulgate translations. The initial *ν* has probably been repeated from the terminal *ν* of the preceding word (πεδίον). "Asor" is, in all probability, Hazor, for which it stands throughout the Septuagint Version. Hazor was one of the most ancient cities of Palestine. It is first found as the capital of the elder Jabin (Josh. xi. 1), and after Jabin's defeat by Joshua it fell into the hands of the latter (*ib.* v. 10), who destroyed it by fire (*ib.* v. 11). It seems, however, to have been soon rebuilt, for it is mentioned among the "fenced cities" assigned to Naphtali (*ib.* xix. 36). Early in the period of the Judges it is once more Canaanite, and a second Jabin reigns there (Judg. iv. 2), who oppresses Israel, and contends with Deborah and Barak. Solomon made it one of his fortified posts (1 Kings ix. 15); and Tiglath-Pileser seized it on his first expedition against Israel (2 Kings xvi. 29). The site of Hazor is not yet satisfactorily identified. Capt. Conder places it at Hadireh (Map, Sheet IV.), fourteen miles west of Merom; but the position suggested by Robinson ('Researches,' vol. iii. pp. 364–5), on a hill, immediately above the lake, seems preferable. "The plain of Asor" would in that case be the tract lying north-west of this site, between Tel-el-Khuraibeh and Kedes.

68. *the host of strangers.*] Grimm supposes the "strangers" of v. 38 to be meant, but the word in the original is different. Probably ἀλλόφυλοι is merely used, as in ch. iv. 12, 26, 30, for the more common ἀλλότριοι, in the sense of "foreigners."

69. *all that were of Jonathan's side fled.*] This is an evident exaggeration. Josephus softens the tale, and reduces it to the level of the possible, by saying ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 4) that "all fled except about fifty men," who remained with Mattathias and Judas; but it may be doubted whether he had any authority for his statement.

70. *Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Calphi.*] That these chiefs especially distinguished themselves in the battle cannot be doubted. Otherwise their names would not have been placed on record with such particularity. Probably they restrained their immediate followers from flight, when the panic seized the rest of the army, and so enabled Jonathan to restore the battle. Our author does not say (as

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71 Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head, and prayed.

72 Afterwards turning again to battle, he put them to flight, and so they ran away.

73 Now when his own men that were fled saw this, they turned again unto him, and with him pursued them to Cades, even unto their own tents, and there they camped.

74 So there were slain of the heathen that day about three thousand men: but Jonathan returned to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XII.

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1 *Jonathan reneweth his league with the Romans and Lacedemonians.* 28 *The forces of Demetrius, thinking to surprise Jonathan, flee away for fear.* 35 *Jonathan fortifieth the castles in Judea,* 48 *and is shut up by the fraud of Tryphon in Ptolemais.*

NOW when Jonathan saw that the time served him, he chose certain men, and sent them to Rome, [a] for to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them. [a] ch. 8. 1, 20.

2 He sent letters also to the Lacedemonians, and to other places, for the same purpose.

3 So they went unto Rome, and

Josephus does) that they were "*the* captains of the host," but only that they were "captains" (ἄρχοντες, not οἱ ἄρχοντες).

71. *Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head.*] Possible actions in an Oriental under such circumstances, though so contrary to the manner of the West. (Compare above, ch. iv. 39; and see Herod. iii. 66, viii. 99, ix. 34, &c.)

and prayed.] Compare the prayers of Judas (ch. iv. 10, 30–33).

73. *pursued them to Cades.*] Kedes is about 2½ miles north-west of the supposed site of Hazor (see the comment on *v.* 67), and would naturally serve as a refuge to the fugitives.

even unto their own tents.] Rather, "their own *camp*." See *v.* 63.

74. *there were slain of the heathen . . about three thousand men.*] Josephus, with unusual moderation, reduces the number of the slain to *two* thousand.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. JONATHAN SENDS EMBASSIES TO ROME AND SPARTA—REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY HIS AMBASSADORS.

1–23. It is not very clear what advantage Jonathan expected to derive from an interchange of compliments with Rome and Sparta. Perhaps the object was merely to assert his own rank and dignity as a sovereign prince, semi-independent at any rate. Possibly, however, his recognition as an ally by the Romans may have helped to encourage those who were disposed to be friendly to him, and have tended to alarm his enemies. It seems certain that he sought no material aid in either quarter. His ambassadors were sent with complimentary messages only. They started in the winter of B.C. 145–144, but did not return until after his death in the last-named year. The embassy to Rome was in continuation of the friendly relations established by Judas (ch. viii. 1–32); that to Sparta stood connected with an earlier effort of the same kind made in the reign of the Spartan king Areus, who ascended the throne in B.C. 309, and held it till B.C. 265.

1. *when Jonathan saw that the time served him.*] *I.e.* "was convenient," either because there was nothing more important to occupy his attention, or because the situation of affairs seemed to favour some fresh diplomatic efforts.

he chose certain men.] For the names of the men selected see *v.* 16, and compare ch. xiv. 22.

for to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them.] See ch. viii. 1–32. Judas in his last days had been induced to seek the moral support of the Roman alliance. It no doubt added to his prestige, and may even have been of some material value, by determining the attitude of powers which took an active part in the contest for political predominance that was going on at the time.

2. *He sent letters also to the Lacedemonians.*] Literally, "to the Spartans;" and so throughout the chapter. The Spartans, or people of the capital, Sparta, had alone in the ancient times exercised political power. Hence, even in the later times, when a tyranny had been established, the entire people were as often called Spartans as Lacedæmonians.

to other places.] As, perhaps, Pergamus, between which and Judæa there were friendly relations (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiv. 10, § 22).

3. *they . . . entered into the senate.*] See the comment on ch. viii. 19.

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B. C. cir. 144. entered into the senate, and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the people of the Jews, sent us unto you, to the end ye should renew the friendship, which ye had with them, and league, as in former time.

4 Upon this *the Romans* gave them letters unto the governors of every place, that they should bring them into the land of Judea peaceably.

5 And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote to the Lacedemonians:

6 Jonathan the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedemonians their brethren send greeting:

7 There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from ‖ Darius, who reigned then among you, to signify that ye are our brethren, as the copy here underwritten doth specify.

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‖ *Areus:* See Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

8 At which time Onias entreated the ambassador that was sent honourably, and received the letters, wherein declaration was made of the ‖ league and friendship.

‖ Or, *kindred,* Joseph. Antiq.

9 Therefore we also, albeit we need none of these things, for that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us,

10 Have nevertheless attempted to send unto you for the renewing of brotherhood and friendship, lest

to the end ye should renew the friendship.] Such "renewals" were frequent in antiquity, even where there had been no rupture of friendship. They were regarded as specially appropriate when a new sovereign had ascended the throne (see Polyb. iv. 26, § 8; vii. 3, § 1; xi. 34, § 11; xxiii. 1, § 5; xxviii. 1, § 9; xxxiii. 16, § 2).

as in former time.] Compare ch. viii. 21–32.

4. *the Romans gave them letters.*] Apparently Rome hesitated to commit herself, perhaps doubting how the contest would go between Tryphon and Demetrius. She could not do less than what she did—*i.e.* grant the ambassadors a safe conduct through her dominions on their return.

5. *this is the copy of the letters.*] Rather, "of the **letter**." The plural ἐπιστολαὶ is used for a single letter in Greek (Thucyd. i. 132), as *litteræ* in Latin. Cf. ch. x. 17; xi. 29; xii. 19; xiv. 20; xv. 1. Our version gives the correct translation in ch. x. 17.

6. *the elders of the nation.*] Literally, "the *senate*." According to the author of the Second Book, the Jews had a recognized "senate" in the time of Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. xi. 27) and even in that of Epiphanes (ch. iv. 44); but this is the first mention of such an institution by the author of the First Book. Grimm conjectures that the institution really originated in the time of Jonathan; but of this there can scarcely be said to be any evidence. Probably the "senate" of Maccabean times was the same body with the Herodian "sanhedrin" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiv. 9, § 4).

their brethren.] See below, v. 21, where the supposed connection, and the grounds of it, will be considered.

7. *There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from Darius.*] For "Darius" we must certainly read "**Areus**," as in v. 20. Areus, grandson of Cleomenes II., succeeded his grandfather as King of Sparta in B.C. 309, and had a reign of forty-four years (Diod. Sic. xx. 29), dying B.C. 265. He was contemporary with the Jewish High Priest, Onias I., successor of Jaddua, for nine years—from B.C. 309 to B.C. 300. Sparta was greatly depressed at this time, crushed under the yoke of Alexander's "successors," and may well have sought to strengthen herself even by so humble an alliance as one with the Jews of the time, who were dependants upon Egypt.

8. *the letters.*] Rather, "the **letter**." See the comment on v. 5.

wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship.] Rather, "of **alliance** and friendship." For the "declaration" itself, see v. 23.

9. *albeit we need none of these things.*] *I.e.* "neither alliance nor friendship." The boast is strange, since "alliance and friendship" were being sought; but the very strangeness is in favour of the genuineness of the passage. The Jews always felt themselves to be a favoured nation, and entered into diplomatic relations with other countries, as it were, under protest, and with the feeling that they were conferring, not receiving, a benefit.

for that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands.] The words "of scripture" are added by our translators, and should be in italics.

10. *for the renewing of brotherhood.*] *I.e.* "of the acknowledgment of brotherhood." (See vv. 6, 7, 21.) The brotherhood itself

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B. C. cir. 144. we should become strangers unto you altogether: for there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.

11 We therefore at all times without ceasing, both in our feasts, and other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as reason is, and as it becometh us to think upon our brethren:

12 And we are right glad of your honour.

13 As for ourselves, we have had great troubles and wars on every side, forsomuch as the kings that are round about us have fought against us.

14 Howbeit we would not be troublesome unto you, nor to others of our confederates and friends, in these wars:

15 For we have help from heaven that succoureth us, so as we are delivered from our enemies, and our enemies are brought under foot. B. C. cir. 144.

16 For this cause we chose Numenius *the son* of Antiochus, and Antipater *the son* of Jason, and sent them unto the Romans, to renew the amity that we had with them, and the former league.

17 We commanded them also to go unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver you our letters concerning the renewing of our brotherhood.

18 Wherefore now ye shall do well to give us an answer thereto.

19 And this is the copy of the letters ‖ which Oniares sent. ‖ Read out of Joseph. *which Areus sent to Onias.*

20 Areus king of the Lacedemo-

was a (supposed) fact, which might be acknowledged or disputed, but which it was impossible to "renew."

there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.] No less a time than 155 years, or from that to 164 years. If the alliance was to be kept up, it was certainly high time that some further demonstration should be made. The advantage, however, of a sentimental friendship between states so distant, and so isolated one from the other, as Sparta and Judæa, is more than doubtful.

11. *our feasts.*] The Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Dedication, and Purim.

other convenient days.] Such as Sabbaths, and "new moons."

do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer.] The Jews prayed for the prosperity of any kingdom or state whereto they were subject (Ezra vi. 10; Jer. xxix. 7) so long as they were subject to it; and this practice continues to the present day. But prayer and sacrifice on behalf of allies is not elsewhere mentioned. Probably Jonathan means to say, not that the Spartans were specially named in the Jewish public worship, but that, as prayer was made for the "brethren" generally, and the Spartans were "brethren," they were included.

13. *the kings that are round about us have fought against us.*] Exact accuracy is not to be expected in a diplomatic paper transmitted to a distant state. Probably Jonathan had especially in his mind the wars with the Syrian kings, Epiphanes, Eupator, Demetrius I., and Demetrius II. He may also have intended to glance at the attacks which had been made on the Jews by the Edomites (ch. v. 3), the people of Ptolemaïs, Tyre, and Sidon (*ib. v.* 15), and those of the Trans-Jordanic heathen (*ib. vv.* 9–51).

14. *we would not be troublesome unto you.*] We have therefore not asked you, nor any of our allies, for material help; but have carried on all the wars in which we have been engaged, without even seeking to obtain the aid of foreign troops.

15. *we have help from heaven.*] See above, ch. iii. 18–23; iv. 8–14, 30–34, &c. Though not miraculously helped, the Jews of Maccabean times believed, as firmly as their forefathers of any previous age, that success in war was granted them from God. The great odds against which they contended and their almost unbroken series of victories deepened and strengthened the impression.

16. *we chose Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason.*] Hellenistic Jews, or at any rate Jews with Greek names, and belonging therefore to Hellenizing families, are again chosen (see above, ch. viii. 17) as channels of communication with the heathen, to whom they would be more acceptable than the more strictly orthodox. Antipater was perhaps a son of the Jason sent on the former occasion.

17. *our letters.*] Rather, "our letter." See the comment on *v.* 5.

19. *Oniares.*] This word is manifestly composed of the two names, Onias and Areus. Probably the original reading was as follows:—*τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστο-*

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B. C. cir. 144. nians to Onias the high priest, greeting:

21 It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham:

22 Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your prosperity.

‖ Gr. *peace.*

23 We do write back again to you, that your cattle and goods are our's, and our's are your's. We do command therefore *our ambassadors* to make report unto you on this wise. B. C. cir. 144.

24 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to fight against him with a greater host than afore,

25 He removed from Jerusalem,

λῶν ὧν ἀπέστειλεν Ὀνίᾳ Ἀρεύς· Ἀρεὺς βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιατῶν κ.τ.λ. A copyist omitted one Ἀρεὺς by accident, or thinking to correct a mistake, and the reading became that of which we have a trace in the Vulgate: "Hoc est rescriptum epistolarum quod miserat Oniæ Arius, rex Spartanorum." Another (later) copyist turned Ὀνίᾳ Ἀρεὺς into Ὀνιαρεὺς, which passed into Ὀνιάρης.

21. *It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and the Jews are brethren.*] Literally, "It was found in a writing." The reference seems to be to some particular (supposed) discovery. Cf. Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 4, § 10): Ἐντυχόντες γραφῇ τινι εὕρομεν. What the writing was, what its authority, how it made out the relationship, are points on which we are reduced to mere conjecture, and on which even a plausible conjecture is difficult. One thing alone the present writer tells us—the relationship was traced through Abraham. Both the Jews and the Lacedæmonians were regarded as his descendants (ἐκ γένους Ἀβραάμ). Hence the supposed connection could not have been traced through Peleg, regarded as the progenitor of the Pelasgi, since Peleg was not a descendant, but an ancestor, of Abraham, not to mention that the Spartans were not Pelasgi (Herod. i. 56). Probably some verbal resemblance was found, like that of Perseus with the Persians, or of Udæus with Judæa (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἰουδαία), on which the ethnic affinity was built up. In reality, the Jews and Spartans were races as diverse and unconnected as any two that it is possible to mention. The relationship, however, once asserted, was believed very generally, and affected the treatment and conduct of individuals (2 Macc. v. 9; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 26, § 1).

22, 23. The *nexus* of these verses is not shewn in our translation. They should be thus rendered:—"Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write to us of your prosperity; and we (in that case will) write back to you. Your cattle and goods are ours," &c. (On the particular mode of expressing alliance, cf. 1 Kings xxii. 4; 2 Kings iii. 7.)

The genuineness of this letter (*vv.* 20–23) has been called in question, and the very fact of any diplomatic intercourse between the Jews and Spartans denied; but the best authorities, even within the sceptical school, regard the intercourse as distinctly made out (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 245, 332); and the letter, though not an actual transcript of the original, but the translation back into Greek of a Hebrew translation of it, probably gives the real purport of the communication addressed by Areus I. to Onias, between B.C. 309 and B.C. 300.

§ 2. Second Campaign of Demetrius' Generals against Jonathan—Its Failure—Jonathan attacks the Zabdæans; after which he and Simon strengthen the Jewish Fortresses.

24–38. The defeat at Kadesh (ch. xi. 73, 74) was not accepted by the Demetrian generals as decisive. They still hoped to get the better of Jonathan. Accordingly, in B.C. 144, having collected a large force, they again advanced upon Palestine by the Orontes Valley, intending to repeat their invasion. Jonathan, however, was not inclined to allow his own territory to be the seat of war, but crossed the frontier and met the invaders in the old "land of Hamath," known at the time as "Amathis." The two armies encamped opposite each other; and Jonathan learned by his spies that he was to be attacked by night; but his preparations so deranged the enemy's plans that, instead of carrying them out, they fled hastily, leaving their camp-fires burning. He pursued as far as the river Eleutherus, but was unable to come up with them. The retreat, however, set him free to act on the offensive, and he at once fell on a hostile Arab tribe, the Zabdæans, whom he defeated, after which he took possession of Damascus. Simon, meanwhile, was active in the south, where he occupied Ascalon and Joppa, securing the latter by a strong garrison. Efforts were then made to isolate the Acra of Jerusalem, which the Syrians still occupied; the wall of Jerusalem was repaired; and a

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and met them in the land of Amathis: for he gave them no respite ‖to enter his country.

‖ Or, *to set foot in his country*: or, *to invade his country.*

26 He sent spies also unto their tents, who came again, and told him that they were appointed to come upon them in the night season.

27 Wherefore so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready to fight: also he sent forth centinels round about the host.

28 But when the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and ‖they kindled fires in their camp.

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‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 2. *they went away.*

29 Howbeit Jonathan and his company knew it not till the morning: for they saw the lights burning.

30 Then Jonathan pursued after them, but overtook them not: for they were gone over the river Eleutherus.

31 Wherefore Jonathan turned to the Arabians, who were called ‖Zabadeans, and smote them, and took their spoils.

‖ Joseph. Gr. *Nabatheans*, or, *Zabatheans.*

32 And removing thence, he came to Damascus, and so passed through all the country.

33 Simon also went forth, and

fortified post established between Jerusalem and Joppa, at Adida. The Demetrians were thoroughly worsted; but it was perhaps not quite clear to the opposite party, that they were advantaged—the Jewish chieftain may have appeared to them bent on making his principality altogether independent.

25. *the land of Amathis.*] The gentle elevation which, midway in the Cœlesyrian valley, forms the watershed separating the stream of the Orontes from that of the Litany, was known in ancient times as "the entering in of Hamath" (Num. xxxiv. 8, &c.), and the valley beyond the "entering in" was the "land of Hamath" (ἡ Ἀμαθῖτις χώρα). Hamath itself was situated at the distance of above 70 miles from the watershed, but the whole of the upper valley was considered to belong to it, and (as the present passage shews) retained its name, though the town had become Epiphaneia.

26. *He sent spies also unto their tents.*] Rather, "into their camp."

27. *he sent forth centinels.*] Rather "outposts" or "picquets" (προφύλακες). This was not an ordinary practice in the East, or even among the Romans. The gates and walls of camps were guarded; but detached bodies of troops, *in front* of the walls or lines, were uncommon. Their employment on this occasion marks Jonathan's military capacity.

28. *trembled in their hearts.*] Literally, "cowered." An access of panic fear seems to be spoken of. It had been expected that the Jews would be taken unawares, and easily defeated and dispersed. When they were found on their guard, ready to resist an attack, not only did the attack seem hopeless, but the assailants despaired of success altogether, and determined on a hasty retreat.

they kindled fires in their camp.] As a means of concealing their retreat. The stratagem has been largely employed, both in ancient and in modern times. (See 2 Kings vii. 7; Herod. iv. 135: Polyb. ii. 25, § 5; iii. 50, § 9; ix. 5, § 7, &c.)

30. *they were gone over the river Eleutherus.*] The boundary between Palestine and Syria, as already mentioned. (See the comment on ch. xi. 7.)

31. *the Arabians who were called Zabadeans.*] This tribe is not elsewhere mentioned. It probably held possession of that portion of the Antilibanus range where we still find existing the names *Zebdeni* and *Zebad.* The former is a village of nearly 3000 inhabitants, situated in a plain, known as the "Ard Zebdeni," on the course of the upper Barada, and upon the direct route from Balbek to Damascus. A rivulet which rises behind the village is called the "Moiet Zebdeni," and the mountains of the district are known as the Jebel Zebdeni. (See Burckhardt, 'Syria,' p. 3.) Kefr Zebad is a village not far from Zebdeni, on the western slopes of the Antilibanus. Josephus has wrongly substituted the well-known "Nabatæans," who are never found so far north, and who were friendly to the Jews (ch. v. 25), for the obscure Zabadæans.

32. *he came to Damascus.*] Compare ch. xi. 62. From the two passages combined we gather that Jonathan now regarded Damascus as within the limits of his principality, and exercised authority over it. Damascus had sunk into comparative insignificance on the rise of Antioch, but was still a large and populous town.

33. *Simon also went forth.*] Simon's new rank and position (ch. xi. 59), though not rendering him independent of Jonathan,

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B. C. cir. 144. passed through the country unto Ascalon, and the holds there adjoining, from whence he turned aside to Joppe, and won it.

34 For he had heard that they would deliver the hold unto them that took Demetrius' part; wherefore he set a garrison there to keep it.

35 After this came Jonathan home again, and calling the elders of the people together, he consulted with them about building strong holds in Judea,

36 And making the walls of Jerusalem higher, and raising a great mount between the tower and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be alone, that men might neither sell nor buy in it. B. C. cir. 144.

37 Upon this they came together to build up the city, ‖forasmuch as *part of* the wall toward the brook on the east side was fallen down, and they repaired that which was called Caphenatha.

‖ Or, According to the Roman reading, *and he came near to the wall of the brook toward the east.*

38 Simon also set up Adida in Sephela, and made it strong with gates and bars.

seemed to call upon him for some correspondent exertion. Accordingly, during Jonathan's absence in the Cœlesyrian and Damascene regions, he busied himself in obtaining a firmer grasp of the south.

passed through the country unto Ascalon.] Ascalon had submitted to Jonathan in B.C. 147 (ch. x. 86). On its situation and history, see the comment *ad loc.*

turned aside to Joppe, and won it.] Rather, "occupied it." Joppa had been "won" by Jonathan in the same year as Ascalon (ch. x. 76), and had remained in his possession; but there was a danger, as we learn from v. 34, of the inhabitants, or a portion of them, admitting the soldiers of Demetrius into the citadel, and so handing the place over to the Demetrian party. To frustrate this scheme, Simon anticipated the movement, by suddenly occupying the citadel with his own troops and leaving a sufficient garrison there.

35. *Jonathan . . . calling the elders of the people together.*] See the comment on v. 6. Ewald regards this as the calling together of a "popular assembly" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 332); but a consultation of the γερουσία of v. 6 is probably intended.

36. *raising a great mount between the tower and the city.*] No remains of any such "mount" are now to be seen. Indeed, the design seems never to have been executed, since when Simon obtained possession of the Acra, it still overlooked the Temple, and was such a menace that he not only destroyed it, but cut down the hill on which it stood (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 7).

that men might neither sell nor buy in it.] The words "in it" are added by our translators, and give a wrong sense. Evidently, the erection of a mound between the citadel and the Temple could be no hindrance to traffic among those who were inside the citadel itself. Jonathan's object was to impede the traffic which went on between the garrison of the Acra and the Jews without, especially those of his own portion of Jerusalem, that situated on the Temple hill. He wished, as Josephus says ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 11), to restrict their marketing, and diminish their supply of provisions.

37. *part of the wall . . . was fallen down.*] Ἔπεσε is undoubtedly the true reading, and not ἤγγισε.

the brook on the east side.] *I.e.* the brook Kidron, or Cedron, the deep ravine on the eastern side of Jerusalem, which carries off the heavy rains that sometimes fall, but is dry during by far the greater part of the year. A portion of the wall along the brow of the hill overhanging the ravine had "fallen," apparently by natural decay.

that which was called Caphenatha.] "Caphenatha" is not otherwise known to us. It is conjectured to have been "a small fortification" on the eastern side of the city (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 332, note 8). Perhaps it was "the tower that lay out" (Neh. iii. 26).

38. *Adida in Sephela.*] Adida is probably the 'Hadid' of the Canonical Books (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34). According to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 4), it was situated on a hill, at the edge of the low plain of the *Shefelah*, on which it looked down. Eusebius places it three miles east of Lydda (Ludd): and in this position is found a village, called "El-Haditheh," which occupies the summit of a round hill, and answers perfectly to all the notices of Adida. The place lay on the direct route between Joppa and Jerusalem. We must regard its occupation and fortification as intended to check the march of any Syrian force which might be landed at Joppa, and attempt to seize Jerusalem.

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39 Now Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia, and to kill Antiochus the king, that he might set the crown upon his own head.

40 Howbeit he was afraid that Jonathan would not suffer him, and that he would fight against him; wherefore he sought a way how to take Jonathan, that he might kill him. So he removed, and came to Bethsan.

41 Then Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men chosen for the battle, and came to Bethsan.

42 Now when Tryphon saw that Jonathan came with so great a force, he durst not stretch his hand against him;

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43 But received him honourably, and commended him unto all his friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his men of war to be as obedient unto him, as to himself.

44 Unto Jonathan also he said, Why hast thou put all this people to so great trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us?

45 Therefore send them now home again, and choose a few men to wait on thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee, and

§ 3. The Design of Tryphon to make himself King—He succeeds in entrapping Jonathan—The Remnant of Jonathan's Army makes good its Retreat.

39–53. It is probable that Tryphon had had his own interests in view from the first moment that he came forward as the champion of Antiochus. But hitherto he had masked his personal ambition under the pretence of advocating a particular cause. The time, however, had now come when he thought he might venture to throw off the mask. A boy king would naturally stir little enthusiasm: and the cause of Antiochus had sunk low, before Tryphon initiated the new movement. He might hope, in striking for the crown, to rally to his standard all the more ambitious spirits, and the bulk of those who were discontented with the Seleucid rule. But he felt that Jonathan could not be counted on to support his enterprise. He therefore resolved to remove him before proceeding to the last extreme against the titular king. The author relates, in *vv.* 40–48, the attempt of Tryphon against Jonathan, and its successful issue. In *vv.* 49–53, he gives the sequel of the attempt—(1) the escape of the 2000 men whom Jonathan had left in Galilee; and (2) the consternation of the Jews and satisfaction of their enemies at what had befallen Jonathan.

39. *Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia.*] Tryphon's ambitious views are attested by Josephus, Appian, Justin, Strabo, and others. His actual assumption of kingly power is proved by his coins.

and to kill Antiochus.] See ch. xiii. 31, and comment *ad loc.*

40. *So he removed, and came to Bethsan.*] Bethsan was in the Jordan valley, on the right bank of the stream, at the point where the valley of Jezreel opens into the Jordan vale from the west. It was a place of great antiquity, having belonged to the Canaanites before the entrance of Israel into Palestine, and it remained in their possession till long after (Judg. i. 27). A probable etymology of the word is "the house of San," or "of the Sun," San being the Babylonian Sun-God. In Roman times the place was undoubtedly called "Scythopolis" (Strab. xvi. 2, § 40: Plin. 'H. N.' v. 18; Polyb. v. 70, § 4, &c.); but under what circumstances the change of name took place, or what exactly was intended to be signified by it, is uncertain. At present the old name has recovered itself, and the village which marks the site is known as "Beisan." Tryphon's coming so far south unopposed is an indication that Jonathan was taken by surprise.

41. *Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men.*] This number is very much larger than had as yet been brought into the field by any Maccabean leader, and marks the great increase of power and territory which had been effected under Jonathan, whose rule extended from Damascus to the borders of Egypt. The force was not the greatest that he could have raised, but one consisting of "picked men."

43. *commended him unto all his friends.*] Rather, "introduced him"—"brought him into their company."

gave him gifts.] Compare ch. x. 20, 60, 89; xi. 58, &c.

45. *come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee.*] At first sight, the device by which Tryphon got Jonathan into his power seems too transparent to have imposed on any one who was not greatly wanting in

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B. C. cir. 144. the rest of the strong holds and forces, and all that have any charge: as for me, I will return and depart: for this is the cause of my coming.

46 So Jonathan believing him did as he bade him, and sent away his host, who went into the land of Judea.

47 And with himself he retained but three thousand men, of whom he ‖ sent two thousand into Galilee, and one thousand went with him.

‖ Gr. *left two thousand in Galilee.*

48 Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and took him, and all them that came with him they slew with the sword. B. C. cir. 144.

49 Then sent Tryphon an host of footmen and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, to destroy all Jonathan's company.

50 But when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain, they encouraged one another, and went close together, prepared to fight.

51 They therefore that followed upon them, perceiving that they were ready to fight for their lives, turned back again.

sagacity, and we feel inclined to be angry with Jonathan for his simplicity. But it must be borne in mind, that this was not the first occasion upon which the cession of Ptolemaïs had been suggested with an appearance of sincerity. Demetrius I. had made a similar offer during his war with Balas (ch. x. 39), certainly without any treacherous intent. Still, there were suspicious circumstances in Tryphon's rapid march without notice, and his sudden assumption of a friendly tone, which should have put the Jewish prince upon his guard; and we cannot altogether exonerate him from the charge of rashness and credulity.

and the rest of the strong holds.] "The strong holds" are the places in Judæa still occupied by Syrian garrisons, among which by far the most important was the Acra, or "citadel" of Jerusalem (see *v.* 36). The prospect of having these surrendered to him must have been very tempting to Jonathan; but the greater the value of the thing promised, the less likely was it that the promise was a sincere one.

and forces, and all that have any charge.] It was unlikely that the strongholds would be voluntarily surrendered. It was still more unlikely that they would be surrendered, *with their garrisons, and with the civil officers* who resided in them. Yet this was what Tryphon's words imported. It is strange that Jonathan did not share the feelings expressed by the familiar words—"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

46. *who went into the land of Judea.*] Bethsan was reckoned to Galilee at this time, and was at a considerable distance from Judæa proper. Jonathan, by sending his troops back *to Judæa*, put it out of his power to recall them.

47. *three thousand men, of whom he sent two thousand into Galilee.*] Three thousand men were too many for a body-guard, too few for an army. Jonathan did well to reduce his three thousand to one, since he thereby endangered fewer lives, without really lessening his own chance of safety. When he had once consented to dismiss his army, he had put himself into Tryphon's power; and it was his best policy to appear to feel perfect confidence in the Syrian's pledged word.

49. *into the great plain.*] "The great plain" of this place is regarded by some as identical with "the great plain before Bethsan," mentioned in ch. v. 52. But, in the absence of any qualifying phrase, it is more natural to understand the really "*great* plain" of Palestine, reckoned at this time to Galilee, the "plain of Esdraelon." This was the level tract lying north-east of the Carmel range and watered by the Kishon river, which extended nearly twenty miles from the roots of Mount Gilboa to the pass into the plain of Akko, and was from five to ten miles broad. Here were the important towns of Megiddo, Jokneam, Taanach, En-gannim, Jezreel and Japhia, which Jonathan would be anxious to secure in case of any accident happening to himself, and hither would he most readily have sent the 2000 men, whom he probably dismissed on entering the Akko plain by the pass above mentioned. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 2.)

to destroy all Jonathan's company.] *I.e.* the two thousand whom he had "sent into Galilee" (*v.* 47).

50. *when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain.*] Report exaggerated the disaster. The men had been slain (*v.* 48); but Jonathan had merely been arrested, and was a prisoner in the hands of Tryphon. (See ch. xiii. 15–19.)

went close together.] Or "marched in close array," like the Ten Thousand on their return from Cunaxa (Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 3, § 6, &c.).

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52 Whereupon they all came into the land of Judea peaceably, and there they bewailed Jonathan, and them that were with him, and they were sore afraid; wherefore all Israel made great lamentation.

53 Then all the heathen that were round about them sought to destroy them: for said they, They have no captain, nor any to help them: now therefore let us make war upon them, and take away their memorial from among men. B. C. cir. 144.

CHAPTER XIII.

8 *Simon is made captain in his brother Jonathan's room.* 19 *Tryphon getteth two of Jonathan's sons into his hands, and slayeth their father.* 27 *The tomb of Jonathan.* 36 *Simon is favoured by Demetrius,* 40 *and winneth Gaza, and the tower at Jerusalem.*

NOW when Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered toge-

52. *they bewailed Jonathan.*] *I.e.* they mourned him, as dead, being still under the impression that he had been slain with his troops (see *v.* 50).

all Israel made great lamentation.] Compare the lamentation at the death of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25), and the more recent one at the death of Judas (ch. ix. 20).

53. *all the heathen that were round about them sought to destroy them.*] This is rather rhetorical than historical. We see no movement of "the heathen *round about*" after the death of Jonathan, as we do after the first successes of Judas (ch. v. 9–15). The heathen no doubt rejoiced and were excited, but there was no general attack. Tryphon *alone* followed up his first blow by an invasion (ch. xiii. 1, 12, 20), which however was attended with no great success.

take away their memorial from among men.] Compare ch. iii. 35.

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. SIMON COMES FORWARD, AND IS ACCEPTED AS LEADER IN JONATHAN'S PLACE—HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST TRYPHON.

1–24. Simon occupied a position of greater dignity (ch. xi. 59) at the capture of Jonathan, than that which Jonathan had held at the death of Judas. Hence there was at this crisis no interregnum. Simon came forward at once in his brother's place, and actively exerted himself to compose the fears of the people, and rouse them to fresh efforts. He offered himself to be their leader; and his offer was, as a matter of course, accepted, since there was no one else to whom it was possible for the people to have turned. His first measures were thoroughly judicious; he completed the fortifications of Jerusalem (*v.* 10), and sent a trusty captain to secure Joppa (*v.* 11). Tryphon's counter movements were not wanting in cleverness. He marched his army straight into Judæa, hoping to find affairs in disorder, but, when met by Simon at Adida, he astutely altered his tone, declared that he only held Jonathan in confinement on account of his being indebted to the Syrian crown, and promised to release him on the payment of 100 talents of silver, and on receiving two of his sons as hostages for his good behaviour (*v.* 16). Simon, though misdoubting him, thought it necessary to accept the conditions (*vv.* 17–19), and "sent the money and the children," but without result, since Tryphon was false to his word, and still kept Jonathan a prisoner. Foiled, however, in his attack by Simon's advance to Adida, he formed a new plan, and "marching round the western mountains of Judah in a southerly direction" (Ewald. 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 333), made a fresh attempt upon Judæa by way of Adora, south-west of Hebron, laying the country waste far and wide, and compelling Simon to take the field against him in this quarter (*v.* 20). Meanwhile, by Simon's orders, the siege of the Acra at Jerusalem was pressed, and the garrison brought into difficulties. Tryphon was intreated by the famished defenders to come to their relief, and had arranged to conduct a convoy to Jerusalem, when a sudden fall of snow rendered the execution of his plans impossible. Further operations under the circumstances seemed hopeless; and the adventurer returned through the Trans-Jordanic region to Syria, ridding himself on the way of his prisoner, Jonathan, whom he put to death at an obscure village called Bascama (*v.* 23).

1. *when Simon heard.*] Simon had probably been left to conduct affairs in Judæa, when Jonathan marched at the head of his 40,000 men upon Bethsan. Originally designated by Mattathias to be the counsellor of his brethren (ch. ii. 65), he had gradually come more and more forward, until, in the time of Jonathan, he was distinctly recognised as only second to him in rank and authority. Hence, on Jonathan's disappearance, it at once devolved upon him to determine on the course which should be taken.

that Tryphon had gathered together a great host.] The treachery practised upon Jonathan was designed as a step towards the subjugation

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B. C. cir. 144. ther a great host to invade the land of Judea, and destroy it,

2 And saw that the people was in great trembling and fear, he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together,

3 And gave them exhortation, saying, Ye yourselves know what great things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, the battles also and troubles which we have seen,

4 By reason whereof all my brethren are slain for Israel's sake, and I am left alone.

5 Now therefore be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any time of trouble: for I am no better than my brethren.

6 Doubtless I will avenge my nation, and the sanctuary, and our wives, and our children: for all the heathen are gathered to destroy us of very malice.

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7 Now as soon as the people heard these words, their spirit revived.

8 And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou shalt be our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother.

9 Fight thou our battles, and whatsoever thou commandest us, that will we do.

10 So then he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste [a] to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about.

[a] See ch. 12. 36.

11 Also he sent Jonathan the *son* of Absalom, and with him a great power, to Joppe: who casting out

of Judæa. The "great host" was held in readiness, and no sooner was Jonathan a prisoner than it commenced its march. Simon found himself confronted with a great danger upon the frontier, and almost unsupported at home.

2. *the people was in great trembling and fear.*] Compare ch. xii. 52.

he . . . gathered the people together.] Something more than a meeting of the council (ch. xii. 35) seems to be here intended. Simon meant to suggest his elevation to the post of leader; and this position could only be conferred by the nation at large, or some popular gathering sufficiently representing it. (Compare ch. ix. 28–31.)

3. *my father's house.*] Compare ch. xiv. 26; xvi. 2. Grimm concludes from this, that the brothers and other relatives of Mattathias had taken part in the struggle; but it may be questioned whether the expression is not simply pleonastic. We never hear of any relatives of Mattathias, except his sons, assisting him.

4. *all my brethren are slain.*] Simon, like the Jews generally (ch. xii. 50–52), believed Jonathan to be dead. His three other brothers had actually fallen in fight (ch. vi. 46; ix. 18, 36–38).

6. *Doubtless I will avenge my nation.*] In offering himself as an "avenger," Simon suggested his appointment to be leader. It was a post of honour certainly, but still more a post of danger. Simon's courage is to be commended; a more timid man would have shrunk from the perils.

all the heathen are gathered to destroy us.] Compare ch. xii. 53. Simon may well have expected a general rising, though apparently none took place.

8. *Thou shalt be our leader.*] Compare the appointment of Jonathan (ch. ix. 30). It is not clear whether the "leadership" carried with it the high priesthood, or whether that office remained for a time in abeyance. Simon is first addressed as "High Priest" in the letter sent him by Demetrius (infra, *v.* 36).

10. *he . . . made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem.*] The strengthening and, in part, rebuilding of the walls had been commenced by Jonathan while he was on friendly terms with Tryphon and at war with Demetrius (ch. xii. 36, 37). Simon had therefore only to "finish" what was already begun.

he fortified it round about.] *I.e.* "strengthened the defences round the entire circuit of the wall."

11. *Jonathan the son of Absalom.*] This individual has not been previously mentioned. He may, not improbably, have been the son of the "Absalom" mentioned in ch. xi. 70, as the father of a "Mattathias" who was one of the "captains of the host." Absalom, a devoted adherent of the Maccabeans, had named his sons after the most distinguished members of the patriotic family.

to Joppe.] As the port from which Jerusalem was most accessible, Joppa had a quite peculiar importance. We see traces of this in ch. x. 76 and xii. 33: as also in the fortification of Adida (ch. xii. 38), which lay on the direct route between the two cities.

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B. C. cir. 144. them that were therein remained there in it.

12 So Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea, and Jonathan was with him in ward.

13 But Simon pitched his tents at Adida, over against the plain.

14 Now when Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him, he sent messengers unto him, saying,

15 Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold, it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure, ‖ concerning the business that was committed unto him.

‖ Or, *for the affairs*, or, *offices*, *that he had*, or, *the necessary uses which he had.*

16 Wherefore now send an hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is at liberty he may not revolt from us, and we will let him go.

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17 Hereupon Simon, albeit he perceived that they spake deceitfully unto him, yet sent he the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people:

18 Who might have said, Because I sent him not the money and the children, therefore is *Jonathan* dead.

19 So he sent them the children and the hundred talents: howbeit *Tryphon* dissembled, neither would he let Jonathan go.

20 And after this came Tryphon to invade the land, and destroy it, going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: but Simon and

Simon, distrustful of the native inhabitants, determined on their expulsion at this time, in order to secure his own hold upon the place. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 3.)

12. *Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea.*] Tryphon's march was probably along the coast, through the plain of Akko, and round the base of Carmel into the tract known as Sharon. Thence he struck inland towards Jerusalem.

Jonathan was with him in ward.] He took Jonathan with him, to convince the Jews that he was still alive, and to make some profit out of his captive.

13. *Simon pitched his tents at Adida.*] Adida had been occupied and fortified (ch. xii. 38), as commanding the approaches to Jerusalem from the coast. It looked down on the Shefelah, or great Philistine plain (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' *l. s. c.*). No invader could venture to march past it, and proceed along the direct road to Jerusalem, while it lay unconquered in his rear. Tryphon had to choose between delivering an attack on the position, in which he would probably have suffered a repulse, and advancing by some other line of route. Having determined on the latter course, he set himself to utilise the possession of his captive by proposing terms of redemption, which he had no intention to observe, as related in the three following verses.

14. *Simon was risen up.*] *I.e.* "was at the head of affairs." Compare ch. ix. 31.

15. *Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold.*] Apparently this was the first intimation that Simon, or any of the Jews, had of Jonathan's being still alive.

it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure.] This, of course, was a mere pretext. It may, however, have had a foundation in fact. Tryphon may have regarded Jonathan as bound to pay over annually to the royal treasury certain sums, which Jonathan considered himself entitled to keep. The relations of the Judean sub-king to the Syrian monarch were at this time unsettled; and it might well be that their respective views and claims clashed.

concerning the business that was committed unto him.] Rather, "concerning the **offices which he held**." The governorship and high priesthood are probably intended.

16. *now send an hundred talents of silver.*] If Attic talents are intended, as is probable, the sum demanded was considerable, exceeding 24,000*l.* Simon felt compelled to pay it, lest he should seem to interfere, for his own advantage, with his brother's being set at liberty. But he was not deceived by Tryphon's artifices. (See *v.* 17.)

19. *he sent them the children.*] Rather, "he sent the children." There is no word corresponding to "them" in the original: and the children and money were sent to Tryphon.

dissembled.] Rather, "**hid**," or "**broke his word**."

20. *after this came Tryphon . . . going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora.*] Adora is probably the "Adoraim" of the author of Chronicles, which was forti-

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B. C. cir. 144. his host marched against him in every place, wheresoever he went.

21 Now they that were in the tower sent messengers unto Tryphon, to the end that he should hasten his coming unto them by the wilderness, and send them victuals.

22 Wherefore Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night: but there fell a very great snow, by reason whereof he came not. So he departed, and came into the country of Galaad. B. C. cir. 144.

23 And when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, who was buried there.

24 Afterward Tryphon returned and went into his own land.

25 Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers. cir. 143.

fied by Rehoboam against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 9), and which lay on the southern border of Judæa, between Lachish and Hebron. The MSS. of Josephus shorten the name into Dora, which corresponds closely to the modern "Dura," a village in the required position (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 215). The Syrians seem to have regarded the approach to Jerusalem as easier from the side of Idumæa than from any other quarter. (See ch. iv. 29; vi. 31–54.)

Simon and his host marched against him.] As Tryphon made his circuitous march, Simon, acting on an inner circle, always opposed his troops between the army of Tryphon and Jerusalem. Meanwhile he was strenuously pushing the siege of the Acra at that place, and had almost brought the Syrian garrison to extremities. (See the next verse.)

21. *they that were in the tower.*] See above, ch. xii. 36. It is clear that Simon had continued the policy of Jonathan with respect to the Acra, and had so far succeeded in cutting off its supplies as greatly to distress the garrison, which was therefore urgent on Tryphon to come or send to its relief.

by the wilderness.] The tract south-east of Jerusalem, towards the Dead Sea, was known as "the wilderness of Judæa." The garrison suggested a march through this tract, which was undefended by any fortress.

22. *Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night.*] A night march of the cavalry for the relief of the fortress was arranged, the intention being no doubt to traverse the whole distance—about twenty miles—before dawn. "But there fell a very great snow." The somewhat unusual occurrence of a heavy fall of snow frustrated the enterprise, and induced Tryphon to break up from his quarters, and return through the Trans-Jordanic region to his own country. Snow falls in Palestine occasionally between October and March. It rarely lies more than a day; but sometimes it is deep, and remains on the ground several days, or even as much as a fortnight. Heavy falls occurred in the winters of 1722, 1754, 1818, and 1854–5. (See Grove, in Dr. Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 692.)

he departed, and came into the country of Galaad.] Grimm conjectures that he marched round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, thus reaching Gilead through the Moabite territory.

23. *when he came near to Bascama.*] Bascama, shortened by Josephus into Basca ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 5), is an unknown site in the Trans-Jordanic region. No mention of it occurs anywhere excepting as the scene of Jonathan's murder.

§ 2. SIMON REMOVES THE BODY OF JONATHAN TO MODEÏN, AND ERECTS A MAGNIFICENT MONUMENT THERE OVER THE GRAVES OF HIS FATHER, HIS MOTHER, AND HIS FOUR BROTHERS.

25–30. On learning his brother's death and burial at Bascama, Simon sent persons to obtain the body and convey it to Modeïn, the native place of the Maccabee family (ch. ii. 1–18), where Mattathias (ch. ii. 70) and the three sons previously deceased were already buried (ch. ix. 19; xiii. 27). It was probably not until after he had captured the Acra (*v.* 50) and settled himself in his kingdom that Simon undertook the architectural works mentioned in *vv.* 27–29, which are noticed at this point of the narrative, from the connection of subject-matter, and not of time.

25. *Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan.*] By a well-known Hebrew idiom, the dead body of a man is called "his bones," whatever condition it is in. Thus the mummy of Joseph is spoken of as his "bones" in Gen. l. 25, and Ex. xiii. 19; and the bodies of Saul and his sons, when taken from the wall of Bethshan, are called "their bones," in 1 Sam. xxxi. 13.

in Modin, the city of his fathers.] Compare ch. ii. 70; and on the site of Modin, or Modeïn, see the comment on ch. ii. 1.

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B. C. cir. 143.

26 And [b]all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days.

[b] ch. 9. 20.

27 Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before.

28 Moreover he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren.

B. C. cir. 143.

29 And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.

30 This is the sepulchre which he

26. *all Israel made great lamentation.*] This seems to have been a second mourning, additional to the premature one mentioned in ch. x. 52. It is described in almost the same words as the mourning for Judas (ch. ix. 20), a fact which would seem to shew that the Jews held the two brothers in equal, or nearly equal, honour.

27. *Simon also built a monument.*] Compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 5. It had been customary for the Jews to bury in rock-cut graves, with little or no external display. The Greeks and Romans, on the contrary, like the Egyptians, Lydians, Lycians, and other Orientals, erected conspicuous monuments over their dead, which were often costly and magnificent. The vast monument raised by Artemisia in honour of her husband, Mausolus, at Halicarnassus, shortly before the time of Alexander, was greatly admired by the ancients, and was even reckoned one of the wonders of the world. The example thus set spread, and many tombs of much architectural pretension exist in Asia and Africa which follow the type of the mausoleum, and appear to have been reproductions, to a greater or less extent, of its principal features. The monument erected by Simon at Modeïn is no exception to the general rule. It was "of hewn stone behind and before;" it was "raised aloft to the sight;" it had "great pillars" set about it, which, according to Josephus, formed porticoes (στοαί). Mr. Fergusson's restoration of the Mausoleum ('Hist. of Architecture,' vol. i. p. 249) furnishes probably a good idea of the general character of Simon's monument; which was, however, different from all similar structures by the combination of the pyramid with the pillared tomb, of the old sepulchral architecture of Egypt with the comparatively recent style of Asia Minor. Simon's "seven pyramids" can only have been adjuncts to his main structure, from which they were probably separated by some little distance.

with hewn stone.] Literally, "with polished stone." Josephus adds that the colour of the stone was white.

28. *seven pyramids.*] So also Josephus. As six would have been the proper number for his parents and brothers, we must suppose that Simon looked forward to the time when he too would be gathered to his fathers, and erected one pyramid for himself. It was common in the East for monarchs to prepare their own tombs.

one against another.] The pyramids were built, it would seem, in two rows, so that each had its fellow opposite to it. This arrangement could only extend to six pyramids out of the seven. The seventh must have stood by itself, without a companion.

29. *in these he made cunning devices.*] Rather, "**on** these," or "**for** these." The pyramids were not plain, like the Egyptian, but ornamented with sculpture on their surfaces.

about the which he set great pillars.] The pillars appear to have been set "about" the pyramids, in a manner quite unknown in Egypt, but probably with the object of marking out a *temenos*, or "sacred enclosure," within which no one might intrude. A set of pillars, which seem, like these, to have been unconnected, mark out the *temenos* attached to the Tomb of Cyrus. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 295.)

upon the pillars he made all their armour.] Rather, "he **represented panoplies.**" Imitations, probably, of the ordinary Greek trophy, which consisted of a helmet and coat of mail, supported by a post or trunk of a tree.

ships carved.] The "ships" probably commemorated the capture of Joppa (ch. x. 76), and the impulse thereby given to the commercial activity of the Jews. Cf. ch. xiv. 5.

that they might be seen.] It is impossible that the details of the sculptures can have been visible from the Mediterranean, which was at least twelve miles off; but the main monument, and even the pyramids, may, in the clear Syrian atmosphere, have been discernible from that distance.

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B. C. cir. 143 made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day.

31 Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus, and slew him.

32 And he reigned in his stead, B. C. 142. and crowned himself king of Asia, and brought a great calamity upon the land.

33 Then Simon built up the strong holds in Judea, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars, and laid up victuals ‖ therein. B. C. cir. 142.

‖ Gr. *in the strong holds.*

34 Moreover Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the land an immunity, because ‖ all that Tryphon did was to spoil.

‖ Gr. *all Tryphon's doings were robberies.*

30. *it standeth yet unto this day.*] Josephus says that it still remained when he wrote (about A.D. 70). So also Eusebius ('Onomasticon,' *ad voc.* MODIM), writing about A.D. 320. Modern researches are thought to have discovered some trace of it in the remains of large sepulchral vaults and broken columns near the modern village of Medieh; but the traces are few, and perhaps not altogether certain. (See the 'Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund' for April 1873, p. 93).

§ 3. TRYPHON MURDERS THE YOUNG ANTIOCHUS, AND BECOMES KING — SIMON MAKES A TREATY WITH DEMETRIUS.

31–42. After three years and a half of hesitation Tryphon (in B.C. 142) threw off the mask, murdered the puppet king, whose cause he had professed to espouse, and assumed the crown himself. Simon, upon this, broke off all relations with his brother's murderer, and entered into negotiations with Demetrius, who still maintained the struggle with Tryphon from Seleucia, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Naturally Demetrius received his overtures favourably, and proposed the terms which are given in *vv.* 36–40. These terms involved the practical independence of Judæa. So important was the new agreement considered, that in connection with it a new era was set up, which thenceforth prevailed in legal instruments and contracts, though the Seleucid era was not wholly disused.

31. *Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus.*] According to Livy ('Epit.' lv. *ad fin.*), he gave out that Antiochus suffered from calculus, and required an operation for his relief, which the physicians were instructed to render fatal. The unfortunate boy was but ten years of age at his decease.

32. *he . . . crowned himself king of Asia.*] The actual reign of Trypho is attested by a coin, which has the inscription Βασιλέως Τρύφωνος αὐτοκράτορος (Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. iii. p. 1573). According to Clinton ('F. H.' vol. iii. pp. 327–8), he held the throne from early in B.C. 142 to late in B.C. 139– something short of four years. On the title "King of Asia," see the comment on ch. viii. 6.

brought a great calamity upon the land.] Josephus says that he shewed himself "a thorough lover of luxury," and thereby alienated the soldiery, who went over to the party of Demetrius. Diodorus speaks of his having carried on wars with various "satraps" in Mesopotamia, Cœlesyria, and the vicinity of Antioch (Fr. xxv.). His reign was undoubtedly a time of continuous warfare and disturbance, in which "the land," *i.e.* Syria, suffered greatly.

33. *Then Simon built up the strong holds in Judea.*] Simon was the most prudent of the sons of Mattathias (ch. ii. 65). He never let slip an opportunity. Tryphon's difficulty was his opportunity. While the civil war raged in his neighbourhood he held aloof from it, and devoted his energies to strengthening the defences of his own country. The chief "strongholds" of Judæa are enumerated in ch. ix. 50–52. Simon not only put them in a state to resist a sudden assault, but provisioned one and all against a siege.

high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars.] These were, in the time of Simon, and for many centuries afterwards, the main defences of every fortified city. Walls were carried to a height which (it was thought) scaling-ladders could not equal: the towers which flanked them, or dominated them, were strengthened in every possible way; gates were made of the most solid and least combustible materials; bars were multiplied and augmented in thickness. Simon included in his scheme of defence all that the art of the time had elaborated with respect to the fortification of strongholds.

34. *Simon . . . sent to king Demetrius.*] Demetrius appears to have been at Seleucia (Liv. 'Epit.' lii.; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' ii. 40, § 17; Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 7, § 1). Simon could readily communicate with him by sea from his port of Joppa (ch. xiv. 5).

to the end he should give the land an immunity.] Simon required the renunciation, on the part of the Syrian king, of all claim to tribute or tax of any sort or kind. Demetrius granted the demand (*v.* 39).

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B. C. cir. 142.

35 Unto whom king Demetrius answered and wrote after this manner:

36 King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest, and friend of kings, as also unto the elders and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting:

37 The golden crown, and the scarlet robe, which ye sent unto us, we have received: and we are ready to make a stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to confirm the immunities which we have granted.

38 And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strong holds, which ye have builded, shall be your own. B. C. cir. 142.

39 As for any oversight or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also, which ye owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid.

40 And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us.

41 Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the B C 142. hundred and seventieth year.

42 Then the people of Israel

all that Tryphon did was to spoil.] Literally, "all the acts of Tryphon were robberies." It is not quite clear that this charge had any other foundation besides the exaction of the hundred talents (*v.* 19) as ransom. Tryphon had scarcely sufficient power to compel Simon to pay him tribute.

36. *King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest.*] Simon had become "High Priest" at the death of his brother Jonathan, if not even earlier. (See the comment on *v.* 8.) It is to be noted that Demetrius does not even claim to confer the title on him.

and friend of kings.] Compare ch. x. 16, 19, 20, 65; xi. 27, &c.

the elders.] Probably the members of the council or senate. (See ch. xii. 6, and comment *ad loc.*)

37. *The golden crown and the scarlet robe.*] On the practice of sending crowns of gold as presents to states or sovereigns about this period, see the comment on ch. viii. 14, and compare ch. x. 20. The word translated "scarlet robe" seems to mean really "a splendid over-robe embroidered with golden palm-twigs, as symbols of victory" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 334, note [5]). Compare the Roman *palmata*.

to confirm the immunities which we have granted.] Rather, "**to grant you immunities.**" The immunities intended may be those promised in ch. xi. 34, 35; but it is not so stated in the text, which is vague.

38. *whatsoever covenants we have made with you.*] This is a distinct reference to the treaty made with Jonathan in B.C. 146–5 (ch. xi. 29–37), and revived all its conditions.

the strong holds.] See *v.* 33.

39. *As for any oversight or fault committed . . . we forgive it.*] In these words there would seem to have been granted a general amnesty for all offences committed against the Syrian crown, and therefore for all the recent acts of rebellion of which the Jews had been guilty since they forsook the cause of Demetrius and espoused that of Tryphon (ch. xi. 54–59).

the crown tax also.] See the comment on ch. x. 29.

if there were any other tribute.] On the various dues claimed by the Syrian monarchs before the time of the Maccabee princes, and paid by the Jews, see ch. x. 29, 30. All these were to cease, and Judæa to be exempt from any payment whatever to the Syrian crown.

40. *look who are meet among you to be in our court.*] The invitation is not to furnish courtiers to the Syrian court, but soldiers towards the royal body-guard. Compare ch. x. 36. The value of a contingent of Jewish troops in his capital had been already experienced by Demetrius (ch. xi. 47–51). For "be in our court," translate, "**be enrolled in our guard.**"

41. *Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away.*] Ewald remarks with truth, that "the concessions and engagements of the kings and other potentates of this period generally lasted so long as they were destitute of the power to elude or repudiate them" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 335); and Judæa was certainly still far from having secured absolute independence. Still it would seem that, on the whole, there was no time at which a greater step was made towards independence than the present, and thus it was quite reasonable that the year of the agreement with Demetrius (B.C. 142) should be made an era, and called "the first year of freedom." The "yoke of the heathen," if not now absolutely "taken away," was, at any rate, made considerably lighter.

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began [c]to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews. B. C. cir. 142.

[c] ch. 14. 27.

43 In those days Simon camped against Gaza, and besieged it round about; he made also an engine of war, and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower, and took it.

44 And they that were in the engine leaped into the city; whereupon there was a great uproar in the city:

45 Insomuch as the people of the city rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon [‖]to grant them peace. B. C. cir. 142.

‖ Gr. *to give them his right hand.*

46 And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy.

47 So Simon was appeased toward them, and fought no more against them, but put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with songs and thanksgiving.

48 Yea, he put all uncleanness out

§ 4. SIMON'S SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF GAZARA.

43–48. That Simon turned his treaty with the Syrian king to account by at once engaging in the reduction of those fortresses which most interfered with Jewish independence is clear. But there is a doubt as to the city which he first attacked. All the MSS. of the First Book of Maccabees, and also the ancient versions, give the name of the city as "Gaza." Josephus, on the contrary, has "Gazara," both in 'A. J.' xii. 6, § 7, and in 'B. J.' i. 2, § 2. And probability is in favour of Gazara having been the object of attack. The remote Gaza was no obstacle to Judæan independence; the near Gazara was at once a menace and a real danger. It is most unlikely that, before attacking the great stronghold of his adversaries, the Acra at Jerusalem, Simon should have felt it incumbent on him to engage in a war at the extreme south of Philistia; it is quite reasonable that he should have delivered his first assault upon the fortress which was, next to the Acra, the main support of the Hellenizers (ch. x. 52), since its fall would at once be a relief to the neighbouring Judæans, and an alarm to the garrison of the Acra. The siege and capture appear to have occupied but a short time.

43. *In those days.*] See the comment on ch. i. 11.

Simon camped against Gaza.] On the probability that "Gazara" is the true reading, see the comment on *vv.* 43–48.

besieged it round about.] Literally, "surrounded it with his camps."

he made also an engine of war.] Most of the MSS. have ἑλεπόλεις, "engines of war," but the mention of a single such engine in the next verse seems to imply that the singular number must have been used here also. The *helepolis* was a moveable tower, resting on wheels, which was brought up close to the walls of a besieged town, and which operated both on the wall itself and on the defenders. Demetrius Poliorcetes had a single engine of this kind at Salamis in Cyprus, and was indebted to it for his successful siege of that place (Diod. Sic. xx. 48). He had also another at the siege of Rhodes, which was an engine of even greater power. As one "ironclad" of the first rank decides a modern seafight, so one of these "helepoleis" often determined the fate of a siege in ancient times.

44. *there was a great uproar in the city.*] Rather, "a great **commotion**."

45. *climbed upon the wall.*] Rather, "**went up** upon the walls." There would be no need to "climb," since the wall would be readily ascended on the inside by frequent flights of steps.

46. *Deal not with us according to our wickedness.*] The "wickedness" which the Gazarites confessed was probably that sin of religious apostasy which the Maccabee princes always so sternly denounced and sometimes so severely punished (ch. ii. 24, 44; iii. 8; vii. 24, &c.). They seem to have feared lest Simon should put them all to the sword.

47. *So Simon was appeased toward them.*] Simon accepted their submission and spared their lives, but forced them to quit the city, and re-peopled it with persons whom he could trust (*v.* 48).

cleansed the houses wherein the idols were.] We see by this that the "Hellenizing" of the time was not a mere preference for Grecian manners and amusements (ch. i. 14), but an actual lapse into idolatry. Images of heathen gods were set up in the private houses of the Hellenizers, and the customary offerings made to them. (Cf. ch. i. 55.)

48. *he put all uncleanness out of it.*] *I.e.* all the traces of idolatry—altars, images, emblems, sacrificial vessels and dresses, unclean beasts for sacrifice, &c.

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B. C. cir. 142. of it, and placed such men there as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwellingplace for himself.

49 They also of the tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished through famine.

50 Then cried they to Simon, beseeching him ‖ to be at one with them: which thing he granted them; and when he had put them out from thence, he cleansed the tower from pollutions:

B. C. cir. 141.

‖ Or, *to make peace with them.*

51 And entered into it the three and twentieth day of the second month, in the hundred seventy and first year, with thanksgiving, and branches of palm trees, and with harps, and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns, and songs: because

B. C. 141.

placed such men there as would keep the law.] Not specially pious men, but men of the party of the orthodox, who could be trusted to allow no Hellenizing practices.

and built therein a dwellingplace for himself.] This furnishes a strong argument against the city intended being Gaza, since it would be quite out of the question that Simon should ever reside so far south. It is also a positive argument for the city being Gazara, since we find by verse 53 (cf. ch. xvi. i. 19, 21) that John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, had his ordinary residence in that town.

§ 5. SIMON OBTAINS POSSESSION OF THE ACRA OR CITADEL OF JERUSALEM, AND MAKES HIS SON JOHN CAPTAIN OF THE HOST.

49–53. At length the time was come when the defenders of the Acra at Jerusalem could no longer maintain themselves. They had been the object of frequent attacks on the part of the Maccabee princes for above twenty years. (See ch. vi. 20, and cf. ch. xi. 20, 23, 41: xii. 36; xiii. 21.) Hitherto they had successfully held their most important position, and had been a thorn in the side of each successive Jewish ruler. From time to time the Syrian kings had relieved them, reinforced them, and no doubt re-victualled them. But, as the power of Syria declined and that of Judea increased, this ceased to be possible. Tryphon's hands were at this time too full for him to repeat the effort which had been baffled by the snow-storm (ch. xiii. 20–22). Demetrius had allied himself with Simon, and could not venture to offend him. The garrison was thus left to its fate. Simon, with the prudence which distinguished him (ch. ii. 65), resolved to waste no lives on an assault, but to trust to famine for the achievement of his purpose. The event was as he expected. In the spring of B.C. 141 the garrison of the Acra was starved out and surrendered itself (*vv.* 49, 50). Simon granted them their lives, and took possession of the vacant stronghold with every demonstration of joy and thankfulness (*v.* 51). He ordered an annual commemoration of the happy event (*v.* 52), demolished the Acra and (according to Josephus) cut down the hill on which it stood, while he made the Temple still stronger than it had been previously. Shortly afterwards, feeling the decay of his own physical strength, he made over the command of the army to his son John (*v.* 53), who afterwards became his successor (ch. xvi. 24).

49. *They . . . of the tower . . . were kept so strait.*] Cf. ch. xii. 36, where we find the policy of "straitening" the place and cutting off its supplies first adopted. No doubt, after getting rid of Tryphon, Simon was able to make his blockade of the place more effective.

nor buy, nor sell.] See the comment on ch. xii. 36.

50. *he cleansed the tower from pollutions.*] Here, too, idolatry had been practised, and purification was necessary before the place could be a fit dwelling for Jews. (Comp. *v.* 48.)

51. *the three and twentieth day, &c.*] The three and twentieth day of the second (Jewish) month, Zif or Iyar, of the 171st (Seleucid) year, would correspond with May B.C. 141.

with thanksgiving, and branches of palm trees.] The use of palm-branches had belonged originally to the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40; Neh. viii. 15), in the celebration of which it had been customary, not only to weave them into booths, but also to carry them in the hand. (See Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. iii. p. 1421.) From this festive employment of it, the palm-branch came to be a general sign of rejoicing, and was used in triumphal processions of all kinds (2 Macc. x. 7; John xii. 13).

harps, and cymbals, and with viols.] Compare ch. iv. 54; where, however, the cithern (κιθάρα) takes the place of the viol (νάβλα) of this passage. Both words are probably translations of the same Hebrew original, *nébel.*

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B. C. 141. there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel.

52 He ordained also that that day should be kept every year with gladness. Moreover the hill of the temple that was by the tower he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company.

53 And when Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man, he made him captain of all the hosts; [d] and [d] he dwelt in Gazara.

[d] ch. 16. 1.

CHAPTER XIV.

B. C. 140

3 *Demetrius is taken by the king of Persia.* 4 *The good deeds of Simon to his country.* 18 *The Lacedemonians and Romans renew their league with him.* 26 *A memorial of his acts is set up in Sion.*

NOW in the hundred threescore and twelfth year king Demetrius gathered his forces together, and went into Media, to get him help to fight against Tryphon.

2 But when Arsaces, the king of

there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel.] Compare ch. i. 36, where the Acra is called "an evil adversary (διάβολος πονηρός) to Israel."

52. *He ordained also that that day should be kept.*] The celebration of the day does not appear to have continued very long. Josephus makes no mention of it.

the hill of the temple . . . he made stronger.] Josephus says nothing of this, but declares that Simon's first care, after taking the Acra, was to raze it to the ground, after which he proceeded to cut down the hill upon which the fortress had been built, so that it might no longer command the Temple site. Three years of continual labour on the part of the people of Jerusalem were necessary for the accomplishment of the work ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 6). Ewald accepts his narrative as true in its main features; and the recent excavations conducted by the Palestine Exploration Society are thought to confirm it. (See the 'Transactions of the Bibl. Archæology Society,' vol. vii. pp. 309–315.) But ch. xiv. 37 throws some doubt on the story.

53. *Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man.*] Literally, "was a man," but probably in an intensive sense. Compare ch. v. 63.

he made him captain of all the hosts.] Simon must have been now advanced in years. He was the second son of Mattathias, and as early as B.C. 167–6 had earned a character for caution and prudence (ch. ii. 65). If he was then forty, he would have been now sixty-five. It was well that he should shift the active duties of military command on younger shoulders.

he dwelt in Gazara.] Gazara seems to have been viewed at this time as the Jewish fortress next in importance to Jerusalem (ch. xiv. 7). On this account Simon had "built therein a dwelling-place for himself;" and in this dwelling-place he now installed his son John, the commander-in-chief of his forces.

CHAPTER XIV.

§ 1. THE MARCH OF DEMETRIUS INTO MEDIA, AND HIS CAPTURE BY ARSACES.

1–3. The alliance which he had made with Simon, and the success of Simon against Tryphon (ch. xiii. 20–24, 43–50), encouraged Demetrius (in the year B.C. 141–0) to attempt an enterprise of extreme importance. This was no less a thing than the recovery of his eastern provinces out of the hands of the Parthians, who, in the space between B.C. 163 and B.C. 141, had overrun the entire country between Parthia proper and the Euphrates, thus reducing the kingdom of the Seleucidæ to less than half its previous dimensions. No effort had been as yet made to reclaim the lost territory. Demetrius seems now to have thought that he might safely leave Tryphon to be kept in check by his wife, Cleopatra, and his generals, while he marched eastward and drove the Parthians beyond his borders. He intended then to come back to Syria with an army levied from among his eastern subjects, and hoped by their aid speedily to reduce Tryphon to submission (*v.* 1). Justin tells us that he was at first very successful, gaining several victories over the Parthian monarch ('Hist. Phil.' xxxvi. 1); but after a while he fell a victim to Asiatic treachery, was entrapped at a conference, seized, and made a prisoner, while his army was at the same time surprised and defeated. (Compare App. 'Syriaca,' § 67; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17; Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 5, § 11, where, however, the expedition is misdated.)

1. *in the hundred threescore and twelfth year.*] The 172nd Seleucid year began in October B.C. 141, and ended in October B.C. 140. The expedition of Demetrius seems not to have been made till late in this year.

to get him help to fight against Tryphon.] The Parthian rule over the newly-conquered countries was detested (Justin, *l. s. c.*), and Demetrius had therefore reason to believe that the native inhabitants would flock to his standard as soon as they had the opportunity.

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B. C. 140. Persia and Media, heard that Demetrius was entered within his borders, he sent one of his princes to take him alive:

3 Who went and smote the host of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to Arsaces, by whom he was put in ward.

4 As for the land *of Judea*, [a]that was quiet all the days of Simon; for he sought the good of his nation in such wise, as that evermore his authority and honour pleased them well.

B. C. cir. 140.
[a] ch. 7. 50.

5 And as he was honourable in all his acts, so in this, that he took Joppe

In this he was not disappointed. Numbers of the Persians, Elymæans, and even the Bactrians joined him and fought on his side. Had he been proof against Parthian craft, his enterprise would probably have had all the success which he expected from it.

2. *Arsaces, the king of Persia and Media.*] This was Arsaces VI., better known as Mithridates I. of Parthia, the great conqueror who carried his arms from the Hindu Kush to the Euphrates, and transformed the Parthian kingdom into an Empire. His reign lasted from B.C. 174 to B.C. 136. All the Parthian monarchs took the name Arsaces, and placed it upon their coins. Those of Mithridates bear the legend, "The king of kings, the great and illustrious Arsaces." In calling him "king of Persia and Media," our author means to point out that, from the time of Mithridates, the Parthian monarchy became the great power of Western Asia, the true successor and representative of that Persian kingdom which had ruled over the East for above two centuries.

Demetrius was entered within his borders.] Mithridates claimed the newly-conquered provinces as his. Demetrius, no doubt, disputed the claim, and regarded himself as still in his own territories. Josephus says he crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia.

he sent one of his princes.] One of the *vitaxæ*, or governors of provinces, of whom there were fourteen or fifteen. (See Rawlinson's 'Sixth Monarchy,' p. 87.)

to take him alive.] This is probably our author's conclusion from the subsequent event. But it is very unlikely that the commanders employed against Demetrius originally received any such instructions. Their object was to defeat him; but this for a considerable time they failed to do, suffering defeat themselves in several engagements (Justin, *l. s. c.*).

3. *Who went and smote the host of Demetrius, and took him.*] There is no reason to doubt the statement of Justin, that Demetrius was deceived by a pretence of negotiations and so captured ("pacis simulatione deceptus capitur"). An attack on his army seems however to have been made at the same time with his own seizure, and the result was its complete defeat (Justin, xxxviii. 9).

he was put in ward.] At first Demetrius was put in fetters of iron (Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17), and carried about through the provinces which had embraced his cause, to excite ridicule (Justin, xxxvi. 1); but afterwards he received courteous and even kindly treatment. He was assigned a residence in Hyrcania, where he was maintained as a prince, and given a wife in the person of Rhodogune, Mithridates' daughter (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 67).

§ 2. The Prosperity of Judæa under Simon.

4–15. A short period of tranquillity followed the recovery of the Acra, and the departure of Demetrius on his eastern expedition. Tryphon was sufficiently occupied in Syria proper to make no further attempt against Judæa. The Hellenizing party among the Jews was paralysed by the loss of the Acra and of Gazara, and by the firmness with which Simon governed the land. Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, had not yet quitted his obscure retreat at Sida, and when he did so was for some time engaged in contest with Tryphon. Thus "the land was quiet in the days of Simon." From B.C. 141, when the Acra was recovered, to B.C. 138–7, when Cendebæus made his invasion (ch. xv. 40), the land rested. It is this period especially which the author here describes.

4. *the land . . . was quiet all the days of Simon.*] This is contradicted by the later narrative (ch. xv. 38–41; ch. xvi. 1–19), and must be viewed as a rhetorical exaggeration. Simon's reign was on the whole quiet, compared with those of Judas and Jonathan, and again of John Hyrcanus; but it was not a time of uninterrupted tranquillity.

for he sought.] Rather, "**And** he sought."

5. *he took Joppe for an haven.*] *I.e.* "with the view and object of making it a haven." The "ships" on Simon's monument at Modeïn (ch. xiii. 29), the employment of Joppa as a haven, and the opening of trade between that port and "the isles of the sea," are to be connected together. Regarding war as over,

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B. C. cir. 140. for an haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea,

6 And enlarged the bounds of his nation, and recovered the country,

7 And gathered together a great number of captives, and had the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the tower, out of the which he took all uncleanness, neither was there any that resisted him.

8 Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit.

9 The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of ‖ good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. B. C. cir. 140.

‖ Or, *the wealth of the land.*

10 He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world.

11 He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy:

12 For [b]every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them:

[b] 1 Kings 4. 25. Mic. 4. 4. Zech. 3. 10.

Simon turned himself to the works of peace, which were most congenial to his temperament, and determined on the encouragement of trade and commerce. He has been called the "Solomon" of the Asmonæan kingdom (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363); and certainly in this respect he imitated the example of his great predecessor and prototype (1 Kings ix. 26–28; 2 Chr. viii. 17, 18; ix. 10, 21).

the isles of the sea.] By "the isles of the sea" (Heb. *iyyêy hayyâm*) we must understand the islands and sea-coasts of Europe generally (compare ch. vi. 29; xv. 11)—by "making an entrance to them," allowing them freely to import their commodities into his country.

6. *enlarged the bounds of his nation.*] The reference is probably to the recovery of Gazara and the Acra (ch. xiii. 43–51) and to the occupation of Joppa by Judæans (*ib.* 11). Otherwise Simon does not appear to have made any conquests.

7. *And gathered together a great number of captives.*] *I.e.* he redeemed from slavery many Jewish captives—probably, prisoners of war—and restored them to their native country. Compare the boast of Nehemiah (Neh. vi. 8).

had the dominion of Gazara.] Rather, "**made himself master of Gazara.**" (Cf. ch. xiii. 43–7.)

and Bethsura.] Compare *v.* 33, and see also ch. xi. 65–66. From the latter passage it appears that the capture of Beth-sura was effected by Simon during Jonathan's lifetime.

and the tower.] The Acra, or citadel of Jerusalem. (See ch. xiii. 49–51.)

neither was there any that resisted him.] This is another exaggeration (see the comment on *v.* 4). Antiochus of Sida resisted him (ch. xv. 27–39); Cendebæus resisted him (ib. *vv.* 40, 41; ch. xvi. 1–10), and his own son-in-law, Ptolemy the son of Abubus, not only resisted him but murdered him at a banquet (ch. xvi. 11–16).

8. *Then did they till their ground in peace.*] Agriculture, neglected during the time of war and disturbance, once more flourished; the earth brought forth abundance both of grain and fruit.

the trees of the field.] Vines and olives, especially, figs and pomegranates also to some extent. (Compare Deut. viii. 8; Josh. xxiv. 13; 1 Sam. viii. 14; 2 Kings xviii. 32; Hag. ii. 19; &c.) The fruit crop was reckoned by the Jews quite as important as the crop of grain.

9. *The ancient men sat all in the streets.*] The prophecy of Zechariah was fulfilled, which said: "There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, every man with his staff in his hand for very age" (Zech. viii. 4). Grimm rightly observes that the author has this text in his mind.

the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.] The young men wore for display "the accoutrements in which they had won their country's freedom" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 364).

10. *set in them all manner of munition.*] Literally, "made them all into vessels of strength." The fortification of the cities seem to be intended. (Compare ch. xiii. 10, 33, 48, 52; xiv. 33, 34.)

his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world.] *I.e.* "far and wide." Simon attracted attention at Rome (*vv.* 16, 24, and ch. xv. 16–24), at Sparta (*vv.* 16–23), in Asia Minor (ch. xv. 23), in Rhodes, Cyprus, and Cyrene (*ibid.*). No prince of the Asmonean family had as yet been so generally famous.

12. *every man sat under his vine and his fig tree.*] Compare 1 Kings iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10. The phrase was used to

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B. C. cir. 140.

13 Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.

14 Moreover he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away.

15 He beautified the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple. B. C. cir. 140.

16 Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very sorry.

17 But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein:

express perfect tranquillity and security. It came home to each Jew who was wont to sit under the shadow of "the vine which overspread his own house, and the fig-tree in his own garden" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' *l. s. c.*).

there was none to fray them.] Rather, "to **affright** them." But the word "fray" had this meaning, when our translation was made. (See Deut. xxviii. 26; Jer. vii. 33; Zech. i. 21; Ecclus. xxii. 20.)

13. *Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them.*] See the introductory paragraph to this section.

the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.] The writer refers probably to the defeat and captivity of Demetrius, who was made prisoner by the Parthians in B.C. 138, and the reverses suffered by Tryphon in B.C. 138–7. (See ch. xv. 10–37.)

14. *he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low.*] Literally, "all the humble of his people." By "the humble" are meant, not the pious generally, but the oppressed and those of low estate.

the law he searched out.] *I.e.* studied its full meaning, with a view to its better observance. Compare the Sept. version of Ps. civ. 45, where our translators give "keep his laws."

every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away.] Like his predecessors (ch. ii. 24, 44; iii. 5, 8; vii. 6, 24, &c.), Simon acted with severity against all those who neglected the observance of the law, and assimilated themselves to the heathen, rooting them out (ἐξαίρων), *i.e.* either putting them to death, or banishing them from the land. Some modern critics regret this "intolerance;" but it was in accordance with the commands given by God to Moses; and a gentler policy would, in all probability, have produced the effacement of the nation.

15. *He . . . multiplied the vessels of the temple.*] On the numerous "vessels" required in the temple service, see 1 Kings vii. 38–50; 2 Chr. iv. 11–22; Ezra i. 9–11, viii. 25–30. It was always regarded as an act of piety to "multiply" them.

§ 3. Simon has friendly Communication with Sparta and Rome.

16–24. From his general sketch of the prosperity of Judæa under Simon, in which "the prosaic historian of fifty (?) years later warms almost into poetry" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363), the author proceeds to other points which reflected credit and glory upon his hero. In the present section he tells of two embassies which he received—the sequel of the steps taken by his brother, Jonathan (ch. xii. 1–18)—one from Sparta and the other from Rome, unequal no doubt in value, but both of them giving him dignity in the eyes of surrounding nations. The respective ambassadors brought with them documents renewing the leagues which were recognised as subsisting between the nations which they represented and the Jews.

16. *at Rome, and as far as Sparta.*] Though Sparta was geographically so much nearer to Judæa than Rome, it was practically more remote. Rome was in constant communication with Syria and Palestine. Her agents were everywhere. The little state of Sparta had, on the contrary, no agents, and but rare communication with any foreign country.

they were very sorry.] A diplomatic sorrow is intended. They expressed themselves as deeply grieved.

17. *as soon as they heard.*] Grammatically, both the Romans and the Spartans should be spoken of; but there is a difficulty in supposing that the Romans really acted in the manner here stated. It was not their practice to volunteer communications with new rulers of countries in alliance with them. Their diplomacy was more reserved. They waited till the new ruler made overtures to them and asked for a renewal of alliance (Polyb. xxxi. 14, xxxiii. 16; Liv. xlii. 6, &c.). Perhaps the writer has misplaced the conclusion of the Roman treaty, which in point of fact did not precede, but followed, the embassy of Numenius (*v.* 24).

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18 They wrote unto him in tables of brass, to renew the friendship and league which they had made with Judas and Jonathan his brethren:

19 Which writings were read before the congregation at Jerusalem.

20 And this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent; The rulers of the Lacedemonians, with the city, unto [c] Simon the high priest, and the elders, and priests, and residue of the people of the Jews, our brethren, *send* greeting:

[c] See ch. 12. 6.

21 The ambassadors that were sent unto our people certified us of your glory and honour: wherefore we were glad of their coming,

22 And did register the things that they spake in the [‖] council of the people in this manner; Numenius *son* of Antiochus, and Antipater *son* of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us.

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[‖] Or, *publick records.*

23 And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their ambassage in publick records, to the end the people of the Lacedemonians might have a memorial thereof: furthermore we have written a copy thereof unto Simon the high priest.

24 After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, to confirm the league with them.

18. *They wrote unto him in tables of brass.*] Compare ch. viii. 22, and comment *ad loc.*

the . . . league . . . made with Judas.] See ch. viii. 22–30.

and Jonathan.] The Senate had perhaps received Jonathan's ambassadors (ch. xii. 16) before his death, and consented to a renewal of the treaty of alliance with him.

20. *this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent.*] Rather, "of the **letter**." (See comment on ch. xii. 5.) Here again we have not a copy of the actual Greek original, but a Greek translation of the Hebrew version of that original. With this qualification, the document would seem to be an authentic one. It may, perhaps, be abbreviated.

The rulers of the Lacedemonians.] In the time of Onias the Spartans had still their two kings of the two ancient royal houses, Areus (ch. xii. 20) belonging to the house of the Agidæ. After the old hereditary monarchy came to an end (B.C. 220), the state was ruled for a time by "tyrants"—*e.g.* Lycurgus, Machanides, Nabis. After the death of Nabis in B.C. 192, the "rulers" of the state were the Ephors.

with the city.] *I.e.* "the people." Excepting when she was under tyrants, Sparta had always an assembly of the people, which exercised a large, though undefined, authority. (Compare *v.* 23.)

unto Simon the high priest, and the elders.] The "elders" of this passage correspond to the "senate of the people" mentioned in ch. xii. 6.

our brethren.] This is emphatic. (Compare ch. xii. 7, 21.) The Spartans continue to claim a close kinship with the Jews, notwithstanding the entire absence of any foundation for the claim. (See the comment on ch. xii. 21.)

21. *The ambassadors that were sent.*] *I.e.* Numenius and Antipater, who were sent to Sparta and Rome by Jonathan in B.C. 144 (ch. xii. 16, 17).

certified us of your glory and honour.] *I.e.* told of the flourishing condition of Judæa under Jonathan at the time when he sent the embassy. (See ch. xi. 60–74; ch. xii. 1, 2.)

22. *And did register the things that they spake in the council of the people.*] Rather, "And registered **among the decrees** of the people the things that they spake." For βουλὴ in the sense of "decree," see Andoc. p. 9. l. 4; p. 23, l. 15, &c. The sense of "council" is not suitable here, more especially as the word is in the plural.

Numenius, &c.] See ch. xii. 16, and the comment *ad loc.*

23. *the copy of their ambassage.*] Literally, "the copy of their *words*."

in publick records.] Rather, "in **the** public records" (literally, "in the appointed books of the people").

24. *with a great shield of gold.*] The practice of courting the favour of the Roman state by rich gifts was very common at the time whereof our author treats. The usual form which the gifts took was that of a crown of gold, as mentioned in the comment on ch. viii. 14; but occasionally this form was varied, and a golden shield, or some other article of value, substituted. The golden shields, often presented to the Roman emperors as gifts of honour, formed a sort of continuance of the ancient practice (Suet. 'Vit. Calig.' § 16;

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B. C. 140. 25 Whereof when the people heard, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?

26 For he and his brethren and the house of his father have established Israel, and chased away in fight their enemies from them, and confirmed their liberty.

27 So then they wrote *it* in tables of brass, which they set upon pillars in mount Sion: and this is the copy of the writing; The eighteenth day of *the month* Elul, in the hundred threescore and twelfth year, being the third year of Simon the high priest, B. C. 140.

28 At ‖Saramel in the great con-

‖ Or, *Jerusalem*, peradventure by corruption and transposition of letters; or, as some think, *the common hall where they met to consult of matters of estate*

Jul. Capit. 'Vit. Anton. Pii,' § 5; Trebell. Poll. 'Vit. Claud.' § 3, &c.).

of a thousand pound weight.] If the Attic mina is intended, our "pound" may be regarded as fairly representing it; but if the Hebrew gold *maneh* is meant, the weight would be nearly double. Josephus, in a passage ('A. J.' xiv. 8, § 5) which probably treats of the present embassy of Numenius, though by some blunder he has referred it to a later date, gives the value of the shield as fifty thousand *aurei*, or nearly 53,000*l.*

§ 4. The Jews set up a Memorial of Simon's Acts and Honours in the Temple.

25–49. The culminating honour paid to Simon proceeded from his own nation. Roused to an unwonted enthusiasm by his important successes (ch. xiii. 43–50; ch. xiv. 33) and by the acknowledgments of his power and greatness which they saw made by foreign countries (ch. xiv. 16–23; 38–40), they gathered themselves together, and held a great assembly (*v.* 28), in which it was resolved that there should be set up within the precincts of the sanctuary a document, engraved on a brazen tablet, containing a record of his glorious deeds and honours, recognising him as their prince and leader, conferring on him absolute power (*vv.* 42–45), and making the high priesthood hereditary in his family (*vv* 25, 41, 49). So far as we know, such an honour had never been paid by the Jews to any of their rulers before: it was in its conception rather Greek than Hebrew, and shewed how Hellenic civilisation affected even those most opposed to it; but it fitly crowned the edifice of Simon's fame, indicating to after generations the exalted, and indeed unique, position which this particular Maccabee prince held in the estimation of his countrymen.

25. *What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?*] The important fact, that now for the second time only in the life of the nation a hereditary monarchy was set up, is just hinted at in these first words—by the mention of Simon's "sons"—as it is again in the closing words of the narrative (*v.* 49). See Ewald's 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note [6].

26. *he and his brethren and the house of his father.*] Compare ch. xiii. 3; xvi. 2.

27. *they wrote it in tables of brass.*] The Romans had familiarised the Jews with inscriptions on bronze tablets (ch. viii. 22; xiv. 18), and they now set up such an inscription themselves. In Assyria the material had been used, both for sculptures and for inscriptions, at a much earlier date ('Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology,' vol. vii. pp. 84–88). The Greeks employed it for inscriptions, at any rate from the time of the Persian War (Herod. ix. 81; Pausan. v. 23, § 1). The Romans inscribed their treaties upon bronze tablets from the first year of the Republic (Polyb. iii. 22, § 1; 26, § 1).

upon pillars.] The στήλαι of the original are scarcely "pillars." They represent rather those upright flat stones which the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to erect, either as funeral monuments, or as memorials of various other kinds.

in mount Sion.] *I.e.* the Temple hill, as constantly in this Book (ch. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vii. 33). Compare *v.* 48.

The eighteenth day of . . . Elul.] Elul, the sixth month of the Jewish sacred year, corresponded with the latter part of August and the earlier portion of September. It was the last month of the Jewish civil year. The Elul of Ær. Seleuc. 172 would fall in the autumn of B.C. 140.

the third year of Simon.] Compare ch. xiii. 42.

28. *At Saramel.*] The word "Saramel" occurs here only. It is supposed by some to be the name of a place in Jerusalem where popular assemblies were held; but it scarcely seems possible that, if this were the case, we should find no other notice of it, either in the Bible, or in Josephus, or in the Talmud. Most commentators suppose a corruption, or rather a failure to understand the original Hebrew text on the part of the Greek translator. The original words are generally thought to have been either *ba-hatsar 'am*

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B. C. 140. gregation of the priests, and people, and rulers of the nation, and elders of the country, were these things notified unto us.

29 Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country, wherein for the maintenance of their sanctuary, and the law, Simon the son of Mattathias, of the posterity of Jarib, together with his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and resisting the enemies of their nation did their nation great honour:

30 (For after that Jonathan, having gathered his nation together, and been their high priest, was added to his people,

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31 Their enemies purposed to invade their country, that they might destroy it, and lay hands on the sanctuary:

32 At which time Simon rose up, and fought for his nation, and spent much of his own substance, and armed ‖the valiant men of his nation, and gave them wages,

‖ Or, *the men of war.*

33 And fortified the cities of Judea, together with Bethsura, that lieth upon the borders of Judea, where the ‖armour of the enemies

‖ Or, *weapons.*

El, "in the court of the people of God," or *bash-sha'ar 'am 'El*, "at the gate of the people of God"—*i. e.* "in the great court of the temple," or "at the great gate of the temple." Grimm, however, proposes a different explanation. The word belongs, he thinks, to the preceding verse, and represents the Hebrew *hash-shar 'am 'El*, "the prince of the people of God," which is no doubt a possible title of Simon. The preposition *ἐν* he supposes to have been inserted by a transcriber who thought *hash-shar 'am 'El* was the name of a place. On the whole, the explanation of Saramel (Asaramel in some MSS.) as *hat-sar 'am El*, which is Ewald's ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note [5]), seems to be the best.

in the great congregation.] Rather, "in a great assembly." There is no article; and a political, rather than a religious, gathering is intended.

of the priests, and people, &c.] "Priests," "people," "rulers," "elders," do not form a very correct logical division; but it is easy to see that an enumeration which shall comprise the whole nation is meant. Had the order been, "the priests, the rulers, the elders, and the people"—*i.e.* the rest of the people—the laws of logic would have been fairly satisfied.

were these things notified unto us.] This meaning cannot be got out of the existing text; but it is likely to have been that of the original Hebrew, which the Greek translator misunderstood. (See Grimm's note on the passage.)

29. *of the posterity of Jarib.*] "Jarib" is a contracted form of "Joarib" (ch. ii. 1) which is itself a contraction of "Jehoiarib" (1 Chr. ix. 10). Jehoiarib was the head of the first out of the twenty-four "courses" of priests according to the arrangement of the priests made by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). The return of some priests of this "course" from the Babylonian captivity is attested, both by the author of Chronicles (1 Chr. ix. 10) and by Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 10; xii. 6, 19).

30. *Jonathan . . . gathered his nation together.*] The "gathering" is said to have been voluntary on the part of Jonathan's friends in ch. ix. 28. But he was no doubt cognizant of it and gave it his sanction.

and been their high priest.] Rather, "and been made their high priest."

was added to his people.] *I.e.* "died." Compare the expression in ch. ii. 69—"So he (Mattathias) died, and was gathered to his fathers." The verb is the same in both places.

31. *Their enemies purposed to invade their country.*] Compare ch. xiii. 1–20.

32. *Simon . . . spent much of his own substance.*] This had not been stated previously; but it is quite in accordance with the general spirit of liberality which pervades Simon's acts. (See ch. xiii. 17, 27–29; xiv. 7, &c.) We are not to suppose that he raised armies, like Crassus, from his private means, but that he used them to supplement the public funds which were at his disposal: supplying his troops with better arms, and higher pay, than would otherwise have been possible.

33. *fortified the cities of Judea.*] Compare ch. xiii. 33.

together with Bethsura.] See ch. xi. 65, 66; where Simon's capture of Bethsura, during his brother Jonathan's lifetime, is related.

that lieth upon the borders of Judea.] On the position of Bethsura (Beth-zur) in the border country of Judah and Edom, see the comment on ch. iv. 29. It would seem to have been recently made into an arsenal by the Syrians. Simon took it, garrisoned it with Jews, and strengthened its defences.

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had been before; but he set a garrison of Jews there:

34 Moreover he fortified Joppe, which lieth upon the sea, and ‖ Gazara, that bordereth upon Azotus, where the enemies had dwelt before: but he placed Jews there, and furnished them with all things convenient for the reparation thereof.)

35 The people therefore, seeing the acts of Simon, and unto what glory he thought to bring his nation, made him their governor and chief priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all means to exalt his people.

36 For in his time things prospered in his hands, so that the heathen were taken out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt ‖ in the holy place:

37 But he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city, and raised up the walls of Jerusalem.

38 King Demetrius also [d] confirmed him in the high priesthood according to those things,

39 And made him one of his

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‖ Or, *Gaza.*

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‖ Or, *unto religion.*

[d] ch. 10. 20. & 11. 57.

34. *Moreover he fortified Joppe.*] Joppa had been taken by Jonathan in his war with Apollonius, the general of Demetrius II. (ch. x. 76). Simon had afterwards, in the lifetime of Jonathan, occupied the city, and placed a Jewish garrison in it (ch. xii. 33, 34). After his accession to the high priesthood and leadership of the nation, he had made Joppa an open port (ch. xiv. 5), and, probably at the same time, had fortified it.

and Gazara, that bordereth upon Azotus.] For the situation of Gazara, see the comment on ch. iv. 15. Its "bordering on Azotus" must be understood somewhat vaguely. Azotus was distant from it at least seventeen miles in a south-westerly direction. But it is possible that the territory of Azotus extended to a considerable distance inland, and that the land dependent on Azotus and that which belonged to Gazara were contiguous. Simon's conquest of Gazara is related in ch. xiii. 43–47. His fortification of it in ch. xiii. 48.

where the enemies had dwelt before.] Gazara appears in ch. iv. 15 (B.C. 165) as a place in the possession of the Syrians. It was fortified by Bacchides at the time (B.C. 169) when he was at war with Jonathan (ch. ix. 52). The Jews do not seem to have made any serious attempt to wrest it out of the hands of the Syrians until the siege by Simon in B.C. 142. It had then been in the hands of the Syrians for at least twenty-three years.

he placed Jews there.] Compare ch. xiii. 48—"He placed there such men as would keep the law."

35. *The people . . . made him their governor and chief priest.*] See ch. xiii. 8. Simon is first *called* "high priest" in the letter of Demetrius to him (ch. xiii. 36), but he seems to have been "appointed" by the people, and only "confirmed" in office by the Syrian monarch (see below, *v.* 38).

the . . . faith which he kept to his nation.] Fidelity to the promises which he made on the capture of Jonathan (ch. xiii. 5, 6).

36. *the heathen were taken out of their country.*] *I.e.* out of the Jews' country. (See ch. xiii. 47; xiv. 33.) The Syrian garrisons were entirely cleared out from the whole of Judæa.

they also that were in the city of David.] See ch. xiii. 48–51.

who . . . did much hurt in the holy place.] Rather, "did much hurt **to its purity.**" The vicinity of idols and idol-altars, the sights and sounds connected with the idol-worship, such as music, dancing, and the smoke of idol-sacrifices, were felt to be a pollution to the purity of the Temple itself, from which it was impossible to shut them out.

37. *he placed Jews therein and fortified it.*] If Josephus is correct in his statement, that Simon destroyed the Acra and cut down the hill on which it stood (see the comment on ch. xiii. 52), we must regard that proceeding as an afterthought. It is evident that his first intention was to maintain the Acra for the better defence of the city.

38. *Demetrius . . . confirmed him in the high priesthood.*] Perhaps by the simple act of acknowledging him as High Priest in the formal letter which he addressed to him in B.C. 142 (ch. xiii. 36); perhaps in some more ceremonious way.

according to those things.] Or, "in conformity with those things." The rank and place of High Priest were suitable to one who had so greatly distinguished himself.

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B. C. cir. 140. friends, and honoured him with great honour.

[e] ch. 8. 20. & 12. 3. 40 For he had heard say, that [e] the Romans had called the Jews their friends and confederates and brethren; and that they had entertained the ambassadors of Simon honourably;

41 Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest [f] ch. 4. 46. for ever, [f] until there should arise a faithful prophet;

42 Moreover that he should be their captain, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the armour, and over the fortresses, that, *I say*, he should take charge of the sanctuary;

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43 Beside this, that he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the writings in the country should be made in his name, and that [g] he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold:

[g] ch. 10. 20, 89. & 11. 58.

44 Also that it should be lawful for none of the people or priests to

39. *And made him one of his friends.*] Compare ch. xiii. 36.

40. *For he had heard say, &c.*] Though Rome as yet possessed not a rood of ground in Asia, her influence was enormous. Continual embassies were passing between the Senate and the kings and potentates of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, through which Rome, to a great extent, directed the course of events in the East as she thought best for her own interests. None of the states could afford to quarrel with the great power of the West, and the moment any community obtained her protection, or any prince her alliance, the respect of all the neighbouring states and princes was at once secured. We may gather from the present passage that Demetrius did not send his letter to Simon (ch. xiii. 36–40) until he knew that Numenius and Antipater had obtained favour at Rome.

the Romans had called the Jews their friends and confederates and brethren.] It is not likely that the Romans really called the Jews "their brethren," or that the ground of kinship was put forward in the negotiations with Rome, as it was in those with Sparta (ch. xii. 6, 7, 17, 21). The writer has carelessly used an unfit expression.

41. *Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased.*] The word "that" (ὅτι) is superfluous, and has probably crept in by the carelessness of a scribe, who had καὶ ὅτι before him in the preceding line. The verse is to be connected with *v.* 35. "The people made Simon their governor and chief priest" (*v.* 35)—not only so, but they made him "their governor and high priest *for ever;*" *i.e.* they established the governorship and high-priesthood in the family of Simon, to be his and his sons' *in perpetuum.*

until there should arise a faithful prophet.] During the entire period between Malachi and John the Baptist, it was recognised by the Jews themselves that they had no prophet. Arrangements for the civil government had to be made in the interval, and to be varied from time to time; but they were regarded as provisional, to be confirmed or altered by the next prophet, when he should arise. That a prophet would arise—a true prophet (πιστός)—was regarded as certain on account of Mal. iv. 5.

42. *Moreover that he should be their captain.*] Literally, "their general"—the commander of their armies. They placed the civil, the ecclesiastical, and the military authority in the same hands. Simon afterwards transferred the military authority to his sons (ch. xvi. 2, 3).

to set them over their works.] *I.e.* to assign their respective duties to all those employed in the Temple service.

and over the country, &c.] *I.e.* to assign offices generally, as those of district governors, judges, &c., those of keepers of arsenals, and those of commandants of fortresses. A universal power of appointment seems to be intended.

43. *that all the writings in the country should be made in his name.*] Rather, "all the **contracts**," or "all the legal instruments" (see ch. xiii. 42). It appears by the Babylonian contract tablets, that agreements, in order to be valid, had to be dated, and the only known mode of dating was by the regnal years of the kings. In Judæa the practice had been to date by the Seleucid era (as in 1 Macc. i. 10, 54, ii. 70, &c.; 2 Macc. i. 7, xi. 33, &c.); but, from the first year of Simon, that system of a double date was introduced, of which we have a specimen in this chapter (*v.* 27). Henceforth all Jewish contracts mentioned both the Seleucid year and also the year of the High Priest. The regulation was a mark of sovereignty.

that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold.] Compare ch. viii. 14; x. 20, 62; xi. 58

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break any of these things, or to gainsay his words, or to gather an assembly in the country without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold:

45 And whosoever should do otherwise, or break any of these things, he should be punished.

46 Thus it liked all the people to deal with Simon, and to do as hath been said.

47 Then Simon accepted hereof, and was well pleased to be high priest, and captain and governor of the Jews and priests, and to defend them all.

48 So they commanded that this writing should be put in tables of brass, and that they should be set up within the compass of the sanctuary in a conspicuous place;

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49 Also that the copies thereof should be laid up in the treasury, to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.

CHAPTER XV.

4 *Antiochus desireth leave to pass through Judea, and granteth great honours to Simon and the Jews.* 16 *The Romans write to divers kings and nations to favour the Jews.* 27 *Antiochus quarrelleth with Simon,* 38 *and sendeth some to annoy Judea.*

MOREOVER Antiochus son of Demetrius the king sent cir. 139.

44. *wear a buckle of gold.*] See the comment on ch. x. 89.

45. *he should be punished.*] Literally, "he should be liable to punishment."

47. *Simon . . . was well pleased to be high priest, and captain and governor of the Jews.*] Literally, "high priest, and **general**, and **ethnarch** of the Jews." The word "ethnarch" is unusual. Etymologically it means the "ruler of a nation." Practically, it was applied only to *petty* sovereigns, as to Simon on this occasion (comp. Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 6, § 6), to Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great (*ib.* xvii. 13, § 4), to Aretas (2 Cor. xii. 32), and a few others. Though not necessarily implying independent sovereignty, it was an advance beyond the ἄρχων, which had been the title of the earlier Maccabee princes (ch. ii. 66; ix. 30). The head of the Jews in Alexandria had long borne the title (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiv. 7, § 2; xix. 5, § 2, &c.).

and to defend them all.] Rather, "and to **be over** them all."

48. *they commanded that this writing should be put in tables of brass.*] Compare *v.* 27, and comment *ad loc.*

within the compass of the sanctuary.] *I.e.* within the wall that enclosed the sanctuary. Compare ch. iv. 60, vi. 62, x. 11; 2 Macc. vi. 4, &c.

in a conspicuous place.] It is impossible to say what this place was; but clearly one is intended which every priest might have examined at the time when our author wrote. This is a strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the document. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note [6].)

49. *Also that the copies . . . should be laid up in the treasury.*] Rather, "**a copy.**" The plural is used on account of the antecedent ("tables") being in the plural. Τὰ ἀντίγραφα is literally "their counterparts."

to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.] See the comment on *v.* 25. Simon's sons were as much interested as himself in a decree which made the monarchy, and the high priesthood, hereditary (*v.* 41).

CHAPTER XV.

§ 1. Antiochus Sidetes claims the Syrian Crown, and seeks the Support of Simon.

1-9. During the absence of Demetrius in the eastern provinces the civil war in Syria had slumbered. Tryphon held Antioch and most of Syria proper; but Cleopatra maintained her husband's cause from Seleucia, and was still unsubdued. She felt herself, however, insecure; and after a time invited her husband's brother, Antiochus of Sida (Sidetes), to her aid. Antiochus readily embraced her overtures, and Tryphon having become unpopular through his luxury and tyranny, he was able to take the offensive, and drive Tryphon out of Syria (*v.* 11). First, however, he sent an embassy to Simon with the proposals contained in *vv.* 2-9.

1. *Antiochus son of Demetrius the king.*] It is not quite clear whether the author rightly comprehended the relationship of this new Antiochus to his predecessors. He was not the son of Demetrius II., as we should naturally have imagined from the present passage, but his brother (App. 'Syriac.' § 68; Justin, xxxvi. 1; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 18, &c.), and the son of the former Demetrius, of whom our author speaks in chs. viii.-x. He is distinguished

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B. C. cir. 139. letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and prince of the Jews, and to all the people;

2 The contents whereof were these: King Antiochus to Simon the high priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting:

3 Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers, and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war; B. C. cir. 139

4 My meaning also being to go through the country, that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate:

5 Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they granted.

6 I give thee leave also to coin

from the other Antiochi by the epithet Sidetes, which probably meant "of Sida," a Pamphylian town where he was brought up (Porphyry). On his coins he takes the title of Euergetes, "the Benefactor." He seems to have held the throne from B.C. 139 to B.C. 128, when he was defeated and slain by the Parthians.

sent letters.] Rather, "a **letter**." See note on ch. xii. 5.

from the isles of the sea.] Antiochus seems to have been at Rhodes when Cleopatra's invitation reached him (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 68). It is probable that among the first steps which he took was the dispatch of an embassy to Simon.

Simon the . . . prince of the Jews.] Literally, "the ethnarch." (See the comment on ch. xiv. 47.)

2. *King Antiochus.*] If we may accept this letter of Sidetes as genuine, it would seem that he took the royal title from the first (cf. *v.* 3), thus setting himself up as a rival, not only to Tryphon, but also to Demetrius, who was not taken captive by the Parthians until at least a year later (see Clinton's 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 346). Our information is very scanty with respect to the Seleucid monarchs, and to some extent contradictory.

3. *certain pestilent men.*] Compare ch. x. 61. The phrase seems to be used here as a periphrasis for the usurper, Tryphon. Compare the ordinary Greek idiom, οἱ περὶ Σωκράτους for Σωκράτης.

the kingdom of our fathers.] Sidetes could trace his descent through six ancestors, who had all been kings, up to Seleucus Nicator, the companion of Alexander. He had a clear hereditary right to the throne, in succession to his elder brother, Demetrius. Tryphon had no claim of this kind, being a mere upstart.

I . . . have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together.] Any one with a name and a sufficient supply of the "sinews of war," could at this time easily collect a strong force of mercenaries, chiefly Greeks, prepared to shed their blood in his cause. Sidetes, probably supplied with money by Cleopatra, had succeeded in gathering together, while still at Rhodes, a considerable force of this kind.

and prepared ships of war.] "Ships of war" were a matter of absolute necessity to a pretender who started from Rhodes (see the comment on *v.* 1), and had to convey his troops from that island to the mainland. The first object of Sidetes was to join his forces to those of Cleopatra at Seleucia.

4. *My meaning . . . being to go through the country.*] Rather, "to **disembark in** the country," *i.e.* to invade it from the sea. No other course was open to the young prince. Like Demetrius I., he had to throw himself upon the coast of Syria, with such forces as he could muster, and to risk the result. The port of Seleucia was open to him; and it is probable that he made his landing there.

5. *I confirm unto thee all the oblations.*] The reading is doubtful. The Alexandrian Codex has ἀφέματα for ἀφαιρέματα; and ἀφέματα is the word used in the previous passages to which this verse seems to refer (ch. x. 28; xiii. 37). If we adopt this reading, we must translate, "all the *exemptions*" or "*immunities*." Ἀφαιρέματα may, however, be correct; but it can scarcely mean "oblations" in this connection. Translate rather "**deductions**."

they granted.] Rather, "they **remitted**." Former kings had "remitted," or excused, the payment of certain fixed charges which were of the nature of a tribute, and also certain customary "gifts." Antiochus confirms both remissions.

6. *I give thee leave also to coin money.*] Critics are divided on the question, whether Simon was the first of the Maccabee princes who struck coins, some extant specimens being referred by some to Judas Maccabeus, and others to Jonathan. But, on the whole,

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B. C. cir. 139. money for thy country with thine own stamp.

7 And as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free; and all the armour that thou hast made, and fortresses that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee.

8 And if any thing be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore.

9 Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation, and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world. B. C. cir. 139.

10 In the hundred threescore and fourteenth year went Antiochus into the land of his fathers: at which time all the forces came together unto him, so that few were left with Tryphon.

11 Wherefore being pursued by king Antiochus, he fled unto Dora, which lieth by the sea side:

it appears most probable that the archaic types, with which the entire series of Jewish coins confessedly commences, belong to the time of Simon, and were issued by him. These consist of shekels and half-shekels in silver, and of corresponding copper coins, bearing upon them such emblems as a pot or vase, a lily, a wheat-sheaf, a palm-tree, a fruit or fruits, with short legends in the archaic Hebrew character, which in the case of the silver coins read "shekel of Israel," or "half-shekel," and "Jerusalem the Holy"—in the case of the copper ones, "Year 4 of the redemption of Israel." The silver coins belong to three distinct years, and are marked as those of "Year 1," "Year 2," and "Year 3;" after which they cease and the copper begin, all of these belonging to "Year 4." It is remarkable that Simon did not put his name upon his coins, as did the later princes of the family, and it is to be noticed that his emblems were all of one class—"indications of the peace and plenty which he had ushered in" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363). The right of striking coins was regarded in the ancient world as essentially attaching to independent sovereignty.

7. *the armour . . . and fortresses.*] Compare ch. xiv. 10, 42.

8. *if any thing be . . . owing.*] If there be any outstanding claim for arrears due to the Syrian crown before the immunity of the land from taxation and tribute was formally granted.

§ 2. War of Antiochus with Tryphon.

10–14. The struggle between Antiochus Sidetes and Tryphon was but brief. Tryphon had alienated his subjects, and even his troops, by his excessive luxury and his caprices. Antiochus was no sooner landed on the Syrian coast than deserters from his rival's army flocked to his standard (*v.* 10). He was able at once to assume the offensive, and to challenge Tryphon to a trial of strength. According to Josephus ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2), the two armies met in a pitched battle, and Sidetes was victorious. Tryphon fled to Dor, or Dora, a maritime town situated south of Carmel, where he was besieged by Sidetes, who blockaded the place both by land and sea (*v.* 14). The end was not long in arriving. Tryphon broke the blockade and escaped to Orthosias (*v.* 37), whence he made his way to Apameia (Joseph. 'A. J.' *l. s. c.*), where he either committed suicide (Strab. xiv. 5, § 2) or was put to death (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 68).

10. *In the hundred threescore and fourteenth year.*] The 174th Seleucid year commenced in October B.C. 139, and terminated in October B.C. 138. Tryphon's death is placed by Clinton in November B.C. 139.

11. *Dora, which lieth by the sea side.*] Dora, "which lieth by the sea side," is almost certainly Dor, an old Phœnician settlement (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 17; Steph. Byz. *ad voc.*), on the coast of Palestine, between Cæsarea and the foot of Carmel. Dor had its own king in the time of Joshua (Josh. xii. 23), who was one of those "smitten" by him. In the partition of the territory it was assigned to Manasseh (*ib.* xvii. 11), but remained in the possession of the old inhabitants, paying a tribute (Judg. i. 27, 28). Solomon placed one of his "purveyors" in the "region of Dor" (1 Kings iv. 11). Tiglath-Pileser conquered the city about B.C. 730 ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 398). Dora is reasonably identified with the modern Tantura, a village of about thirty houses, wholly constructed of ancient materials, and occupying the position indicated, about nine miles north of Cæsarea, and fifteen from the southern foot of Carmel. In the latter part of the modern name we have probably a corruption of Dora. Frontinus says ('Stratagem.' ii. 13) that Tryphon, as he fled from Antiochus, scattered money along his line of route, and thus succeeded in delaying the horsemen who had been sent to pursue and capture him.

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12 For he saw that troubles came upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken him.

13 Then camped Antiochus against Dora, having with him an hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horsemen.

14 And when he had compassed the city round about, and joined ships close to the town on the sea side, he vexed the city by land and by sea, neither suffered he any to go out or in.

15 In the mean season came Numenius and his company from Rome, having letters to the kings and countries; wherein were written these things: B. C. cir. 139.

16 Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemee, greeting:

17 The Jews' ambassadors, our friends and confederates, came unto us to renew the old friendship and league, being sent from Simon the high priest, and from the people of the Jews:

18 [a]And they brought a shield of gold of a thousand pound. [a] ch. 14. 24.

19 We thought it good therefore to write unto the kings and countries, that they should do them no harm, nor fight against them, their

12. *his forces had forsaken him.*] Justin says that the favour which had greeted him when his power was new, soon passed away (xxxvi. 1).

13. *an hundred and twenty thousand . . . eight thousand.*] These numbers are probably exaggerated. They exceed all that have occurred previously, and are far greater than would have been needed for the blockade of a small town like Dor.

14. *and joined ships close to the town on the sea side.*] Rather, "and **his ships had completed the circuit** on the sea side." The object was to invest the place completely.

§ 3. Return of Numenius from Rome, and Result of his Embassy.

15-24. The valuable gift which Numenius took to Rome not only obtained him an early audience, but secured the complete success of his mission. The Jews were distinctly acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans; and at the same time a circular letter was written and sent to all the states and monarchs regarded as friendly to Rome in Greece, Western Asia, and East Africa, requiring them to abstain from all acts of hostility towards Simon, and further, to surrender to him all Jewish refugees whom he might require to be given up. A copy of the letter was entrusted to Numenius, to be placed in Simon's hands, that he might take action accordingly.

15. *came Numenius . . . from Rome.*] Compare ch. xiv. 24, where the embassy of Numenius is mentioned.

having letters to the kings.] The writer probably does not mean that the Romans entrusted the twenty-four copies of their circular letter to Numenius, to be delivered by him, or dispatched by Simon to their various destinations, but only that they sent by him "a letter" (ἐπιστολάς), which was addressed to numerous kings and countries. The "kings and countries" are enumerable in verses 22, 23.

16. *Lucius, consul of the Romans.*] The "Lucius" intended is probably L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul, together with M. Popillius Lænas, in B.C. 139. The ordinary lists, it is true, give his prænomen as "Cneius," but incorrectly, as has been shewn by Dr. Westcott ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 148). It is curious, however, to find a Roman consul designated by his prænomen only, as also to find a document running in the name of one consul alone; and the conclusion is forced upon us that we have not an exact transcript of the circular letter sent, or even a correct translation of it. Still, there is no reason to doubt that the matter of the letter is correctly given.

unto king Ptolemee.] The letter addressed to the King of Egypt is taken as a specimen, sufficiently representing the remainder. The Ptolemy of the time was Ptolemy VIII.—known as Ptolemy Physcon, and also as Ptolemy Euergetes II.—who had been joint-king with his brother, Philometor, from B.C. 169 to 165, and reigned as sole king from B.C. 146 to B.C. 117.

17. *to renew the old friendship and league.*] *I.e.* the friendship and league made with Judas Maccabeus in B.C. 161-0. (See ch. viii. 17-30.)

18. *they brought a shield of gold.*] See ch. xiv. 24.

19. *that they should do them no harm.*] Literally, "that they should not seek their hurt."

their cities or countries.] Rather, "their cities or **country**."

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B. C. cir. 139. cities, or countries, nor yet aid their enemies against them.

20 It seemed also good to us to receive the shield of them.

21 If therefore there be any pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high priest, that he may punish them according to their own law. B. C. cir. 139.

22 The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius the king, and Attalus, to ‖Ariarathes, and Arsaces, ‖ Or, *Arathes.*

23 And to all the countries, and to ‖Sampsames, and the Lacedemonians, and to Delus, and Myndus, and Sicyon, ‖ Or, *Sampsaces.* Lat. *Lampsacus.*

nor yet aid their enemies against them.] Literally, "nor yet aid those who make war upon them."

20. *It seemed . . . good to us to receive the shield.*] Reception of the present brought by envoys was considered to bind the recipient to give a favourable answer to their requests. Rome, in the great majority of cases, kept to this understanding, but with an occasional departure from it. Very recently she had accepted a golden figure of Victory from Tryphon, and had melted it into a figure of the murdered Antiochus, placing his name upon it as though he had been the giver, and declining to acknowledge any obligation to Tryphon (Diod. Sic. vol. x. p. 88; Ed. Bipont.).

21. *pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you.*] The severe measures of Simon against the Hellenizing faction (ch. xiv. 14) had evidently caused many Jews to betake themselves to voluntary exile. Numenius must have requested an exertion of the influence of Rome to force these exiles back upon their own country. Such an extradition of political offenders, though not unprecedented, was very unusual. It may be doubted whether many of the "kings and countries" addressed by the Romans acted upon the instructions here given to them.

22. *The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius.*] One of the circular letters was addressed to Demetrius II., who was regarded as the legitimate king of Syria, and whose capture by the Parthians had either not taken place, or at any rate was not known at Rome, when the circular letters were written. According to Clinton ('F. H.' vol. iii. p. 346) Demetrius was not made prisoner till Nov. B.C. 138. The letters were written in B.C. 139. (See comment on *v.* 16.)

and Attalus.] Attalus II. is no doubt intended. He was still king of Pergamus when the letters were written, not having been succeeded by his nephew, Attalus III., till B.C. 138. The Pergamene dynasty was connected with Rome by peculiarly close terms of alliance.

to Ariarathes.] Ariarathes V. (Philopator) was king of Cappadocia from B.C. 162 to B.C. 131. He "maintained the alliance between Cappadocia and Rome with great fidelity" ('Manual of Ancient History,' p. 300), and was a man of pure and blameless character. The Romans could count with a near approach to certainty on his compliance with their wishes.

and Arsaces.] It is surprising to find it stated that a letter was addressed at this time to Arsaces, the Parthian monarch, who was absolutely and entirely independent of the Romans, and was scarcely likely to pay the very slightest attention to their requests. As Grimm observes, the letter, if really written, must have been wholly different in tone from those addressed to the other monarchs. But our author's testimony, entirely unsupported as it is, can scarcely be regarded as sufficient to establish the fact—antecedently most improbable—that Arsaces was addressed upon the subject. The Arsaces intended would be Mithridates I., the opponent of Demetrius. (Cf. ch. xiv. 2, 3.)

23. *to Sampsames.*] It is quite uncertain what country is intended here. The Vulgate gives "Lampsacus;" but Lampsacus was not at this time an independent state, much less one that would be likely to be given the foremost place in such a list as the present. Grimm's conjecture of "Samsoun" —a name which first appears in the geography of Abulfeda (A.D. 1330)—is in the highest degree improbable.

Delus, and Myndus.] Delus, or rather Delos, the smallest of the Cyclades, had been given to Athens by the Romans in B.C. 167 (Polyb. xxx. 18, § 7). After the fall of Corinth, in B.C. 146, it became the centre of an extensive commerce, and (seemingly) regained its independence. Myndus was a small town in Caria, not far from Halicarnassus.

Sicyon.] Sicyon was one of the most important towns of the Peloponnese. It had been the place of meeting for the Council of the Achæan League (Polyb. v. 1, § 7; xxv. 1, § 5, &c.), and was a town of great strength (*ib.* xxx. 15, § 1). After the dissolution of the League, Sicyon, though really subject to Rome, was allowed the shadow of independence. (See Mommsen, 'Hist. of Rome,' vol. iii. p. 50, E. T.)

B. C. cir. 139. and Caria, and Samos, and Pamphylia, and Lycia, and Halicarnassus, and Rhodus, and ‖Phaselis, and Cos, and Side, and Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene.

‖ Or, *Basilis.*

24 And the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high priest.

‖ Gr. *bringing his forces to it.*

25 So Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second *day*, ‖assaulting it continually, and making engines, by which means he shut up Tryphon, that he could neither go out nor in.

B. C. cir. 139.

26 At that time Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to aid him; silver also, and gold, and much armour.

27 Nevertheless he would not re-

Caria, . . . and Pamphylia, and Lycia.] After a period of subjection to Rhodes, Caria and Lycia had regained their freedom by a decree of the Senate in B.C. 168 (Polyb. xxx. 5, § 12). Pamphylia, after its conquest by Achæus in B.C. 219 (Polyb. v. 77, § 1), was recovered to the Seleucid kingdom, but in the recent troubles may have become free.

Phaselis.] Phaselis was a city on the coast of Lycia, with an excellent port and a considerable trade, more especially in the early times (Herod. ii. 178). It was independent until B.C. 75, when the Romans deprived it of freedom as a punishment for the share which it had taken in the organised piracy of the time.

Side, and Aradus, and Gortyna.] Side, the city in which Antiochus Sidetes was brought up (see note on *v.* 1), was a Greek town belonging to Pamphylia, situated upon the coast between the Eurymedon and the Melas rivers. Like so many of the Hellenic maritime towns, it seems to have enjoyed a practical independence (Polyb. v. 73, § 4). Aradus was a Phœnician town, situated on the island now called Ruad, which lies off the Syrian coast, in lat. 34° 51′. It appears as independent in the war between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Philopator, B.C. 219 (Polyb. v. 68, § 7). Gortyna was one of the chief cities of Crete. Cnidus, Cyprus, and Cyrene are too well known to need identification or description.

24. *the copy hereof.*] The exact counterpart of the circular letter addressed to the Roman allies was sent to Simon, that he might know what injunctions had been laid upon them.

§ 4. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES CONTINUES HIS WAR WITH TRYPHON—HE PICKS A QUARREL WITH SIMON.

25–37. The siege of Dor continued, and Simon (according to Josephus) was of great service to Antiochus, by supplying him with money and provisions during the earlier part of the siege ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2). During this period he was in high favour with the Syrian king. But later on, in what seems to be called "the second siege" (*v.* 25), when success appeared to be certain, Sidetes changed his tone. The supplies of men and money which Simon sent him were rudely rejected (*v.* 27), and a demand was made on him for the payment of a thousand talents (more than 240,000*l.*), under the threat of immediate hostilities. The only alternative suggested was the surrender of Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra of Jerusalem, which Antiochus declared to be "cities of his realm" (*v.* 28) Simon was probably quite unable to pay the sum demanded, and he was quite determined not to surrender the fortresses, but, with the moderation which characterised him, he proposed a middle course—he would give a hundred talents (24,000*l.*) for the two conquered cities, albeit they belonged of right to Judæa, but he would give no more. The reply infuriated Sidetes, from whom Tryphon had recently escaped, having fled from Dor to Orthosias, a Phœnician city further to the north.

25. *Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day.*] Rather, "**for the second time**," or "in the second siege"—*ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ* [*πολιορκίᾳ*]. Ewald has shewn that an interval of time is required between the events related in *vv.* 13, 14, and those now spoken of ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 338, note [4]).

assaulting it continually, and making engines.] The original intention was to reduce the place by blockade (*v.* 14); but this plan seems to have been found too tedious. In the "second siege" continual attacks were made upon the walls by military engines, which were supported by troops.

26. *Simon sent him two thousand chosen men.*] A small contingent, but nearly as many as had enabled Demetrius to quell the great insurrection in Antioch (ch. xi. 44–51), and exactly the number that had defied the entire "host" of Tryphon in Galilee (ch. xii. 47–51).

much armour.] Literally, "many vessels." The original no doubt had *keli*, which is a word of very wide significance.

27. *Nevertheless he would not receive them.*] There is not necessarily any contradiction between this statement and that of Josephus,

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B. C. cir. 139.

ceive them, but brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore, and became strange unto him.

28 Furthermore he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his friends, to commune with him, and say, Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara, with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm.

29 The borders thereof ye have wasted, and done great hurt in the land, and got the dominion of many places within my kingdom.

30 Now therefore deliver the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places, whereof ye have gotten dominion ‖ without the borders of Judea:

‖ Or, *except the borders, &c.*

31 Or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents: if not, we will come and ‖ fight against you.

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‖ Or, *subdue you in fight.*

32 So Athenobius the king's friend came to Jerusalem: and when he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver plate, and his great attendance, he was astonished, and told him the king's message.

33 Then answered Simon, and said unto him, We have neither taken other men's land, nor holden that which appertaineth to others, but the inheritance of our fathers, which our enemies had wrongfully in possession a certain time.

34 Wherefore we, having oppor-

that Simon supplied the troops of Antiochus with provisions and pay ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2), if we regard Josephus as speaking of the earlier, and our author of the later siege.

brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore.] Compare *vv.* 2–9. It is impossible to assign any other ground for Sidetes' change of policy, except his conviction that he was strong enough to hold his own without the help of the Jews, and his determination to bring Judæa back to the position of weakness and dependence which she had occupied in the more flourishing times of the Seleucid monarchy. This policy he pursued steadily during the remainder of his reign (ch. xv. 38–41, xvi. 5–10; Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 8).

became strange unto him.] Compare ch. xi. 53, where the same expression is used with respect to Demetrius II. and Jonathan.

28. *Ye withhold Joppe.*] Rather, "Ye **hold.**" On the occupation of Joppa by Simon, see ch. xii. 33; xiv. 5, 34.

and Gazara.] Compare ch. xiii. 43–48; xiv. 34.

with the tower that is in Jerusalem.] *I.e.* the Acra, which Simon had taken after it had been held by the Syrians for twenty-six years. (See ch. xiii. 49–51.) Antiochus calls it a "*city* of his realm," since, though originally a mere fort, it had in course of time collected a cluster of houses around it.

29. *The borders thereof ye have wasted.*] Rather, "ye have **made solitary.**" The expulsion of the Syrian garrisons, with their sympathizers, from Joppa (ch. xii. 34) and Gazara (ch. xiii. 47; xiv. 34), seems to be intended.

got the dominion of many places.] This is rhetorical amplification. The only other place that can be named is Ekron, which had been voluntarily ceded by Balas (ch. x. 89).

30. *the tributes of the places.*] *I.e.* the sums that would have been paid to the royal treasury as tribute by the cities occupied, if they had remained in the possession of the Syrians. The amount due is estimated later on (*v.* 31) at 500 talents!

32. *the cupboard of gold and silver plate.*] A "beaufet," or "sideboard," on which the gold and silver plate was displayed, is meant. An ostentatious display of magnificent drinking-vessels had been common in the East from Persian times (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 8, § 18; Herod. ix. 80; Strab. xv. 3, § 19, &c.), and probably even from an earlier date. The practice spread from the Persians to the Greco-Macedonians, and seems to have passed from them to the Jews.

his great attendance.] Compare 2 Chr. ix. 4. Simon had evidently adopted a pomp and magnificence unknown to previous Maccabean princes, and unusual in a mere vassal king.

33. *We have neither taken other men's land, &c.*] Simon means to say that Joppa and Gazara, and still more the Acra, were ancient possessions of the Jewish nation, withheld from them for a time by force, but always really theirs. Consequently, they had but taken that which was their own. (See Josh. xvi. 3, xix. 46; 2 Chr. ii. 16, &c.)

B. C. cir. 139. tunity, hold the inheritance of our fathers.

35 And whereas thou demandest Joppe and Gazara, albeit they did great harm unto the people in our country, yet will we give an hundred talents for them. Hereunto Athenobius answered him not a word;

36 But returned in a rage to the king, and made report unto him of these speeches, and of the glory of Simon, and of all that he had seen: whereupon the king was exceeding wroth.

37 In the mean time fled Tryphon by ship unto Orthosias. B. C. cir. 139

38 Then the king made Cendebeus captain of the sea coast, and gave him an host of footmen and horsemen,

39 And commanded him to remove his host toward Judea: also he commanded him to build up ‖ Cedron, and to fortify the gates, and to war against the people; but as for the king *himself*, he pursued Tryphon. ‖ Or, *Gedor.*

40 So Cendebeus came to Jamnia, and began to provoke the people, and to invade Judea, and to take the people prisoners, and slay them.

35. *will we give an hundred talents for them.*] Simon was always ready to avert war by a moderate pecuniary sacrifice (ch. xiii. 19); but the demand for 1000 talents was preposterous. It is doubtful whether by any exertions he could have raised such a sum.

36. *the king was exceeding wroth.*] He had probably expected a submissive answer—the arrival of ambassadors with presents to deprecate his displeasure—the surrender, perhaps, of Joppa or Gazara, or both. He could certainly not have expected the restoration of the Acra. The boldness, however, and uncompromising plainness of Simon's reply offended him, and roused a feeling of anger, which led him to declare war at once against his recent ally.

37. *Tryphon fled by ship unto Orthosias.*] It is extremely difficult to keep up a blockade by sea. Rough weather deranges it, causing the blockading vessels to put to sea, or else to seek shelter in harbours. Again, a small boat easily slips past the vessels under cover of darkness. Thus Tryphon was able to elude his enemy, and remove from Dor to Orthosias. This latter city lay about 140 miles north of Dor, on the coast of Phœnicia, between Tripolis and the river Eleutherus (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 17). The exact position is uncertain. Tryphon, on making his escape from Dor, appears to have fled first to Ptolemaïs (Charax, Fr. 14), whence he proceeded to Orthosias, and thence to Apamea in the valley of the Orontes. At Apamea, he either committed suicide (Strab. xiv. 5, § 2), or was put to death (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2).

§ 5. WAR OF ANTIOCHUS SIDETES WITH SIMON—JUDÆA INVADED BY CENDEBÆUS.

38–41. On the escape of Tryphon, Antiochus resolved to divide his forces, and, while pursuing Tryphon with a portion, to send the remainder, under a general named Cendebæus, to invade Judæa. He was sagacious enough to perceive that Tryphon had ceased to be formidable, and must soon be taken or surrender himself, while Simon was far more to be dreaded. Cendebæus had orders to move southwards towards Judæa, and occupy a strong post, known as Cedron, in the vicinity of Jamnia, whence he would be able to make inroads into the Jewish territory. The present passage describes his execution of these orders, and establishment at Jamnia and Cedron, to the great detriment of Simon's subjects in that quarter.

38. *captain of the sea coast.*] The tract from Carmel to Gaza is probably intended. It was a long tract of lowland, known as Sharon in the more northern, and as Philistia in the more southern portion. The chief maritime towns, besides Dor and Gaza, were Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ascalon.

39. *commanded him to remove his host toward Judea.*] Literally, "to encamp over against Judæa," *i.e.* to take up a position outside the Jewish territory, but near it, and opposite to it, so to speak.

to build up Cedron.] Literally, "to build Cedron." Cedron has not been previously mentioned. It must have been within a short distance of Jamnia (*Jabneh*) and Azotus (*Esdud*), and must have had a watercourse eastward of it. These conditions are fulfilled by the modern Katra or Kutrah, which lies in the flat country a little below the river Rubin and three miles S.W. of Akir or Ekron, and which is therefore thought to be "Cedron."

40. *Cendebeus came to Jamnia.*] Jamnia, when last mentioned (ch. x. 69), was in the possession of Demetrius II. It now readily acknowledged the authority of Sidetes.

began to provoke the people.] *I.e.* the Jews.

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B. C. cir. 139. 41 And when he had built up Cedron, he set horsemen there, and an host of *footmen*, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea, as the king had commanded him.

CHAPTER XVI.

3 *Judas and John prevail against the forces sent by Antiochus.* 11 *The captain of Jericho inviteth Simon and two of his sons into his castle, and there treacherously murdereth them.* 19 *John is sought for,* 22 *and escapeth, and killeth those that sought for him.*

[a] ch. 13. 53. THEN came up John [a]from Gazara, and told Simon his father what Cendebeus had done.

2 Wherefore Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, [b]I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have ever from our youth unto this day fought against the enemies of Israel; and [c]things have prospered so well in our hands, that we have delivered Israel oftentimes.

B. C. cir. 138. [b] ch. 14. 26. [c] ch. 3. 6. & 14. 36.

3 But now I am old, and ye, by *God's* mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go and fight for our nation, and the help from heaven be with you.

41. *they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea.*] The word "outroad," which does not occur elsewhere in the A. V., is scarcely English. Translate—"they might make **expeditions along the roads** of Judæa." It is clear that the position of Cedron commanded several lines of route from the low country into Judæa, and thus afforded facilities for invasion.

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. SEQUEL OF THE WAR OF SIDETES AGAINST SIMON—CENDEBÆUS DEFEATED BY JOHN HYRCANUS.

1–10. The war of petty inroad, now on one line of route, now on another, which Cendebæus was carrying on by the directions of Sidetes (ch. xv. 41), was an annoyance rather than a danger, yet seemed to need to be met by prompt action. John, therefore, the son of Simon, who commanded in these parts, having his head-quarters at Gazara (ch. xiii. 54; xvi. 1), proceeded to Jerusalem to consult his father on the emergency. Hereupon Simon, who had already designated his son John for captain of the host (ch. xiii. 54), formally devolved the command on him and his brother Judas, whom he directed to march against Cendebæus at the head of an army of 20,000 men, composed both of horse and foot. His commands were executed, and in a pitched battle, fought with Cendebæus near Cedron, the two brothers gained a great victory, completely routing the Syrian host, which fled from the field to Cedron, and from Cedron to the watch-towers of Ashdod. Judas being wounded, John conducted the pursuit, and pressed it to Ashdod itself, which he took and burnt. He then returned to Judæa in peace.

1. *Then came up John from Gazara.*] Compare ch. xiii. 54, where we are told that John's residence was fixed at Gazara, which lay but a short distance from Cedron.

and told Simon . . . what Cendebeus had done.] Rather, what "Cendebeus **was accomplishing**." He was continually making inroads, ravaging the territory, killing such as resisted, and carrying off numerous prisoners (ch. xv. 40). These were no doubt sold to the slave-merchants. (Compare ch. iii. 41.)

2. *his two eldest sons.*] Literally, "his two **elder** sons." He seems to have had, in all, three sons: Judas, the eldest; Johanan or John, the second; and a third, whose name was Mattathias. The eldest and youngest sons were involved in the fate of their father, being murdered by Ptolemy the son of Abubus at a banquet (*infra*, *v.* 16). John alone escaped, and thus, though only the second son, succeeded his father (*vv.* 22, 23).

I, and my brethren, and my father's house.] See note on ch. xiii. 3.

have delivered Israel oftentimes.] *I.e.* "have repulsed and defeated an invader." Compare ch. iii. 11, 23; iv. 14, 34; vii. 43; ix. 66–68; x. 82.

3. *now I am old.*] On the probable age of Simon, see the comment on ch. xiii. 53.

by God's mercy.] Literally, "through mercy." With his usual extreme reverence and reticence, the author abstains from introducing the name of God. Compare ch. iii. 18, 22, 33; iv. 10, 55; vii. 37, 41, &c.

be ye instead of me and my brother.] Simon is thinking of the time, when, all the brothers being dead but himself and Jonathan, the cause of national independence and religious purity was upheld by the two conjointly, both being at the head of armies, and lending valuable aid the one to the other. (See ch. ix. 62–67; x. 74–84; xi. 60–74; xii. 24–38.) He intends Judas and John to act similarly, and anticipates a long and prosperous career for both.

the help from heaven.] *I.e.* God's help; but again the Holy Name is suppressed.

B. C. cir. 138.

4 So he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war with horsemen, who went out against Cendebeus, and rested that night at Modin.

5 And when as they rose in the morning, and went into the plain, behold, a mighty great host both of footmen and horsemen came against them: howbeit there was a water brook betwixt them.

6 So he and his people pitched over against them: and when he saw that the people were afraid to go over the water brook, he went first over himself, and then the men seeing him passed through after him.

7 *That done*, he divided his men, B. C. cir. 138. and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: for the enemies' horsemen were very many.

8 Then sounded they with the holy trumpets: whereupon Cendebeus and his host were put to flight, so that many of them were slain, and the remnant gat them to the strong hold.

9 At that time was Judas John's brother wounded; but John still followed after them, until he came to Cedron, which *Cendebeus* had built.

10 ‖So they fled even unto the towers in the fields of Azotus; wherefore he burned it with fire: so

‖ Or, *Which when he had set on fire, they fled unto the tower in the fields of Azotus; and there were slain, &c.*

4. *he chose out . . twenty thousand men.*] He could now bring into the field 40,000 men, if necessary (ch. xii. 41); but the occasion did not seem to require so many. He preferred a smaller *picked* army.

with horsemen.] Cavalry are here for the first time mentioned as employed by the Maccabee princes. The force was probably a small one (see *v.* 7).

at Modin.] Modin, or Modeïn, was not very far from Cedron, and lay on the direct route between that place and Jerusalem. (See the comment on ch. ii. 1, and ch. xiii. 25–30.) It commanded the view over the maritime plain far and wide. Posted at Modeïn, Judas and John would be able to see the entire disposition of the enemy's forces.

5. *there was a water brook betwixt them.*] Rather, "a **water-course**"—*i.e.* the dry stream of a winter torrent. This is supposed to have been the modern Wady Rubin, which runs a little to the east of Kutrah, the supposed site of Cedron. (See the comment on ch. xv. 39.)

6. *he and his people.*] It is questioned, which of the brothers is intended, Judas or John. As Judas has certainly been assigned the most prominent place in *v.* 2, it might so far be supposed that the reference was to him. But on the other hand, we have to remember (1) That John was designated as "captain of all the hosts" in B.C. 141, without any mention of Judas (ch. xiii. 53); (2) That it was John who took the important step of consulting Simon on the emergency; and (3) That John is so much the foremost figure on the Jewish side in the eye of the writer, that, to identify Judas, he speaks of him as "John's brother" (*v.* 9). These facts give a prominence to John, which makes it almost certain that the actions recorded in *vv.* 6 and 7 are his.

the people were afraid to go over the water brook.] They would be at a disadvantage if attacked while they were crossing; and they would fight at a disadvantage with such an obstacle in their rear.

7. *he divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen.*] The meaning seems to be, that, instead of placing the cavalry on the wings, according to ordinary practice, or drawing them up in a body, to watch events and make a charge when necessary, John intermixed the two arms of the service, blending cavalry and infantry together into a mixed mass. The arrangement is not one likely to commend itself to modern tacticians. It was, however, adopted upon occasions by the Romans (Val. Max. i. 3, § 3; Denison's 'History of Cavalry,' p. 73). John had recourse to it, because his cavalry was scanty, and, if it had acted alone, might easily have been annihilated by the numerous cavalry of the enemy.

8. *Then sounded they with the holy trumpets.*] Compare ch. iv. 13; v. 33; ix. 12, &c. The epithet "holy" is omitted in several MSS.

many of them were slain.] Literally, "many of them fell wounded." (Compare ch. iii. 11.)

the remnant gat them to the strong hold.] *I.e.* to Cedron (ch. xv. 39, 41).

10. *the towers in the fields of Azotus.*] Watch-towers were common, both in Palestine, and in the adjacent countries, which were liable to sudden incursions of the wandering tribes, Arabs, Edomites, Amalekites, &c. Hence the expression "from the tower of the watchman unto the fenced city" (2 Kings xvii. 9, xviii. 8).

he burned it with fire.] The Vulgate has

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B. C. cir. 138. that there were slain of them about two thousand men. Afterward he returned into the land of Judea in peace.

cir. 135. 11 Moreover in the plain of Jericho was Ptolemeus the son of Abubus made captain, and he had abundance of silver and gold:

12 For he was the high priest's son in law.

13 Wherefore his heart being lifted up, he thought to get the country to himself, and thereupon consulted deceitfully against Simon and his sons to destroy them. B. C. cir. 135.

14 Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them; at which time he came down himself to Jericho with his sons, Mattathias and Judas, in the hun-

"them" for "it," as though there had been a reading of *αὐτοὺς* for *αὐτήν*, but this reading is not found in the MSS. If *αὐτήν* be preferred, we must regard the antecedent as Azotus, which was probably at this time not a place of much strength. (Compare ch. x. 84; xi. 4.)

two thousand men.] The MSS. vary between 1000, 2000, and 3000. The Syrian Version has 3000. We should have expected a greater destruction from the terms in which the host of Cendebæus is described in *v.* 5.

§ 2. MURDER OF SIMON, AND TWO OF HIS SONS, BY PTOLEMY THE SON OF ABUBUS.

11–17. If the war with Cendebæus was in B.C. 138, as seems probable, there must have been an interval of about three years between its termination and the death of Simon. It was probably now that Simon found time for the accomplishment of his works of peace (ch. xiii. 27–30; xiv. 5–15). After the failure of the expedition of Cendebæus, Sidetes left Simon to himself, waiting for a favourable opportunity to renew his attack. Simon's administration of the government continued to be active and energetic, the old man personally visiting the various cities of his kingdom, and inquiring into their condition. It was while he was engaged in one of these tours of inspection that he laid himself open to a treacherous onslaught. He had married a daughter to a certain "Ptolemy, son of Abubus," and had intrusted to his government the rich district about Jericho. Ptolemy had grown wealthy in this office, and aspired to the supreme power. If he could remove Simon and his sons, he thought Sidetes might be prevailed on to accept him as vassal monarch. Accordingly he arranged matters so that when it was his turn to be visited, Simon should fall into a trap and lose his life. Had all Simon's sons accompanied him, the plot might have had a complete success. As it was, Mattathias and Judas shared the fate of their father; but John, who was at Gazara, escaped.

11. *in the plain of Jericho.*] The "Arboth-Jericho," or "plain of Jericho," was the rich tract towards the mouth of the Jordan described by Josephus ('B. J.' iv. 8, § 3) as seventy stades (eight miles) long by twenty stades (2¼ miles) broad. It was well watered by a "most exuberant fountain." The "fertility of the soil was unexampled. Palms of various names and properties—some that produced honey scarcely inferior to that of the neighbourhood; opobalsamum, the choicest of indigenous fruits; cyprus and myrobalsamum, throve there beautifully, and were thickly dotted about in pleasure grounds" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 769).

was Ptolemeus . . . made captain.] The office assigned him was, probably, at once civil and military. Jericho had to be held as an outpost against the Trans-Jordanic nomades. At the same time its governor was expected to remit to the treasury a considerable revenue.

he had abundance of silver and gold.] His wealth, as Grimm thinks, may have been derived, in part at least, from the dowry which he had received with his wife, Simon's daughter (see the next verse); but it is likely to have resulted as much from the opulence and fertility of the province which he administered. (Compare Joseph. *l. s. c.*)

13. *he thought to get the country to himself.*] The success of such upstarts as Balas and Tryphon, who, born in a private station, nevertheless placed the Syrian crown on their heads, must have been exceedingly demoralising at this period, and have lit up the flame of ambition in many a heart. The relation of Judæa to Syria still further favoured illegitimate attempts, since the Syrian monarchs were at once open to bribes and to cajolery.

against Simon and his sons.] Ptolemy seems to have been quite aware that his work would be but half done, if he allowed any son of Simon to escape. It was a part of his scheme to remove John (*v.* 19) no less than Judas and Mattathias.

14. *Mattathias and Judas.*] The order of the names is curious, since Judas was certainly the elder brother (see *v.* 2). We cannot conclude from it, however, that the

B. C. cir. 135. dred threescore and seventeenth year, in the eleventh month, called Sabat:

15 Where the *son* of Abubus receiving them deceitfully into a little hold, called Docus, which he had built, made them a great banquet: howbeit he had hid men there.

16 So when Simon and his sons had drunk largely, Ptolemee and his men rose up, and took their weapons, and came upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his servants. B. C. cir. 135.

17 In which doing he committed a great treachery, and recompensed evil for good.

author does not, as a *general* rule, mention brothers in the order of their seniority.

in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year.] The 177th Seleucid year began in Oct. B.C. 136 and ended in Oct. B.C. 135. As the month Sabat corresponded nearly to February, we may place the death of Simon in Feb. B.C. 135.

the eleventh month, called Sabat.] Compare Zech. i. 7.

15. *a little hold, called Docus.*] Rather, "called Dok." The Syriac version has "Doak," the Greek Δώκ. Josephus gives the name as "Dagon," which is not likely to have been the name of a place. The word Dôk seems to remain in the modern *Ain-Duk*, a set of "copious and excellent springs which burst forth in the Wady Nawâ'imeh at the foot of the mountain of Quarantania, about four miles north-west of Jericho" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 446). Above the springs are traces of ancient foundations, which may be the remains of Ptolemy's "little hold."

16. *had drunk largely.*] The original goes further than this. It says that they "were drunken." Intemperance, though not a characteristic national vice, was far from being unknown among the Jews. (See Deut. xxi. 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 36; 2 Sam. xi. 13; 1 Kings xvi. 9, &c.) It may lower our estimate of this Maccabean hero, to find that, when tempted, he gave way to this vice; but there is really no ground for surprise, that, in a rough age, even Jewish princes indulged in the habits common to royal personages of the period. The Maccabee princes were not saints.

Ptolemee and his men rose up.] The expression used seems to imply that Ptolemy took an active part in the murders. Royal murderers usually depute the actual execution of their schemes to others; but Ptolemy was not averse from sharing in the scene of blood himself.

his two sons.] *I.e.* the two who had accompanied him to Jericho, Judas and Mattathias. (See *v.* 14.) The account in Josephus ('A. J.' xiii. 8, § 1), that these princes were made prisoners, and only put to death after a long delay, is contradictory to the narrative of our author, and deserves no credit. The pathetic history of their mother is, to some extent, discredited by its connection with false statements; but it may nevertheless be true, since it is compatible with all that related by our author. (Cf. Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 365.)

17. *he committed a great treachery.*] Ἀθεσία is from ἀθετεῖν, and properly means a rightful or wrongful repudiation of engagements. But in the later Greek, it is always employed in a bad sense, of engagements that have been perfidiously broken. (Polyb. ii. 32, § 8; iii. 49, § 2; 70, § 4; 78, § 2, &c.)

§ 3. SEQUEL TO THE BOLD ATTEMPT OF PTOLEMY. HE DESIGNS TO KILL JOHN HYRCANUS, BUT FAILS.

18–22. It must be supposed that Ptolemy had belonged to the patriotic party; otherwise he would certainly not have been accepted as a son-in-law by the High Priest (*v.* 12). Still, under the existing circumstances, he had to throw himself on the support of the opposite side. Accordingly, he at once sent off envoys to Sidetes, offering to restore the whole country to its former condition of subjection to Syria, on condition of receiving the support of a Syrian army. At the same time he dispatched emissaries to Gazara, with orders to kill John (*v.* 19). Nor did he neglect the capital, but sent such a force as he could spare, to seize both the city of Jerusalem and the Temple hill (*v.* 20). His plans were exceedingly well laid, if only he had had sufficient force to carry them out. But John received timely warning of what was intended, and frustrated all Ptolemy's projects. He seized and executed the emissaries who had accepted the mission to put him to death (*v.* 22), and, as we learn from Josephus ('A.J.' xiii. 8, § 1), at once took the offensive against his adversary, shut him up in Dôk, and after a little time drove him to seek a refuge in the Trans-Jordanic territory, after which nothing more is heard of him. John succeeded to his father's double office of civil governor and High Priest of the nation.

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B. C. cir. 135.

18 Then Ptolemee wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him an host to aid him, and he would deliver him the country and cities.

19 He sent others also to Gazara to kill John: and unto the ‖tribunes he sent letters to come unto him, that he might give them silver, and gold, and rewards.

‖ Gr. *captains of thousands.*

20 And others he sent to take Jerusalem, and the mountain of the temple.

21 Now one had run afore to Gazara, and told John that his father and brethren were slain, and, *quoth he*, *Ptolemee* hath sent to slay thee also.

B. C. cir. 135

22 Hereof when he heard, he was sore astonished: so he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them; for he knew that they sought to make him away.

23 As concerning the rest of the acts of John, and his wars, and worthy deeds which he did, and the building of the walls which he made, and his doings,

24 Behold, these are written in the chronicles of his priesthood, from the time he was made high priest after his father.

18. *Ptolemee wrote these things.*] Ptolemy made a merit of his atrocious action in his application to the Syrian king, and attempted no concealment of it. He had removed one of Antiochus's most dangerous enemies, thereby entitling himself to that monarch's gratitude. He asked for aid in return. Aware, however, that gratitude does not always determine the policy of kings, he sought to enlist the king's self-interest on his side.

he would deliver him the country and cities.] Antiochus had offered to remain at peace with Simon on the restoration of Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra. Ptolemy is willing to concede not only these, but the entire "country."

19. *He sent others also to Gazara.*] Where John resided (ch. xiii. 53; xvi. 1).

unto the tribunes he sent letters.] Literally, to the "chiliarchs" or "captains of thousands." The appointment of such officers by Judas Maccabeus had been previously mentioned (ch. iii. 55).

21. *his father and brethren were slain.*] Compare *v.* 16, and comment *ad loc.*

22. *he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them.*] Self-defence would have justified the act, had he been a mere private person. But the terms of the decree recorded in ch. xiv. 27–45 had invested him with the office of hereditary ruler, and from the moment of his father's death he was chief of the state, and bound to crush an attempt at revolution.

§ 4. The Reader referred to the Chronicles of John's High-Priesthood for the rest of his Actions.

23–24. The writer—for what reason is uncertain—does not design to carry on his history beyond the death of Simon. Though acquainted with the "wars" of John, and his "worthy deeds," he abstains from recording them. He tells us they are to be found in the "Chronicles of his Priesthood." And with these words he terminates his history. The "Chronicles of the High Priests" have perished; and for a knowledge of the actions of John historians have to depend wholly and solely upon Josephus. Josephus is far from deserving of implicit credence; but his history of John, running counter, as much of it does, to his national vanity, seems to be, in its general outline, trustworthy. The reader desirous of pursuing the subject may be referred to Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 8–10; to Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 342–384; and to Dean Stanley's 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 366–368.

23. *the rest of the acts.*] The Greek has "of the *words*;" but the Hebrew *dibrey*, which has both meanings, here, no doubt, signified "acts."

his wars.] See Josephus, 'A. J.' *l. s. c.*

the building of the walls which he made.] Antiochus Sidetes, after his successful siege of Jerusalem, in B.C. 133, required the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 8, § 3; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 18). It cannot be doubted, that when, about B.C. 125, the civil war in Syria enabled John to resume a position of independence, one of his first acts would have been the restoration of the defences of the capital. This is probably the "building of the walls" of the present passage.

24. *Behold, these are written in the Chronicles of his Priesthood.*] Literally, "in the book of the days of his priesthood." It may perhaps account for the author concluding his history at this point, that, from the time of John Hyrcanus, a public record of all important facts, intermitted for so many years, began once more to be kept, so that the labours of a mere private writer ceased to be necessary.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Plan of the Work, and its Divisions.

THE object of the writer was to give an account of the circumstances under which Judas Maccabeus raised the standard of revolt against the Syrian power, and succeeded after many desperate battles in establishing Jewish independence. His main narrative commences in chap. iii., and is divided into five portions: 1. An account of the troubles in Judæa from the coming of Heliodorus to Jerusalem until the pollution of the Temple and suspension of the Jewish worship (chaps. iii.–v.); 2. An account of the profanation of the Temple, the suspension of the Jewish worship, and the cruel persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. vi., vii.); 3. A history of the insurrection under Judas, and his struggles to establish Jewish freedom up to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. viii.–x. 9); 4. An account of the continuation of the struggle up to the death of Antiochus Eupator (chaps. x. 10–xiii.); and 5. An account of the war with Demetrius I. up to the defeat and death of Nicanor (chaps. xiv., xv.). The history covers a space of about twenty years, commencing about B.C. 180, in the reign of Seleucus Philopator over Syria and the high priesthood of Onias III., and terminating in the second year of Demetrius Soter, B.C. 161. It is the writer's special desire to glorify Judas Maccabeus, whom he views as the founder of the independence of Judæa, and he therefore abruptly terminates his history with the defeat of Nicanor at Adasa, choosing to consider that by that defeat the independence was won.

To his main narrative the writer prefixes an introduction, which divides itself into two parts. The former part consists of two detached documents, purporting to be letters that had been addressed by the Jews of Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt, on the subject of keeping the Dedication festival instituted by Judas Maccabeus on his recovery of the Temple. The first of these letters occupies nine verses at the beginning of the first chapter of the work; the second extends from chap. i. 10 to chap. ii. 18. The letters are curious, but of scarcely any historical value, being the production of some forger or forgers, who imposed upon the simplicity of our author. They have scarcely any connection with the historical narrative to which they are prefixed; and the supposed facts related in the second are wholly unworthy of credit. The second portion of the introduction extends from chap. ii. 19 to 32, and is of

the nature of a modern "preface," containing a brief summary of contents, a statement of the source from which the writer derived his materials, and an explanation of the mode in which he proposed to deal with them. Thus the scheme of the work may be exhibited as follows:—

Introduction (chaps. i., ii.).
- Detached documents (chaps. i.–ii. 18).
 - First Letter (chap. i. 1–9).
 - Second Letter (chap. i. 10 to chap. ii. 18).
- Preface (chap. ii. 19–32).

Main narrative (ch. iii.–xv.).
- The troubles anterior to the pollution of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. iii.–v.).
- The pollution and the persecution which followed it (chaps. vi., vii.).
- The insurrection of the Jews and the war of Judas with Epiphanes (chaps. viii.–x. 9).
- The war of Judas with Antiochus Eupator (chap. x. 10 to chap. xiii. 26).
- The war of Judas with Demetrius I. up to the death of Nicanor (chaps. xiv., xv.).

§ II. Style and Diction.

The diction of the Second Book of Maccabees offers a remarkable contrast to that of the First Book. Whereas in the First Book Hebraisms are almost continual, in the Second they are of exceedingly rare occurrence. Only two or three have been pointed out;[1] and they are not of a very marked character. On the other hand, the use of idiomatic Greek phrases is constant; and the Greek generally is almost as good as that of Polybius or Appian. Novel words are, however, frequent,[2] and many words are used in strange and unusual senses.[3] Still, the meaning is, for the most part, sufficiently clear, the novel words being mostly derivatives from well-known roots.

There is a great variety in the style of writing. Sometimes, though not often, it is simple and natural; but more commonly it is stilted and artificial, deformed by a straining after rhetorical effect, by the affectation of unnecessarily long words and ponderous sentences, by an excessive use of ornament, and the employment of far-fetched images and false antithesis. Occasionally it falls into the very opposite faults, is rude and broken, awkward from its brevity, more resembling the first rough notes of a tyro from which he intends to work out his narrative, than the completed composition of a literary adept. Altogether the style is unpleasant and unsatisfactory, giving the idea of effort and display, of affectation and bad taste, of over-elaboration and over-colouring, and producing a certain distrust of the writer's strict adherence to truth.

§ III. Historical Value of the Book.

In estimating the value of the Second Book of Maccabees as an historical authority, we must begin with drawing a

[1] See chap. viii. 15; ix. 5; xiv. 24.

[2] The following have been noticed by Prof. Westcott:—*ἐμφανισμός* (chap. iii. 9); *ἀλλοφυλισμός* (iv. 13; vi. 24); *διεμπίμπλημι* (iv. 20); *θωρακισμός* (v. 3); *δυσπέτημα* (v. 20); *συνεκκεντεῖν* (v. 26); *ἑλληνισμός* (vi. 13); *σπλαγχνισμός* (vi. 7, 21; vii. 42); *ἀπευθανατίζειν* (vi. 28); *ἐτασμός* (vii. 37); *προσαναλέγεσθαι* (viii. 19); *ὁπλολογεῖν* (viii. 27, 31); *δοξικός*, viii. 35); *πολεμοτροφεῖν* (x. 14, 15); *ἀνδρολογία* (xii. 43); *διάσταλσις* (xiii. 25); *προσπυροῦν* (xiv. 11); *ἐπευλαβεῖσθαι* (xiv. 18); *κατευθικτεῖν* (xiv. 43); and *προσυπομιμνήσκειν* (xv. 9). To these may be added *θαυμασμός* (chap. vii. 18); *πρωτοκλισία* (iv. 21); *δεξιάζεσθαι* (iv. 34); *προπτύειν* (vi. 20); *ἀποδιαστέλλεσθαι* (vi. 5); *ὑπεραγόντως* (vii. 20); *εὐγενίζειν* (x. 13); *λεοντηδόν* (xi. 11); *εὐαπάντητος* (xiv. 9); *ἀποῤῥωγάς* (xiv. 46); and *αὐλαῖος* (xiv. 41).

[3] As the following:—*εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι* (chap. ii. 24), "to engage oneself in a subject," usually "to be rolled in" or "brought in;" *διάληψιν ἔχειν* (iii. 32); "to conceive"—generally "to have a discussion" or "to be reputed;" *ψυχικῶς* (iv. 37; xiv. 24); "heartily, *ex animo*"—in ordinary Greek, "spiritually;" *φρυάσσομαι* (vii. 34), "to be elated," commonly "to fret, rage, be insolent;" *ἀναζυγή* (ix. 2), "return, retreat," ordinarily "journey, moving of a camp;" *ἐναπερείδομαι* (ix. 4), "to avenge, retaliate," properly "to strike a blow on," or "to drive a sting in;" *πεφρενωμένος* (xi. 4), "puffed up," properly "gifted with intellect;" *ἐκλύειν* (xii. 18), "to depart" instead of "to faint;" *δευτερολογεῖν* (xiii. 22), "to address a second time," generally "to make the second speech, some one else having made the first;" *ἀκληρεῖν* (xiv. 8), "to be wretched," properly "to be without a share;" *φυγαδεύειν* (xiv. 14), "to fly from," properly "to put to flight;" *διεξάγειν* (xiv. 30), "to behave," commonly "to pass (one's life)," or "to take care of," and *ἀποκαθιστάναι* (xv. 20), "to arrange, station," commonly "to restore."

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marked line between the "Introductory Documents" and the "Main Narrative." The introductory documents are almost certainly forgeries. It is highly improbable that the Jews of Jerusalem should, amid the troubles of the year B.C. 144–3, have addressed a letter to their brethren at Alexandria desiring them to keep the festival of the Dedication. It is quite impossible that, either in B.C. 165 or B.C. 125,[1] they should have written the farrago of false history and trashy legend which constitutes the second letter, and is said to have been sent by Judas Maccabeus to Aristobulus, Ptolemy Philometor's teacher (chap. i. 10). The author of the Book is, however, not necessarily to be charged with the fabrication of the two documents which he prefixes to his narrative, and with one of which his narrative is in direct contradiction.[2] It is far more probable that he found the documents already in existence at the time when he wrote, but had not the critical acumen to discover their worthlessness. Alexandria was, in the second century B.C., a workshop where letters, decrees, and public communications of all kinds from one government to another were freely produced by the facile pens of literary adventurers.[3] Historical criticism was ill developed at the time when our author wrote, and he was certainly not a person of sound judgment. It is easy to understand his being imposed upon by works the tone of which was agreeable to him, though no great ingenuity had been shewn in their concoction.

The main narrative is not to be condemned unheard on account of its poor and somewhat tawdry frontispiece. It proceeds, as will appear hereafter,[4] from an entirely different source. It breathes a tone that is, on the whole, not untruthful or extravagant. It admits faults and sins on the part of the writer's countrymen,[5] which a dishonest man would have concealed. Though in general excessive in its numerical statements, it is occasionally more moderate than even the First Book,[1] and it is confirmed in some important particulars by classical writers and classical remains.[2]

On the other hand, it must be admitted, first, that the work contains numerous historical mistakes; and, secondly, that the writer has certain prejudices and prepossessions which render him in some matters untrustworthy as an historian. Among historical errors of an obvious character may be mentioned the following:—1. The presence of Antiochus Epiphanes in Jerusalem at the time of the great persecution, and his actual superintendence of the tortures inflicted on the martyrs (chap. vii. 3–39); 2. The circumstances of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (chap. ix. 4–28); 3. The time of the first expedition of Lysias into Judæa (chap. xi. 1–15); 4. The relations between Lysias and Antiochus Eupator (chap. x. 11); 5. The period of time during which the Temple lay waste before its purification and re-dedication by Judas (chap. x. 3); 6. The date of the recovery of the Acra (chap. xv. 31, 35); 7. The landing of Demetrius I. on the coast of Syria "with a great power and navy" (chap. xiv. 1). Among the writer's prejudices and prepossessions two are especially noticeable:—1. His bitter hatred of the Syrians, which is manifested at every turn (chap. v. 11–24; vii. 3, 4, 9, 27, 34; viii. 32, 34; ix. 7, 13, 28; xii. 23; xiii. 9; xiv. 27, 39; xv. 3, 6, 32, 33), and which cannot but make him an unfair judge of their conduct and intentions; and 2. His predilection for the marvellous, which causes him to accept as true, and put forward with the

[1] The MSS. vary between these two dates in chap. i. 10.

[2] Compare chap. i. 13–16 with chap. ix. 1–4.

[3] See Ewald, 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 467, E. T.

[4] See § 4, on the Sources of the Book.

[5] See chap. iv. 3, 7–17, 32; v. 15, 23; vi. 12–17; viii. 13; x. 20; xii. 40; xiii. 21; xiv. 3.

[1] The highest estimate of the Syrian forces made by the author of the Second Book is 115,300 (chap. xiii. 2), whereas the author of the First Book gives the number on one occasion as 128,000 (chap. xv. 13), and on another (chap. vi. 30) as 120,000. Nicanor's force in B.C. 166–5 is reckoned at 54,000 men in 1 Macc. iii. 39, at no more than 20,000 in 2 Macc. viii. 9.

[2] The position of Heliodorus in the court of Seleucus (chap. iii. 7, 37, is confirmed by Appian, ('Syriaca,' § 45); the conferring of an Antiochian citizenship on inhabitants of other towns (chap. iv. 9, 19) by coins of Ptolemaïs (Mionnet, 'Description de Médailles,' vol. v. Nos. 333, 472, 522–534; vol. viii. No. 159).

utmost force of which he is capable,[1] the "manifestations" of Divine Power (ἐπιφανείας) which were said to have occurred in the course of the struggle between the Jews and their oppressors, and by means of which, principally, the Jews achieved their independence. Considering the fact that the author of the First Book, certainly a writer nearer to the events, knows of no such "manifestations," we may assume that the period was not one in which miracles were really wrought. The ἐπιφάνειαι of 2 Maccabees are thus later additions to the real history, either invented by literary men as embellishments, or beliefs that gradually grew up among a credulous and marvel-loving people. Our present author may not have been the first to introduce them into a written history, but his full acceptance of them cannot but detract from our estimate of his critical judgment.

Yet the value of the Book is considerable. For a certain period of Jewish history—the four or five years preceding the accession of Epiphanes (chap. iii.–iv. 6)—it is our sole authority. For the succeeding period—from B.C. 176 to B.C. 166—it runs parallel with 1 Macc. i. 10–64, but is much more full and exact in details (chap. iv. 7 to end of chap. vii.), and therefore very serviceable. For the closing period of which it treats—from B.C. 166 to B.C. 161—it is of greatly inferior value, being on about the same scale as the First Book, and of much weaker authority. Still, even in this last portion (chaps. viii.–xv.), its historical value is not absolutely *nil*, since it occasionally furnishes trustworthy details on points on which the writer of the First Book has omitted to touch. Instances of this are the account of Ptolemy Macron in chap. x. 12, 13; the story of the covetousness of Simon (chap. x. 19–22); the wicked deed of the men of Joppa (chap. xii. 3–5); Judas's victory over a body of Arabs (chap. xii. 10–12); the fate of Menelaus (chap. xiii. 3–8); the treachery of Rhodocus (chap. xiii. 21); the landing of Demetrius I. *at Tripolis* (chap. xiv. 1); the negotiations between Judas and Nicanor (chap. xiv. 19–26); and the suicide of Razis (chap. xiv. 37–46). Where the writer of the Second Book is at variance with the author of the First, his authority must be set aside as worthless; but where his narrative is additional, compatible, and not in itself improbable, it may be fairly used to eke out the somewhat meagre sketch which the writer of the First Book has thought sufficient for his purposes. A delicate discrimination is no doubt needed for the separation of the false from the true in the writer's statements, the genuine from the fabricated; but the truly critical historian will, we believe, find it feasible to obtain from the Second Book of the Maccabees a not inconsiderable amount of valuable historical material.[1]

[1] See chap. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30; xi. 8; xii. 22; xv. 23–27.

§ IV. Sources of the Book.

According to the express statement of the writer (chap. ii. 19–23), his main narrative is drawn entirely from a single source, being simply an epitome of a work written by a certain "Jason of Cyrene," of whom we have no other notice. Jason's work, he says, was one in five "Books," which he proposed to concentrate into a single treatise. It comprised an account of the deeds of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers, of the purification of the Temple, the dedication of the altar, the wars of the Jews with Antiochus Epiphanes and his son Eupator, and the manifestations of Divine power (ἐπιφανείας) which had enabled the Jews to overcome their enemies, and bring the struggle to a successful issue. It was a laborious history, teeming with facts, and bristling with numerical statements (chap. ii. 24), afford-

[1] Ewald says: "A closer acquaintance with the style and method of the Book, and the discernment of those portions in which the mere form of the historical elements predominates, enable us, in the deficiency of other and older sources, to derive from it much genuine historical material, especially for the earlier part of the history" ('History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 467, E. T.). Professor Westcott considers the work "not a connected and complete history, but a series of special incidents from the life of Judas, illustrating the providential interference of God in behalf of His people, *true in substance*, but embellished in form" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 177).

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ing interesting but somewhat dry reading to students, but not calculated to attract the regard or attention of those who read books, not to increase their stock of knowledge, but as an agreeable occupation. The object of our author was to popularise this work, which he proposed to do by condensing its facts and abridging its narratives, at the same time adorning them with elegant phrases and other graces of composition (chap. ii. 26–31).

Nothing is known of "Jason of Cyrene," or his work, beyond what may be gathered from these statements of our author. A native of Cyrene, though a Jew, would almost certainly write in Greek; and it may perhaps be assumed from the general character of the style and diction of the work, as we have it, that he wrote in good Greek. How he obtained his knowledge of the Maccabean struggle we have no means of determining, nor is it altogether clear to what public he addressed himself. Perhaps the most probable conjecture is, that, though born at Cyrene, he yet, like Callimachus, and other Cyrenæans, resided at Alexandria, and composed his treatise for the benefit of the Jewish community in that city. It is plain from chap. ii. 22, that the marvellous portions of the history, as we have it, are due to him, and not to the Epitomator, and we may therefore presume that to him too is owing the didactic and admonitory character of the entire treatise (chaps. iii. 28, 29; iv. 16, 17, 38; v. 9, 10, 19, 20; vi. 12–17, 31; viii. 35, 36; ix. 5–10, 28; xii. 41–45; xiii. 7, 8, &c.). The date at which Jason lived and wrote is even more uncertain than most other points respecting him. It is conceivable that his book may have been composed within a few years of the latest event that he notices, which is the embassy of Eupolemus to Rome (ch. iv. 11) in B.C. 161; it is, on the other hand, *possible* that he may not have written till shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. Conjecture has placed the composition about the year B.C. 100.[1]

The work of Jason is to be viewed as the sole historical source of the Book from chap. iii. 1 to chap. xv. 37. Two short passages—chap. ii. 19–32 and chap. xv. 38, 39—are the mere expression of the thoughts of the writer. The remaining passage (chap. i. together with chap. ii. 1–18) is a transcript of documents which had fallen into the writer's hands, and which he appears to have set forth *verbatim*. The source of these documents would seem to have been the prolific imagination of certain Alexandrian *littérateurs* of little ability and less judgment.

[1] Westcott, *l. s. c.*; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 370.

§ V. Treatment of his main Source by the Writer.

It has been observed in the preceding section, that the object of the author of the present work was to popularise the History of Jason of Cyrene, partly by abridging it, and partly by decking it out with supposed graces of composition. To what extent the abridgment proceeded, not having Jason's work, we cannot tell. Jason's work was "in five books" (chap. ii. 23), our author's is in one; but this does not prove that he has compressed Jason's narrative into one-fifth of the original space. There is only one place in the entire treatise (chap. xiii. 22–26) where the style of an abbreviator is very evident. There a narrative which may have occupied several pages is compressed into a dozen lines; but elsewhere there is no appearance of brevity having been especially studied. If it be allowable to make a conjecture, we should say that the "abridgment" (chap. ii. 26–31) was probably effected, rather by omission of considerable portions of the narrative, than by condensation of the parts selected for republication.

Less obscurity rests upon the Epitomator's method of adorning the work of his predecessor. His own proper style is sufficiently revealed by the two passages which are wholly from his pen—the "prologue" (as he calls it) in chap. ii. (verses 19–32), and the epilogue in chap. xv. (verses 38, 39). The style of these passages is of a very marked character. It is involved, highly rhetorical, full of long grand-sounding compound words, with an affected balance in the clauses, a labouring after antithesis, and

an unnecessary introduction of similes. It would seem to be almost certain that where these characteristics, or a considerable number of them, are found in the main narrative, there the Epitomator has re-written, instead of merely abbreviating, the history as given by Jason. Such passages as chap. iii. 14–30; iv. 13–17; v. 13–21; vi. 18–31; vii. 1–41; ix. 4–17; xiv. 41–46; xv. 7–16 betray the hand of the rhetorician, and are dressed out in a garb which only an accomplished *littérateur* could have furnished. The letters also which are assigned to Epiphanes, Lysias, and Eupator (chap. ix. 19–27; xi. 16–33) bear traces of having been worked up, and have probably received their present shape rather from the Epitomator than from Jason. On the other hand, we may conclude that we have Jason's writing nearly untouched in the places from which the Epitomator's peculiarities are absent, as is the case in ch. iii. 4, 5, 7–11, 35–40; ch. iv. 3–10, 18, 19, 21–24, 27–36, &c.

§ VI. Date of Composition, and Author.

It would follow from the dates contained in the first chapter (verses 7 and 10), if they have not suffered corruption, that the author composed his work subsequently to the accession of Demetrius II. (Nicator), and even (if the second date be allowed) subsequently to that of Alexander II. (Zabinas), who succeeded Demetrius in B.C. 126. If, however, with Ewald[1] and two MSS., we substitute τεσσαρακοστοῦ for ὀγδοηκοστοῦ in chap. i. 10, then the latest date mentioned by the author will be B.C. 144–3, or the third year of Nicator in Syria, and the first of Simon in Judæa; and his work, so far, may have been composed as early as B.C. 142–140. Supposing Jason of Cyrene to have written his history about B.C. 160, which we have shewn to be possible,[2] the Epitomator may well have thought that the time was come for an adaptation of Jason's work to the taste of the general reader about twenty years later. If, however, for any reason, we lower the date of Jason, we must correspondingly lower that of the epitome. Those who assign the composition of Jason's history to about B.C. 100 suggest B.C. 50 for the present work;[1] but this is to allow an unnecessarily long interval between the two writers. B.C. 80 is quite as late a date as it is at all reasonable to assign to the Book, as we have it, even if Jason wrote about B.C. 100.

The author is probably an Alexandrian Jew. His Greek is too good for a native of Palestine at the period (B.C. 140–80). And his rhetoric is exactly what was in vogue at Alexandria under the later Ptolemies. He belongs to the most orthodox school of religious thought among the Jews; and though there is no reason for supposing that he was an actual Pharisee,[2] yet he would doubtless have sympathised with the Pharisees in their contentions with the Sadducean faction. He desires a more strict observance of the Palestinian festivals by his countrymen in Egypt (chap. i. 9, 18) than they were inclined to render; and perhaps designs to lessen their reverence for the Temple at Leontopolis, and induce them to carry their offerings to Jerusalem instead, and to deposit them in that most holy sanctuary "renowned all the world over" (chaps. ii. 22; iii. 12), which even kings themselves had delighted to "honour and magnify with their best gifts" (chap. iii. 2).

§ VII. Religious Tone of the Book.

In respect of its religious tone the Book stands in a most remarkable contrast with the First Book of Maccabees. Both writers are indeed pious and God-fearing men; both belong to the strictly orthodox party among their countrymen; both desire to keep to the old ways and avoid all Hellenistic innovations; and both, moreover, have the strongest pos-

[1] 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 259, note [1]. The date ΡΜΗ would readily pass into ΡΠΗ.

[2] See § IV. p. 171.

[1] Westcott, 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 175; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 370.

[2] Pharisaic teaching has been discovered in the entire concluding section of the work (chaps. xii.–xv.), and especially in chap. xii. 43–45, which is said to have been "plainly levelled against the Sadducees" (Bertholdt, quoted in Grimm's 'Introduction,' p. xv.).

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sible conviction that God governs the world, and directs the course of mundane affairs by His over-ruling providence. But, in all other respects, their ideas and habits of thought on religious subjects are diametrically opposite. The writer of the First Book is reticent to excess on matters of religion, and especially chary of mentioning the Divine Name, if he can anyhow avoid it. The writer of the Second Book is wholly devoid of any such scruple; he openly declares his religious views and feelings on all suitable occasions, and freely uses the words "God" and "Lord" whenever his subject-matter leads him to refer to the Supreme Being. Again, the writer of the First Book abstains from introducing into his narrative any account of recent miraculous occurrences—he is either not aware that miracles were believed to have been wrought during the course of the Syro-Macedonian struggle, or, if he knows the stories, he disbelieves them. In the Second Book, on the contrary, the miraculous element is a main feature; and though no doubt the writer was following his authority, Jason, when he gave it a place in his narrative (chap. ii. 21), yet his elaboration of the stories, and the length at which he dwells on them, are a sufficient indication that he accepted their truth, and regarded them as among the most important events of his history. Further, the writer of the First Book is careful not to assume the *rôle* of a religious teacher; he withholds all observations on the history which he relates, and leaves the events themselves to make their own impression. The writer of the Second Book acts in an exactly opposite manner. He is pointedly didactic and admonitory. Sometimes he formally addresses religious exhortations to his readers (*e.g.* vi. 12–17; xii. 43–45); more usually, he appends his observations on the events as if they were forced from him by the strength of his own feelings and were not intended as admonitions (chap. iv. 16, 17, 38 *ad fin.*; v. 9, 10, 17–20; vi. 31; ix. 8–10, 28; xi. 10; xiii. 7, 8, 17; xv. 27, 35). The result is that the religious aspect of the history is kept continually before the reader's mind, who is taught on every page that impiety and blasphemy receive signal punishment at God's hands; that prayer is heard; that God fights openly on the side of His saints and delivers them; that, if He suffers them to be afflicted, it is for the purpose of chastening and purifying them; and that, even if they suffer the worst that can happen to man in this life, they will be rewarded in the Resurrection.

There is a certain amount of difference also between the tone of the two Books in respect of the stress laid on what is external in religion. The writer of the First Book has the Temple in high regard, but the writer of the Second is never wearied of extolling it. He calls it "the great temple" (chap. ii. 19), "the holy temple" (chap. xv. 18), "the great and holy temple" (chap. xiv. 31), "the temple renowned all the world over" (chap. ii. 22), "the temple honoured over all the world" (chap. iii. 12), and "the most holy temple of all the world" (chap. v. 15). He places the pollution of the Temple in the forefront of his history (chap. i. 8); relates at length the various attempts made, successful and unsuccessful, to plunder its treasures (chap. iii. 6–35; iv. 32, 39; v. 15–21); triumphantly sets forth its recovery (chap. x. 1–8), and winds up with an elaborate account of its deliverance when it was threatened with destruction by Nicanor (chap. xiv. 31–36; xv. 17–36). With the Temple he constantly couples the altar (chaps. ii. 19; iv. 14; vi. 4, 5; x. 1–3; xiv. 33), where he represents the priests as serving (chaps. iv. 14; xv. 31) in their "holy vestments" (chap. iii. 15) with a continual "service of sacrifices" (chap. iii. 3). The incense, lights, and shewbread of the sanctuary obtain honourable mention from him (chaps. i. 8; x. 3); as do the sabbath (chaps. vi. 11; viii. 26; xii. 38) and the festivals of Pentecost (chap. xii. 32), Tabernacles (chap. x. 6), Purim (chap. xv. 36), and Dedication (chaps. i. 9, 18; ii. 16; x. 5–8). His anxiety that the Feast of the Dedication should be kept by his countrymen in Egypt seems to be the only reason that can be assigned for his prefixing the two letters (chaps. i. 1—ii. 18) to his narrative. He is further especially regardful of the "holy vessels," the conversion of which to profane uses

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he regards as "sacrilege" (chap. iv. 39), and as bringing a terrible judgment on those who are guilty of it (chaps. iv. 42; v. 16; ix. 16).

CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF THE HISTORY CONTAINED IN THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF MACCABEES.

B.C.		1 Macc.	2 Macc.
336—323	Reign of Alexander the Great	ch. i. 1–7	
323—187	Reigns of Alexander's successors down to Seleucus IV.	ch. i. 8, 9	
187—176	Reign of Seleucus IV. Attempt of Heliodorus	..	ch. iii. 1 to iv. 6
176	Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes	ch. i. 10	ch. iv. 7
176—171	Reign of Antiochus until his first expedition into Egypt	ch. i. 10–17	ch. iv. 7–50
171—170	First expedition of Antiochus into Egypt	ch. i. 17–20	ch. v. 1–11
170	Plundering of the Temple by Antiochus	ch. i. 20–24	ch. v. 11–21
170—168	Oppressive rule of Philip	ch. i. 24–28	ch. v. 22, 23
168	Massacre of Apollonius and desecration of the Temple.	ch. i. 29–59	ch. v. 24 to vi. 9
168—167	Cruel persecution under Philip	ch. i. 60–64	ch. vi. 10 to vii. 42
167	Revolt and war under Mattathias	ch. ii. 1–70	
166—165	War continued under Judas Maccabeus	ch. iii. 1–26	ch. viii. 1–8
166—165	Expedition under Nicanor and Gorgias	ch. iii. 27 to iv. 27	ch. viii. 9–36
165—164	First expedition under Lysias	ch. iv. 26–35.	(ch. xi. 1–38?)
165—164	Recovery and purification of Temple by Judas	ch. iv. 36–59.	ch. x. 1–8
165—164	Fortification of Jerusalem and Bethsura	ch. iv. 60, 61	
164—163	War of Judas in Idumæa and Gilead	ch. v. 1–68	ch. x. 14–38; xii. 10–45
164—163	Death of Epiphanes and accession of Eupator	ch. vi. 1–16	ch. ix. 1–29
163—162	Second expedition under Lysias	ch. vi. 17–63.	ch. xiii. 1–26
162	Death of Eupator and accession of Demetrius I.	ch. vii. 1–3	ch. xiv. 1, 2
162	Establishment of Alcimus as High Priest	ch. vii. 4–25	ch. xiv. 3–14
162—161	Expedition of Nicanor	ch. vii. 26–50	ch. xiv. 15 to xv. 37
161	Embassy sent by Judas to the Romans	ch. viii. 1–32	ch. iv. 11
161—160	Expedition of Bacchides and death of Judas	ch. ix. 1–22	
160—159	War of Bacchides with Jonathan	ch. ix. 23–57	
158—157	Second expedition of Bacchides against Jonathan	ch. ix. 58–72	
157—152	Jonathan rules in peace at Michmash	ch. ix. 73	
152	Invasion of Syria by Alexander Balas	ch. x. 1	
152—151	Civil war between Alexander and Demetrius	ch. x. 2–49	
151	Death of Demetrius	ch. x 50	
151—150	Meeting of Jonathan with Demetrius and Ptolemy	ch. x. 51–66	
148—147	Invasion of Syria by Demetrius II.	ch. x. 67	
148—147	War of Jonathan with Apollonius	ch. x. 68–89	
147—146	Civil war between Balas and Demetrius II.	ch. xi. 1–18	
146—145	Death of Balas and accession of Demetrius II.	ch. xi. 19	
146—145	Civil war between Demetrius II. and Tryphon	ch. xi. 39–56	
145	Victory of Jonathan near Hazor	ch. xi. 63–74	
145—144	Embassies sent by Jonathan to Rome and Sparta	ch. xii. 1–23	
144	War of Jonathan with Tryphon	ch. xii. 39–53	
144—143	Death of Jonathan and accession of Simon	ch. xiii. 1–23	
142	Judæan independence acknowledged	ch. xiii. 34–42	
141	Simon takes Gazara and the Acra	ch. xiii. 43–53	
141—140	Demetrius II. makes war on Arsaces.	ch. xiv. 1, 2	
139—138	Demetrius taken prisoner.	ch. xiv. 3	
139—138	Antiochus Sidetes invades Syria	ch. xv. 1–14	
138—137	Sidetes breaks faith with Simon	ch. xv. 25–36	
138—137	Expedition of Cendebæus against Simon	ch. xv. 38 to xvi. 10	
136—135	Murder of Simon by Ptolemy, son of Abubus	ch. xvi. 11–17	

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THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

CHAPTER I.

1 *A letter of the Jews from Jerusalem to them of Egypt, to thank God for the death of Antiochus.* 19 *Of the fire that was hid in the pit.* 24 *The prayer of Neemias.*

cir. 144. THE brethren, the Jews that be at Jerusalem and in the land of Judea, wish unto the brethren, the Jews that are throughout Egypt, health and peace:

2 God be gracious unto you, and remember his covenant that he made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his faithful servants;

3 And give you all an heart to serve him, and to do his will,

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. First Letter of the Palestinian Jews to the Brethren in Egypt.

1–9. The main narrative, contained in chs. iii.–xv., is preceded by a sort of "preface" or "introduction," consisting of two parts. First come two letters supposed to have been written by the Jews of Palestine to their brethren in Egypt—one in the reign of Demetrius Nicator, about B.C. 144, and the other under Judas Maccabæus (*v.* 10), probably about B.C. 165. These letters occupy ch. i. and ch. ii. as far as *v.* 18. The writer then (in ch. ii. 19–32) explains the circumstances under which the remainder of the work was composed. There is great reason to doubt the genuineness of both the letters, which, however, the author probably found among the Jewish archives in Egypt, and which his simplicity prevented him from suspecting. The relation of the letters to the remainder of the work, and the author's object in inserting them, are somewhat obscure.

1. *The brethren.*] Moses had enjoined on the Israelites, even in Egypt, to regard each other as "brethren" (Acts vii. 26). The term is used in the Old Testament of Israelites generally (Ex. ii. 11; Ps. cxxxiii. 1: Tobit i. 10, 16; iv. 13; xiv. 4, 7, &c.); but not with the same frequency with which it is applied to Christians in the New Testament.

the Jews that are throughout Egypt.] After Alexandria, Leontopolis was probably the place where there were most Jews in Egypt (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 3, § 1–3). There were colonies of them also in other cities (Is. xix. 18; Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 1).

health and peace.] A combination of the Greek with the Hebrew idiom. In the letter of Jonathan (1 Macc. xii. 6) the Greek idiom only is used; in the second letter of the Palestinian Jews (*v.* 10) the Greek and Roman idioms are combined.

2. *God be gracious unto you.*] Compare Gen. xliii. 29; Num. vi. 25; Ps. lxvii. 1; Mal. i. 9.

and remember his covenant.] The covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was threefold:—1. To multiply their seed as the stars of heaven; 2. To give their seed Canaan as their inheritance; 3. To bring it to pass, that in their seed all the families of the earth should be blessed. (See Gen. xii. 3; xv. 13–21; xvii. 2–8; xviii. 18, &c.) When the Israelites angered God and He punished them, He was said to "forget His covenant;" when they humbled themselves, and returned to Him, He was said to "remember" it (Lev. xxvi. 42–45; Ps. cvi. 45; Ezek. xvi. 60; Luke i. 72).

his faithful servants.] It is the chief praise of a "servant" to be "found faithful" (1 Cor. iv. 2). The faithfulness of Abraham is declared in 1 Macc. ii. 52 and Heb. xi. 8–19; that of Isaac in Heb. xi. 20; that of Jacob in Heb. xi. 21. Though not without faults, they clung to God till their life's end.

3. *to do his will.*] Literally, "His wills" or "wishes" (*τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ*). Compare Ps. ciii. 7 in the Sept. Version.

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with a good courage and a willing mind;

4 And open your hearts in his law and commandments, and send you peace,

5 And hear your prayers, and be at one with you, and never forsake you in time of trouble.

6 And now we be here praying for you.

7 What time as Demetrius reigned, cir. 144. in the hundred threescore and ninth year, we the Jews wrote unto you in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years, from the time that [a]Jason and his company [a] ch. 4. 7. revolted from the holy land and kingdom,

8 And burned the porch, and shed innocent blood: then we prayed unto the Lord, and were heard; we offered also sacrifices and fine flour, and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.

with a good courage.] Literally, "with a large heart"—*i.e.* "earnestly, heartily, with might and main."

a willing mind.] Rather, "a willing **soul**."

4. *And open your hearts in his law.*] This is an unusual phrase. It is best explained as a prayer, that God would open their hearts *to attend to* His law and commandments. Cf. Acts xvi. 14.

5. *and be at one with you.*] Rather, "and be **reconciled to** you." The doctrine of "reconciliation" is one on which the author pointedly and frequently insists. (See ch. v. 20; vii. 33; viii. 39, &c.) According to his view, God, the offended party, requires to be "reconciled" to man, the offender; in the New Testament, it is rather man, the offender, who has to be "reconciled" to the God whom he has offended (Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18–20; Col. i. 20, 21, &c.).

and never forsake you.] Compare Ps. xxxviii. 21; lxxi. 9. Sometimes God forsakes His own "for a small moment" (Is. liv. 7), but only to return and have mercy upon them, and "gather them with great mercies" (ibid.).

6. *we be here praying for you.*] *I.e.* "Be assured that we, here in Jerusalem, continue always to pray (ἐσμεν προσευχόμενοι) for you."

7. *What time as Demetrius reigned, in the hundred threescore and ninth year.*] Demetrius II. (Nicator) was king of Syria from the 167th Seleucid year (1 Macc. xi. 19) to the 175th, and again from the 186th to the 189th. He would seem to be the king intended. The 169th Seleucid year began in Oct. B.C. 144, and terminated in Oct. B.C. 143. It was the year in which Jonathan was taken prisoner by Tryphon (1 Macc. xii. 48) and murdered (ib. xiii. 23).

we the Jews wrote unto you.] Rather, "**have written**." The use of the perfect tense shews that we have here the professed date of the epistle (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 468, note 3); not, as Grimm supposes, a reference to an earlier communication. In that case the aorist must have been employed.

in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years.] Rather, "in **these** years."

from the time that Jason and his company revolted.] On Jason and his doings, see ch. iv. 7–26. Josephus says that his real name was Joshua ('Ιησοῦς), and that he himself changed his name into Jason ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 1).

from the holy land and kingdom.] Rather, "from the holy land, and **from the** kingdom." The "holy land" is undoubtedly Palestine—the "land of promise"—the ἱερὰ χώρα of Philo ('Leg. ad Cai.' § 42). "*The* kingdom," κατ' ἐξοχήν, is probably "the kingdom of God upon earth," or the Jewish Church, which had become an actual earthly kingdom, before our author wrote.

8. *And burned the porch.*] The principal porch of the Temple building (1 Kings vi. 3) seems to be intended; but we have not elsewhere any special mention of injury done to this particular part of the edifice. *All* the outer gates were burnt (1 Macc. iv. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 32), and the main building was made a desolation (1 Macc. i. 39; ii. 8; iii. 45, 51; iv. 38): but it may be doubted if any wanton injury was done to the Great Porch. The Temple, it must be remembered, was, in the designs of Epiphanes, to have become a heathen sanctuary (2 Macc. vi. 2).

and shed innocent blood.] See ch. iv. 34–36; v. 6; vi. 10, 18–31; vii. 1–42, &c.

we offered also sacrifices and fine flour.] The reference is probably to the recovery of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus, and the restoration of sacrifices made by him in the year B.C. 166 (1 Macc. iv. 36–53)—the occasion ever after celebrated by the "Feast of the Dedication" (ἐγκαίνια).

and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.] See 1 Macc. 50, 51. The "lamps" were those of the candelabrum which supplied

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9 And now see that ye keep the feast
[b] Lev. 23. 34. of [b]tabernacles in the month Casleu.
10 In the hundred fourscore and eighth year, the people that were at Jerusalem and in Judea, and the council, and Judas, sent greeting and health unto Aristobulus, king Ptolemeus' master, who was of the stock of the anointed priests, and to the Jews that were in Egypt:
11 Insomuch as God hath delivered us from great perils, we thank him highly, as having been in battle against a king.
12 For he cast them out that fought within the holy city.

the place of the original golden candlestick (Ex. xxv. 31–37): the "loaves," those of the table of shewbread (ib. 23–30).

9. *the feast of tabernacles.*] The writer tells us further on (ch. x. 6) that the Feast of Dedication was kept on the first occasion "after the manner of the Feast of Tabernacles," with "branches, and fair boughs, and palms also" (ib. *v.* 7). From this circumstance it seems to have been sometimes called "the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Chisleu," while the true Tabernacles' Feast was known as "the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Tisri" (Grimm).

the month Casleu.] This month corresponded, in part, to our December; in part, to January. It was the ninth month of the Jewish year (1 Macc. iv. 52). In the Hebrew it was called Chisleu (Neh. i. 1; Zech. vii. 1). The celebration of the Feast of Dedication by the Egyptian Jews, enjoined both here and in *v.* 18, would have been an acknowledgment on their part of a higher sanctity belonging to the Temple at Jerusalem than to that at Leontopolis.

§ 2. ANOTHER (EARLIER) LETTER OF THE PALESTINIAN JEWS TO THEIR BRETHREN IN EGYPT.

FIRST PORTION OF THE LETTER (*vv.* 10–17). The death of Antiochus is the first subject treated of in the second letter. This event, which happened in B.C. 164, is related with details, which are irreconcilable with the narrative of the same event in ch. ix. 1–28, and also with that in 1 Macc. vi. 1–16.

10. *In the hundred fourscore and eighth year.*] This would be B.C. 125–4, thirty-six years after the death of Judas Maccabeus, by whom the letter is said to have been sent, and nearly forty years after the death of Epiphanes, which is represented as the occasion of its having been written. As so large a chronological error is scarcely possible, we may perhaps accept the reading of two MSS., viz. 148 for 188. The professed date of the letter will then be B.C. 165–4.

the people . . . the council, and Judas.] The order is unusual, and tends to throw doubt on the genuineness of the letter. The natural order would be "Judas, and the council, and the people." Compare 1 Macc. xii. 6. The existence of a Jewish council, or "senate," at this time has been questioned (Grimm), but without reason. A senate is mentioned in 1 Macc. *l. s. c.*; 2 Macc. iv. 44, xi. 27.

Aristobulus, king Ptolemeus' master.] Rather, "**teacher.**" Aristobulus, the Peripatetic philosopher, is undoubtedly meant. He held a high position at the court of Ptolemy Philometor during the first half of the second century B.C., being at once tutor to the king and the chief of the Jewish community at Alexandria. His work, 'Explanations of the Mosaic Law,' was addressed to Ptolemy himself, and is quoted by Clement of Alexandria ('Strom.' i. p. 342) and Eusebius ('Præp. Ev.' vii. 13, viii. 8–10, ix. 6, xiii. 11; 'Eccles. Hist.' vii. 33), and referred to by Origen ('Contr. Celsum,' iv. 6, § 4). He endeavoured to reconcile the Hebrew Scriptures with the philosophy of Aristotle. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 259; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 277–280.)

11. *God hath delivered us from great perils.*] See 1 Macc. iii. 10–60; iv. 1–35; v. 1–61.

as having been in battle against a king.] Rather, "as **fighting frequently** against **the** king." The *present* participle gives the sense of repetition: the word βασιλεύς, without the article, designates the Seleucid monarch here, as it does the Persian monarch in the classical writers. The Jews had not been actually engaged in battle with Antiochus; but they had had at least five engagements with his generals. And the war was still continuing.

12. *he cast them out that fought within the holy city.*] Rather, "He **Himself**"—*i.e.* God—"cast them out," &c. Compare ch. x. 1. According to the author of this Book, Judas recovered both the Temple *and the city*, in which case of course the Syrian garrison must have been "cast out" of the latter. But the circumstantial narrative of the First Book shews that the "city of David," with its fortress, the Acra, did not really fall into the hands of the Jews until the principate of Simon (1 Macc. iv. 37–60; xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36, 37; Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 311–12, and p. 335).

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13 For when the leader was come into Persia, and the army with him that seemed invincible, they were slain in the temple of Nanea by the deceit of Nanea's priests.

14 For Antiochus, as though he would marry her, came into the place, and his friends that were with him, to receive money in name of a dowry.

15 Which when the priests of Nanea had set forth, and he was entered with a small company into the compass of the temple, they shut the temple as soon as Antiochus was come in:

16 And opening a privy door of the roof, they threw stones like thunderbolts, and struck down the captain, hewed them in pieces, smote off their heads, and cast them to those that were without.

17 Blessed be our God in all things, who hath delivered up the ungodly.

13. *the leader.*] This can only be Antiochus; but it is a curious term to be used of the Great King.

into Persia.] Elymaïs, the country in which the temple of Nanæa was situated, appears to have been reckoned at this period a part of Persia. (See 1 Macc. vi. 1.)

the army . . . that seemed invincible.] Half the forces of Syria, according to the author of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 37)—probably from 60,000 to 70,000 men. (See 1 Macc. iv. 28.)

they were slain.] Literally, "cut to pieces." This is an over-statement. Antiochus himself was certainly not killed in the Temple, or anywhere near it (1 Macc. vi. 4–16; Polyb. xxxi. 2), nor does it seem that he lost many of his troops. Lysias brought back with him the bulk of the force when he returned to Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 56).

in the temple of Nanea.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 2; Polyb. *l. s. c.*; App. 'Syriac.' § 66. The Syrian goddess, Nanea, or Nanæa, was identical with the Nana of the Babylonians, who was called Ishtar in Assyria and Ashtoreth (or Astarte) in Phœnicia. She is commonly identified with the Aphrodité of the Greeks and the Venus of the Romans, but is sometimes compared with Artemis and Diana. Variant forms of the name are Nanæa, Anæa, Anaïtis, Tanata, Tanath, Tanaïs. The Egyptians, on adopting her into their system, called her Anta. In Phœnician inscriptions Tanath is found, as well as Ashtoreth.

14. *Antiochus, as though he would marry her.*] The employment of this pretext by the needy monarch when he was plundering temples is confirmed by the recently discovered fragments of Granius Licinianus (p. 9; ed. of 1858); and receives illustration from Antony's conduct at Athens, as related by Seneca: "Quum Antonius vellet se Liberum patrem dici, et hoc nomen statuis suis subscribi juberet, habitu quoque et comitatu Liberum imitaretur, occurrerunt venienti ei Athenienses et Διόνυσον salutaverunt. . . . Dixerunt, despondere ipsos in *matrimonium* Minervam suam, et *rogaverunt ut duceret.* Ac Antonius *ait ducturum*, sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta" ('Suasor.' § 1).

15. *when . . . he was entered . . . into the compass of the temple.*] Rather, "When he was entered **within the circuit of the precinct.**" Ὁ περίβολος τοῦ τεμένους is the wall that surrounded the enclosure within which the Temple stood.

16. *opening a privy door of the roof.*] In the original it is "**the** privy door," as if every temple had one.

they threw stones . . . and struck down.] Compare the proceedings of the Corcyræan democrats when they mounted on the roof of the building within which they had confined the chief aristocrats, and, after breaking a hole in the roof, destroyed them by hurling down on them darts, javelins, and pieces of the tiling wherewith the roof was covered (Thucyd. iv. 48).

the captain.] Or "the leader"—the same word as in v. 13. Antiochus is no doubt meant.

hewed them in pieces.] As there is no antecedent to "them," it has been suggested that some such words as καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ —"and those with him"—have fallen out after "captain."

17. *who hath delivered up the ungodly.*] Rather, "who delivered up those that had committed impiety,"—*i.e.* Antiochus and his soldiers. That the entire narrative is a fiction, so far as Antiochus Epiphanes is concerned, cannot be questioned; but it is quite possible, as Scholz has suggested, that it describes the fate of Antiochus the Great, who was killed while plundering a temple of Belus in this same region (Diod. Sic. p. 573; Justin. xxxii. 2; Strab. xvi. 1, § 18).

SECOND PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (vv. 18–36). From their account of the death of Antiochus, the writers of the letter are represented as proceeding to enjoin upon their Egyptian brethren the celebration of two

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18 Therefore whereas we are now purposed [c] to keep the purification of the temple upon the five and twentieth day of *the month* [d] Casleu, we thought it necessary to certify you thereof, that ye also might keep *it*, *as the feast* of the tabernacles, and of the fire, *which was given us* when Neemias offered sacrifice, after that he had builded the temple and the altar.

[c] 1 Mac. 4. 59. ch. 2. 16.
[d] Lev. 23. 24, 27, 34. Numb. 29. 1.

19 For when our fathers were led into Persia, the priests that were then devout took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it in an hollow place of a pit without water, where they kept *it* sure, so that the place was unknown to all men.

20 Now after many years, when it pleased God, Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia, did send of the posterity of those priests that had hid it to the fire: but when they told us they found no fire, but thick water;

21 Then commanded he them to draw it up, and to bring it; and when the sacrifices were laid on,

days—1. That of the Dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus after his purification of it; and 2. That of Nehemiah's recovery of the sacred fire. The legend of the recovery is then given at length.

18. *whereas we are now purposed to keep, &c.*] The *second* celebration of the festival at Jerusalem is probably intended, since the first preceded the death of Epiphanes, as appears from 1 Macc. iv. 52 compared with 1 Macc. vi. 16.

we thought it necessary.] Rather, "we thought it **fitting**."

that ye also might keep it as the feast of the tabernacles.] Rather, "that ye might keep the day of the Tabernacles' feast." The writers call the Feast of the Dedication itself σκηνοπηγία, as did those of the previous letter (*v.* 9). For the reason of the name see the comment on that place.

the fire which was given us.] Our translators have supplied the clause, "which was given us," from the Vulgate. Something must certainly have fallen out after "fire"—perhaps τοῦ εὑρεθέντος or τοῦ φανέντος.

after that he had builded the temple and the altar.] This is a curious perversion of history, and indicates a great ignorance of Holy Scripture on the part of the writer of the letter. The altar was set up, and the Temple built by Zerubbabel, nearly a century before the time of Nehemiah (Ezra iii. 3, vi. 15; Zech. iv. 9). Nehemiah's work was the restoration of the gates and walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1–32, vi. 1, vii. 1; Ecclus. xlix. 13). A further exaggeration of Nehemiah's greatness appears in ch. ii. 13.

19. *when our fathers were led into Persia.*] *I.e.* into Babylonia, which was afterwards swallowed up in Persia.

the priests . . . took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it.] There is no reason to suppose any truth at all in this narrative, which is entirely unsupported by anything contained in the canonical Books. Had the fire been preserved, it is almost certain that either Jeremiah, or Ezra, or the writer of Kings, or the writer of Chronicles, would have recorded it.

in an hollow place of a pit without water.] A tradition which can be traced back to the tenth century gives to the well at the conjunction of the Kedron with the Hinnom valley—the En-rogel of holy Scripture—the name of "the well of Nehemiah," with allusion to this story. Such traditions are however worthless, unless they have a very much greater antiquity than can be claimed for this.

where they kept it sure.] Rather, "where they **made** it sure,"—*i.e.* concealed it safely.

20. *Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia.*] The king who "sent" Nehemiah, or rather allowed him to go, to Jerusalem (Neh. ii. 4–6) was Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes and grandson of Darius Hystaspis, who was known to the Greeks as Macrocheir and to the Romans as Longimanus.

when they told us.] The pronoun of the first person seems very much out of place, the professed date of the letter being nearly three centuries after Nehemiah's time. Gaab explains it as equivalent to "our countrymen." Grimm supposes the authors of the letter to quote from a document purporting to have been written by eye-witnesses of the events narrated. But in that case the first person would probably have occurred oftener. I should suspect that the ησαν of διεσάφησαν was first repeated by a clumsy scribe, and then turned by a corrector into ἡμῖν. I should omit the ἡμῖν, as is done by two MSS. and the Syriac Version.

21. *to draw it up and to bring it.*] Rather, "to draw **of it** (ἀποβάψαντας) and bring it."

when the sacrifices were laid on.] *I.e.* "placed on the altar."

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Neemias commanded the priests to sprinkle the wood and the things laid thereupon with the water.

22 When this was done, and the time came that the sun shone, which afore was hid in the cloud, there was a great fire kindled, so that every man marvelled.

23 And the priests made a prayer whilst the sacrifice was consuming, *I say*, both the priests, and all *the rest*, Jonathan beginning, and the rest answering thereunto, as Neemias did.

24 And the prayer was after this manner; O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful, and the only and gracious King,

25 The only giver of all things, the only just, almighty, and everlasting, thou that deliverest Israel from all trouble, and didst choose the fathers, and sanctify them:

22. *there was a great fire kindled.*] The acceptance of the entire story of the recovery of the holy fire by Joseph Ben-Gorion ('Hist. Jud.' i. 16, 17) does not add anything to its credibility. Ben-Gorion is aware that the altar was set up, and sacrifice renewed by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and assigns them a place in the transactions; but he spoils his story by introducing into it also the names of Ezra and Nehemiah, who lived nearly a century later. The Rabbinical writers generally ignore the story; and indeed contradict it by their almost unanimous declaration that "the holy fire" was one of the five things possessed by the first Temple which were wanting in the second. (See Buxtorf's treatise 'De igne sacro' in Ugolino's 'Thesaurus,' vol. x. p. 426.)

23. *Jonathan beginning.*] The "Jonathan" intended is probably the high-priest of that name mentioned in Neh. xii. 11, and called by Josephus "John" ('A. J.' xi. 7, § 1), who was the grandson of Eliashib and the father of Jaddua. The writer of the letter may have supposed that he was contemporary with Nehemiah, whereas his high-priesthood must really have fallen about half a century later. By "beginning" is meant pronouncing each clause of the prayer first, so that the people might hear it and repeat it after him.

24. *the prayer was after this manner.*] The accumulation of epithets in the address to God (*vv.* 24, 25) is the most remarkable feature of this prayer. The simplicity of early times was content to address God by one or two titles (Ex. v. 22, xv. 11, xxxii. 11; Num. xvi. 22; 2 Chron. vi. 14, 16, &c.). From the time of Daniel (Dan. ix. 4), three or four are common (Neh. i. 5; Judith ix. 12; Add. Esth. xiii. 9; Ecclus. li. 1). The prayer ascribed to Manasseh has eleven, and the address of Jonathan in the present passage fifteen. The particular epithets are, for the most part, such as occur separately elsewhere.

O Lord, Lord God.] This is not a mere repetition, such as we find in Ps. xxii. 1; Add. Esth. xiii. 9; 3 Macc. ii. 2; Matt. vii. 21, &c., but a strengthened form of address, like "O Lord, O Lord my God," in the Psalms (xxv. 1, 2; xxxv. 22, 24; lxxi. 1, 4, &c.).

Creator of all things.] Compare 3 Macc. ii. 2, and Prayer of Manasses, *v.* 2.

who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful.] Literally, "the fearful, and strong, and righteous, and merciful one"—*i.e.* the only Being really possessed of those qualities. God is addressed as "fearful" (or "terrible") by Daniel (ch. ix. 4), and Nehemiah (ch. i. 5); as "righteous" by David (Ps. cxix. 137) and Ezra (ch. ix. 15); as "strong" by Job (ix. 19) and again by David (Ps. lxxxix. 8), and as "very merciful" by Manasseh (Prayer, *v.* 5). The order of the epithets is that of moral climax.

the only and gracious King.] Rather, "who alone art King and gracious."

25. *The only giver of all things.*] Or, "the only supplier of things needed." The word used (χορηγὸς) designates the person who supplied whatever was necessary to put an author's play upon the stage.

the only just, almighty, and everlasting.] Omnipotence and eternal existence (*i.e.* existence without either beginning or end) are by common consent attributes which belong to God alone. Justice or righteousness is, in a certain qualified sense, predicable of man (Job i. 1, 8; Ps. vii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 9; Matt. i. 19); but in the truest and highest sense of God only. (See Matt. xix. 17: "There is none good but one, that is, God.")

that deliverest Israel from all trouble.] Compare Ps. xxxiv. 17.

and didst choose the fathers.] Literally, "and didst make the fathers [Thy] chosen ones." The true Israelites are called God's "elect" in Is. lxv. 9, 15, 22, in a spiritual, and not merely in a temporal, sense; but here the election intended is probably the choice of Israel out of all the nations of the earth to

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26 Receive the sacrifice for thy whole people Israel, and preserve thine own portion, and sanctify it.

27 Gather those together that are scattered from us, deliver them that serve among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou art our God.

28 Punish them that oppress us, and with pride do us wrong.

[e] Deut. 30. ch. 2. 18. 29 Plant thy people again in thy holy place, [e] as Moses hath spoken.

30 And the priests sung psalms of thanksgiving.

31 Now when the sacrifice was consumed, Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones.

32 When this was done, there was kindled a flame: but it was consumed by the light that shined from the altar.

33 So when this matter was known, it was told the king of Persia, that in the place, where the priests that were led away had hid the fire, there appeared water, and that [‖] Neemias had purified the sacrifices therewith.

[‖] Or, *Neemias his company*

34 Then the king, inclosing the place, made it holy, after he had tried the matter.

be God's "peculiar people" (Deut. xiv. 2). The aorist marks a single act of choice.

26. *Receive the sacrifice for thy whole people.*] Compare Lev. ix. 15–18; Ezra vi. 17; Neh. x. 33, &c.

preserve thine own portion.] "The Lord's portion is His people" (Deut. xxxii. 9)—that "portion" of the world's inhabitants which He chose and set apart for Himself. (Compare Add. Esth. xiii. 16; Ecclus. xvii. 17, xxiv. 12; 3 Macc. vi. 3.)

27. *those . . . that are scattered from us.*] Literally, "our dispersion" (*τὴν διασπορὰν ἡμῶν*)—the abstract for the concrete. Compare the Sept. translation of Ps. cxlvi. 2, and see also John vii. 35; Jas. i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1. The word came gradually to be used in a technical sense of the Jews dispersed throughout the world. Jonathan's prayer, so far, is not inappropriate to the supposed time and circumstances, since, though many had returned with Zerubbabel, a still greater number had remained behind (Joseph. 'A. J.' xi. 1, § 3), and continued scattered among the nations.

deliver them that serve.] The prayer now becomes inappropriate. Cyrus had given a general permission to leave their homes to all Israelites in any part of his dominions and return to Palestine (Ezra i. 2–4). Artaxerxes, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, renewed the permission (ib. vii. 13). No Israelites could, under these circumstances, be detained in slavery against their will in any part of the Persian Empire, and there is no reason to suppose that any had been carried beyond it. The remainder of the prayer is also pitched in too low a key to suit the time of the Return from the Captivity.

29. *Plant thy people again.*] Compare Ex. xv. 17; 2 Sam. vii. 10; Ps. xliv. 2, lxxx. 8, &c.

as Moses hath spoken.] See Deut. xxx. 1–5, and compare Neh. i. 8, 9; Baruch ii. 28–34.

30. *And the priests sung psalms of thanksgiving.*] Rather, "And the priests **proceeded to sing the psalms.**" When the prayer was ended, the priests followed on with the chanting of the usual psalms. Compare Ezra iii. 11; 1 Macc. iv. 24; and see the comment on the latter passage. Of course the psalms would be "psalms *of thanksgiving*;" but our author does not say so.

31. *Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones.*] The existing Greek text will in no way bear this meaning, since it has *κατασχεῖν*, and not *καταχεῖν*. If we retain the reading of the MSS., we must translate—"Nehemiah commanded the water that was left to be confined by means of great stones;" literally, "that great stones should confine it." Our translation follows the Vulgate, which has—"Ex residua aqua jussit Neemias lapides majores *profundi*." This involves the reading *καταχεῖν*, and requires further the insertion of *ἐπὶ* before *λίθους*.

33. *there appeared water.*] Rather, "there **had** appeared."

Neemias.] Rather, "Neemias and **those** who were with him." The idiom employed, which belongs to the best Greek, is a favourite one with the author. (See ch. x. 16, 25, 33; xi. 6; xii. 11, 14, 15, 36; xiii. 1, 23; xiv. 18; xv. 1, 6, 25, 26, &c.)

34. *the king, inclosing the place, made it holy.*] This is another indication that the whole story is a fable. A Persian king would have been very unlikely to have taken any notice of what would have seemed to him so small a matter as that related in the text.

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35 And the king took many gifts, and bestowed thereof on those whom he would gratify.

36 And Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing: but many men call it Nephi.

CHAPTER II.

1 *What Jeremy the prophet did.* 5 *How he hid the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar.* 13 *What Neemias and Judas wrote.* 20 *What Jason wrote in five books:* 25 *and how those were abridged by the author of this book.*

IT is also found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet commanded them that were carried away to take of the fire, [a] as it hath been signified: [a] ch. 1. 19.

2 And how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them not to forget the commandments of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, [b] when they see images of silver and gold, with their ornaments. [b] Baruch 6. 4.

3 And with other such speeches exhorted he them, that the law should not depart from their hearts.

4 It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being

36. *Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing.*] The MSS. vary between "Nephthar," "Nephthai," and "Nephtha." No word at all near to any of these forms has the meaning of "a cleansing" in Hebrew. It has been conjectured that the original word used was *nithkâr*, which might perhaps have this meaning; but more probably the etymology of the forger of the letter was at fault, and he gave a fanciful explanation of a word whose true meaning was unknown to him. "Naphtha" was the name given by the Greeks to a form of mineral oil produced in many parts of Persia, which was highly inflammable; and it is this Greek term which the author of the letter intended to use. Perhaps he mis-spelt it; or perhaps it was corrupted by the copyists, first into "Nephtha," and then further into "Nephthar."

many men.] Rather, "**most** men."

CHAPTER II.

THIRD PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 1–8). As a sequel to the story of the Holy Fire, the pretended writers of the letter give, professedly from certain records (*ἀπογραφαί*) which they have consulted, an account of the doings of Jeremiah at the time of the Captivity: how he gave orders for the preservation of the fire (*v.* 1), warned the captives against idolatry (*v.* 2), and concealed in a cave on the top of Mount Pisgah the Tabernacle (!), the Ark of the Covenant, and the Altar of incense (*vv.* 3–5), where he declared that they would remain until the final restoration of Israel (*vv.* 6–8).

1. *It is also found in the records.*] It is impossible to say what "records" are referred to, or whether the writer of the letter had really any documents in his possession which contained the legends here set forth. Certainly the later Maccabean time was one in which "the unhistorical spirit grew rapidly and dangerously" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 460); and, among the many apocryphal writings of the period, there may have been some which pretended to be "records" kept during the Captivity; but the unlikelihood of such records having been kept in such a time of trouble is patent, and their presumed contents do not lend them any credit.

Jeremy the prophet commanded.] Jeremiah at the time of the Captivity was in no position to "command" anyone. He was shut up in the court of the prison (Jer. xxxviii. 28), and was not released until after the Temple had been destroyed and the prisoners carried off (ib. xxxix. 8–14).

as it hath been signified.] In ch. i. 19.

2. *how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them, &c.*] Some formal delivery of a copy of the law by Jeremiah to the captives, and some set address, seem to be intended. But the prophet himself tells us nothing of either. Nebuzaradan, he says, took him in chains with the other prisoners to Ramah, and there struck off his chains; after which he sent him to Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer. xl. 1–6), while the remainder of the captives proceeded on their way to Babylon.

when they see.] Rather, "when they **should** see."

images of silver and gold.] Literally, "of gold and silver." The Babylonian images were mainly of the former material. (See Dan. iii. 1, v. 4; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5, &c.)

with their ornaments.] The Babylonian idols had in some instances gold crowns on their heads (Baruch vi. 9). They were also clothed in rich garments (ibid. 11, 33, 58).

4. *It was also contained in the same writing.*] The past tense—"it was"—is to be explained as a reference to the time when

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warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with
[c] Deut. 32. 49. him, as he went forth into [c] the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God.

5 And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door.

6 And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it.

7 Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them, saying, As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy.

8 Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also, [d] as it was shewed under Moses, and [d] Exod. 34. 5. [e] as when Solomon desired that the [e] 1 Kings 8. 10. place might be honourably sanctified.

the pretended writers of the letter consulted the supposed writing.

being warned of God.] Compare Matt. ii. 12. The actual word used for "warning" (χρηματισμός) occurs in the Greek Scriptures only here and in Rom. xi. 4. It is, however, common in classical Greek. (See Polyb. xxviii. 14, § 10; 16, § 4; Lucian, "Gall." 25; Diod. Sic. i. 70, 78, &c.)

the tabernacle.] The "tabernacle" made by Moses, or its representative at the time, was removed from Gibeon to Jerusalem by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 4; 2 Chr. v. 5) on the occasion of his dedicating the Temple; but what was then done with it is not mentioned in Scripture. The forger of the letter evidently imagines that it was placed inside the Temple, and remained there until the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. But the silence of Scripture makes this very improbable.

to go with him.] Literally, "to follow him"—*i.e.* "to be carried after him." So Ælian says that the Choaspes water "followed" Xerxes ('Var. Hist.' xii. 40). By what right or power Jeremiah gave these orders, and got them executed, the author does not explain.

the mountain where Moses climbed up.] See Deut. xxxiv. 1. This mount was probably made the hiding-place with some reference to the hidden sepulchre of Moses, which was in the vicinity (ib. *v.* 6).

the heritage of God.] *I.e.* the land of Canaan, which God had given to Israel for its inheritance (Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 15; xv. 7, &c.).

5. *an hollow cave.*] Literally, "a cave-like dwelling." The place is so much a "dwelling" that it has a "door."

the altar of incense.] See Ex. xxx. 1–10. It seems strange that this had not been mentioned as carried forth from Jerusalem in *v.* 4. Probably the legend grew gradually. First, the tabernacle and the ark only were supposed to have been hidden; then, the golden altar, the most sacred thing in the Temple next to the ark, was added; finally, the list was increased by the addition of the table of shewbread, the golden candlestick, and the sacred utensils generally, as we find it in Syncellus ('Chronograph.' p. 409).

stopped the door.] *I.e.* "blocked it up," so that it was no longer visible.

6. *to mark the way.*] *I.e.* to set up some permanent marks by which it might be possible to find the cavern again and recover the treasures.

7. *perceived.*] Rather, "learnt."

he blamed them.] Not, as Scholz supposes, for carelessness in neglecting to put up the marks earlier, but for over-care in supposing them needed. God would bring the deposit to light without human aid, when the fitting time came.

until the time that God gather his people again together.] After the return from the Captivity, the Israelites still looked forward to a further gathering in of their brethren from distant countries, and to a great increase in the population of Judæa and Jerusalem. (See Zech. viii. 7, 8, x. 10; and compare the comment on ch. i. 27.)

8. *the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also.*] The expectation was of some such visible manifestation of the Divine Presence as is recorded in Ex. xl. 34, 35, and 2 Chr. v. 13, 14; 1 Kings viii. 10, 11, when a luminous cloud, dazzling to beholders, filled the Holy Place, and "the glory of the Lord" was, in a certain sense, revealed to the eyes of men. The expectation rested on passages in the prophets where "the glory of God" was promised to the second Temple in a spiritual sense (Is. lx. 1, 19; Hag. ii. 9; Zech. ii. 5).

FOURTH PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 9–12). The records said to have been consulted by the pretended writers of the letter are now declared to have contained

9 It was also declared, that he being wise [f] offered the sacrifice of dedication, and of the finishing of the temple.

10 And [g] as when Moses prayed unto the Lord, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the sacrifices: even [h] so prayed Solomon also, and the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offerings.

11 And [i] Moses said, Because the sin offering was not to be eaten, it was consumed.

12 So Solomon kept those eight days.

13 The same things were also reported in the writings and commentaries of Neemias; and how he founding a library gathered together the

[f] 1 Kings 8. 62, &c.
[g] Lev. 9. 23, 24.
[h] 2 Chron. 7. 1.
[i] Lev. 10. 16, &c.

allusion to the two previous occasions on which fire had come down from heaven and consumed the sacrifices laid upon the altar of burnt offering—namely, that in the time of Moses, mentioned in Lev. ix. 24, and that in the time of Solomon, mentioned in 2 Chron. vii. 1, whereby an indication is given ot the purpose for which the holy fire was supposed to have been reserved by Jeremiah, as stated in *v.* 1.

9. *It was also declared.*] In the records, supposed to have been consulted by the writers of the letter. (See *vv.* 1 and 4.)

that he being wise.] "He" is undoubtedly Solomon, the Hebrew ideal of human wisdom (1 Kings iii. 12; iv. 29–34).

offered the sacrifice of dedication.] See 1 Kings viii. 62; 2 Chr. vii. 1. The fact of the miraculous descent of fire from heaven on this occasion has been denied, on account of the silence concerning it maintained by the author of the First Book of Kings; but the denial involves the rejection of the authority of the Books of Chronicles, which are as integral a part of the sacred Volume as any other.

10. *as when Moses prayed . . . fire came down from heaven.*] See Lev. ix. 24. Moses, however, is not said in Leviticus to have "prayed" for the descent of the fire. The fire fell as he was blessing the people.

11. *And Moses said, &c.*] No words resembling these are ascribed to Moses in the Old Testament; nor, if they had been, is the appositeness of their quotation in the present connection very apparent. Perhaps some allusion to Lev. x. 16–20 is intended.

12. *So Solomon kept those eight days.*] That Solomon "kept eight days" was concluded from the mention of "the eighth day" in 1 Kings viii. 66 and 2 Chr. vii. 8; but it is not quite clear that the Festival proper lasted more than seven days. No doubt, however, the ἐγκαίνια of Judas Maccabeus was made an eight days' festival with reference to the supposed duration of the Dedication feast of Solomon.

FIFTH PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 13–16). The object of the pretended writers in this section is directly practical. They make an offer, and they repeat their previous request. Judas Maccabeus, following the example of Nehemiah, has collected a number of the sacred writings of former times which had been lost during the recent troubles; if the Egyptian Jews wish, they can have a portion by sending persons to fetch them. In any case they will do well to keep the Dedication Festival.

13. *The same things were also reported.*] Literally, "They related also the same things." The past tense is used, as in *vv.* 4 and 9, with reference to the time when the writers of the letter were supposed to have consulted the document which they profess to quote.

in the writings.] *I.e.* the "records" of *v.* 1. The word is nearly, though not quite, the same.

and commentaries.] Rather, "and also in the commentaries." The intention is to quote two entirely distinct works. The "commentaries of Nehemiah" cannot be the Book which has come down to us under his name, or even the original Book whereof that was a part, which comprised our present Book of Ezra, since no such statements as those of ch. ii. 1–12 are made in either of those works. The allusion is probably to an apocryphal book, which did not long survive its composition.

he founding a library.] This is explained by what follows. Nehemiah, or Ezra and Nehemiah in conjunction, took pains to collect together the various sacred writings of the Jews, additional to the Law, such as the Books of the Kings, those of the Prophets, and the writings ascribed to David; to which they added a collection of the letters of the Persian kings respecting their offerings to the Temple. "This earliest tradition with respect to the agglomeration of the sacred Hebrew literature certainly indicates that it was in Nehemiah's time that the various documents of the past history of his race were united in one collection. . . It is evident from the terms of the description that 'Nehemiah's Library' was not co-extensive with any existing volume. It was not a formation of Divine oracles so much as a repository of

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acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.

14 In like manner also Judas gathered together all those things that ‖were lost by reason of the war we had, and they remain with us.

‖ Or, *fell out during the war*

15 Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them unto you.

16 Whereas we then [k]are about to celebrate the purification, we have written unto you, and ye shall do well, if ye keep the same days.

[k] ch. i. 18.

17 ‖We hope also, that the God, that delivered all his people, and gave them all an heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sanctuary,

‖ Gr. *Now God it is that saved all his people, and rendered the heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sanctuary, a*

18 [l]As he promised in the law,

[l] ch. i. 27

he promised in the law: for we hope in God that he will shortly, &c.

whatever materials from whatever source might be useful for the future history of his people." (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 139, 140.)

the acts of the kings.] Under this designation would be included the Books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, if already written; perhaps even the Books of Joshua and Judges.

and of David.] Rather, "and **the writings** of David," or "the writings ascribed to David," by which the Psalms generally, so far as they extended at the time, but not the entire 'Hagiographa,' would be meant.

the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.] The "epistles" intended are probably those of the Persian kings Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, who are known to have made gifts to the Temple (Ezra i. 7–11; vi. 8, 9; vii. 15, 19–22). We have a specimen of the kind of document in the "copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe" (ibid. vii. 11–26). The "letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest" (Neh. ii. 8), may have been included in the collection.

14. *In like manner also Judas.*] "As Nehemiah," says Dean Stanley, "had agglomerated round the Law the works which had gradually taken form by his time, so Judas Maccabæus and his companions eagerly gathered round Nehemiah's group of sacred literature the scattered remains which had escaped, like fragments of a wreck or survivors of a battle, or 'brands plucked from the fire,' out of the ruin of the Syrian war." ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 338, 339.)

that were lost.] This expression is somewhat too strong. If they had been "lost," Judas could not have collected them. The word used, διαπεπτωκότα, means "that had fallen through" or "fallen out of knowledge." It is no doubt sometimes used of absolutely "lost" books (Phot. 'Bibliothec.' p. 120, ed. Bekker), but cannot have that sense here.

by reason of the war.] Or, "in the course of the war."

15. *Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send, &c.*] This offer, even if a fact, and not a fiction, does not shew that the Palestinian Jews possessed a much larger number of sacred writings than the Egyptian ones (Grimm), but only that they regarded it as possible that they might possess some of which the Egyptian Jews had no copies.

16. *Whereas we then, &c.*] Compare ch. i. 18. To impress upon the Egyptian Jews the importance of keeping the Dedication Feast must be regarded as the principal object of this epistle, whether genuine or not.

SIXTH AND LAST PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 17, 18). The supposed writers conclude with the expression of a pious hope, that, as God has already done so much for them in the way of deliverance and restoration, He will shortly complete His work by bringing the whole nation together out of all lands under the sun into His "holy place," which is now cleansed from pollution.

17. *the God that delivered all his people.*] The deliverance is that effected by Judas Maccabeus, when, after defeating the generals of Epiphanes, he "recovered the Temple" (ch. x. 1) and "cleansed" it, and restored the daily sacrifice and the regular course of worship. We need not perhaps be surprised if, in the first burst of exultation, the deliverance was spoken of as more complete than the course of after events shewed it to be.

and gave them all an heritage.] *I.e.* restored the Holy Land to them as their inheritance, after it had been taken from them by the Syrians.

and the kingdom.] Though Judas never assumed the title or state of king, his position was that of an independent ruler, and he might be fairly considered to preside over a "kingdom." He was in fact a king in all but the name.

and the sanctuary.] Rather, "and the **cleansing**," *i.e.* the purifying and sanctifying anew of the Temple. (See ch. x. 3, and compare 1 Macc. iv. 43–51.)

18. *As he promised in the law.*] The

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will shortly have mercy upon us, and gather us together out of every land under heaven into the holy place: for he hath delivered us out of great troubles, and hath purified the place.

19 Now as concerning Judas Maccabeus, and his brethren, and the purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar,

20 And the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son,

21 And [m] the manifest signs that came from heaven unto those that behaved themselves manfully to their honour for Judaism: so that, being but a few, they overcame the whole country, and chased barbarous multitudes,

22 And recovered again the temple renowned all the world over, and

[m] ch. 3. 24 & 5. 2. & 10. 29. & 11. 8. & 15. 12

reference is probably to such passages as Deut. iv. 29–31, xxx. 3–10, where full restoration to God's favour is promised upon a national repentance.

into the holy place.] Compare ch. i. 29. The "holy place" is Judæa, which Judas is viewed as having cleansed and purified at the same time with the Temple.

§ 3. The Author's Account of the Source, and Plan, of the Remainder of the Work.

19–32. This "prologue" or "preface," as it is generally called by commentators, comprises: 1. An enumeration of the main contents (*vv.* 19–22); 2. A statement of the source from which they are taken (*v.* 23); and 3. A declaration of the objects had in view by the writer, and the plan pursued by him in the arrangement of his work (*vv.* 24–32). By the way, he notes that his task has been no easy one, but has involved much labour and trouble (*vv.* 26, 27).

19. *as concerning Judas Maccabeus.*] In the preceding letter, the Jewish leader has been "Judas" simply; now he is "Judas Maccabeus," or more literally "Judas the Maccabean." So also in ch. v. 27, and viii. 1. In the remainder of the Book he is "the Maccabean" or "Judas" indifferently. On the origin of the name, see the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 4.

and his brethren.] Unlike the author of the First Book, the writer assumes a general knowledge of the history on the part of his readers. He gives no formal list of the brothers, corresponding to that in 1 Macc. ii. 2–5, but introduces them casually, when they have to play a part in the history, as well-known personages (ch. x. 22, 23).

the purification of the great temple.] See ch. x. 5–7. The epithet "great" is omitted by most of the MSS., and is scarcely appropriate to the Temple, which was a small building. Elsewhere the writer calls the Temple "renowned" (*v.* 22), "holy" or "hallowed" (ch. xv. 18), and "most holy" (ch. v. 15), but not "great." Μεγίστου (ch. xiv. 13 and 31) means "most noble," not "greatest."

the dedication of the altar.] See ch. x. 3, and compare 1 Macc. iv. 47, 53.

20. *the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and Eupator.*] The former are contained in chs. viii. and ix.; the latter in chs. x.–xiii. Chs. xiv. and xv. treat of the war between Judas and Demetrius Soter.

21. *the manifest signs that came from heaven.*] These "manifest signs" (ἐπιφάνειαι) are a marked characteristic of 2 Macc., and have been said to "form the staple of the Book." (Westcott in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 178.) The most remarkable will be found in ch. iii. 24–29, 33, 34; v. 2–4; x. 29, 30; xi. 6–11; xii. 22.

for Judaism.] "Judaism" means here, and in ch. viii. 1, the Jewish religion. It is antithetical to Ἑλληνισμός ("the Greek religion") and ἀλλοφυλισμός ("the Gentile religion"). The word occurs in the same sense in Gal. i. 13; Ignat. 'Ep. ad Magnes.' § 10; Justin. Mart. 'Resp. ad Orthodox.' p. 2, and elsewhere. It belongs in this sense only to the later Hellenistic Greek.

they overcame the whole country.] Rather, "they **plundered** the whole country." The writer refers in part to those expeditions which Judas made from time to time against the Hellenising Jews, to punish them for their ungodly conduct (1 Macc. iii. 5, 8; vii. 24), in part to those which he conducted against the heathen who possessed much of the land (1 Macc. v. 21–51).

and chased barbarous multitudes.] See below, ch. viii. 6, 24; x. 32; xi. 11; xii. 22, &c. The author retorts on the Greeks the epithet of "barbarous," habitually applied by them to all nations but their own.

22. *the temple renowned all the world over.*] Compare ch. iii. 12. Philo calls it τὸν περισημότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον νεών ('Leg. ad Cai.' § 29). It does not appear to have really attracted very much attention on the

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freed the city, and upheld the laws which were going down, the Lord being gracious unto them with all favour:

23 *All these things, I say,* being declared by Jason of Cyrene in five books, we will assay to abridge in one volume.

24 For considering the infinite number, and the difficulty which they find that desire to look into the narrations of the story, for the variety of the matter,

25 We have been careful, that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it comes might have profit.

26 Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful labour of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching;

27 Even as it is no ease unto him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others: yet ‖for the pleasuring of many we will undertake gladly this great pains;

‖ Or, *to deserve well of many.*

28 Leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and labouring to follow the rules of an abridgement.

part of the heathen nations, at any rate until its rebuilding by Herod the Great. The dimensions were small (Ezra vi. 3), and the ornamentation not very rich (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 113).

freed the city.] Compare ch. x. 1. Some portion of the city was no doubt situated on the Temple hill, and passed into the hands of Judas with the Temple itself. But the "city of David," as it was called (1 Macc. i. 33) on the western hill, being commanded by the Acra, remained in the possession of the Syrians until it was taken by Simon (ib. xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36).

the laws which were going down.] Rather, "which were **about to be abolished**" (1 Macc. i. 42–52; 2 Macc. vi. 1–9). If Epiphanes had been allowed to have his way, the observance of the Mosaic Law would have wholly ceased.

23. *these things . . . being declared by Jason of Cyrene.*] Jason of Cyrene is not otherwise known to us. He has been thought to be the same with the "Jason, son of Eleazar," mentioned in 1 Macc. viii. 17; but it is not at all probable that *that* Jason was a Cyrenæan. Cyrene under the Ptolemies belonged to Egypt, and the Cyrenæan Jews were a sort of offset from those of Alexandria, with whom they had constant intercourse. Professor Westcott regards the work of Jason as written at Alexandria ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 175).

in five books.] The "five books" of Jason's work are thought to have corresponded to five marked divisions in the epitomator's narrative —the first at the end of ch. iii., the next at the close of ch. vii., the third between *vv.* 9 and 10 of ch. x., the fourth at the close of ch. xiii., and the fifth at the end of the first clause of *v.* 37 in ch. xv.

24. *considering the infinite number.*] Rather, "considering the **multiplicity of the numbers.**" The writer alludes to the numerous dates, estimates of the numbers of armies, of the slain, and of prisoners taken, which are to be found in ordinary histories. These he regards as dull and uninteresting, and considers it to be the epitomator's duty to eliminate.

that desire to look into the narrations of the story.] Rather, "that desire to **employ themselves in historical narratives.**"

for the variety of the matter.] Rather, "the **superabundance** of the matter."

25. *We have been careful.*] Or, "it has been our aim." Three things have been specially considered—1. The gratification of the ordinary reader; 2. The ease and convenience of those who might wish not merely to read, but to commit to memory; and 3. The general benefit of all into whose hands the book might come. The rarity and high price of manuscripts caused the practice of committing whole treatises to memory to be common in the ancient world.

26. *Therefore.*] Rather, "**And truly**" (καὶ μέν).

a matter of . . . watching.] Literally, "of sleeplessness"—*i.e.* of sitting up at night.

27. *him that prepareth a banquet.*] The ἀρχιτρίκλινος or "governor of a feast," who had the preparation and direction of it, but was not the giver. (See John ii. 10; Ecclus. xxxii. 1, 2.)

28. *Leaving to the author.*] Rather, "to the **historian.**" It is the part of a historian to give all the facts (ἕκαστα), and to set them forth with completeness and accuracy. An abbreviator must leave out many particulars, and be content, even with respect to such as he selects, to set them forth less fully and exactly.

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29 For as the master builder of a new house must care for the whole building: but he that undertaketh to set it out, and paint it, must seek out fit things for the adorning thereof: even so I think it is with us.

30 To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story:

31 But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work, is to be granted to him that will make an abridgement.

32 Here then will we begin the story: only adding thus much to that which hath been said, that it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Of the honour done to the temple by the kings of the Gentiles.* 4 *Simon uttereth what treasures are in the temple.* 7 *Heliodorus is sent to take them away.* 24 *He is stricken of God, and healed at the prayer of Onias.*

NOW when the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and cir. 187

29. *the whole building.*] Literally, "the whole ground-plan;" but the writer probably intended to use the word in a wide sense.

he that undertaketh to set it out.] Rather, "**to adorn it by means of encaustic.**" The writer seems here to claim, as within his province, the right of working up the materials which he takes from Jason, of beautifying and adorning them. Encaustic was used by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans in the ornamentation of their houses. The exposed surface of bricks or tiles was covered with a glaze, on which patterns or figures were painted, and the painting was then fixed by being subjected to the heat of a furnace. The colours were thus "burnt in."

so I think it is with us.] This combination of the first person singular with the first person plural is curious. It looks like an accident. Elsewhere, through the whole of the preface, the first person plural only is used. At the close of the work, however (ch. xv. 37, 38), the first person singular recurs.

30. *To stand upon every point.*] Rather, "to **go into matters**," or "insist upon them."

and go over things at large.] Or "treat of all points."

and to be curious.] Or "elaborate."

31. *to use brevity.*] Literally, "to aim at brevity of expression." Our author sometimes, though but seldom, does this. (See ch. xiii. 18–26.) For the most part, he is wordy and elaborate, as in this quite unnecessarily long preface. He evidently wishes to be regarded as "a fine writer."

and avoid.] Literally, "beg off" or "excuse oneself from."

much labouring of the work.] Rather, "much **elaboration of the history.**" The author seems to regard it as the epitomator's task to take his facts from his author and add nothing to them, but to set them forth with all the rhetorical artifices of which he is master. (See *v.* 29.)

32. *will we begin.*] Literally, "let us begin."

only adding.] Rather, "**having** only **added.**"

thus much.] Verses 19–31.

that it is.] Rather, "**for** it is." This is not the "addition" spoken of, but the reason for not adding anything more.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM B.C. 180 TO B.C. 161.

PART I.

§ 1. THE ATTEMPT OF HELIODORUS TO PLUNDER THE TEMPLE TREASURY, AND ITS FRUSTRATION.

1–3. To increase the horror of his narrative by the force of contrast, the writer opens this section of his work with a brief but graphic picture of the deep peace which the proceedings of Heliodorus, and of those who incited him, disturbed. A good and pious king, Seleucus IV., held the Syrian crown, and shewed favour to the Jews, even going so far as to furnish from his own revenue the entire cost of the Temple sacrifices (*v.* 3). An excellent High Priest, Onias III., presided over the Temple services (*v.* 1). The people generally were zealous observers of the Law; and if any had the desire to cast aside its shackles, they were restrained by their fear of Onias, who was a stern repressor of all attempts to escape from legal obligations (ibid.).

1. *the holy city.*] *I.e.* Jerusalem. (See ch. i. 12; and compare Is. xlviii. 2, lxiv. 9; Dan. ix. 24; Neh. xi. 1, 18.)

with all peace.] Neither danger nor disturbance threatening, either from without or

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B. C. cir. 187. the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high priest, and his hatred of wickedness,

2 It came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place, and magnify the temple with their best gifts;

3 Insomuch that Seleucus king of Asia of his own revenues bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. B. C. cir. 187.

4 But one Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple, fell out with the high priest about disorder in the city.

5 And when he could not overcome Onias, he gat him to Apollonius *the son* of Thraseas, who then was governor of Celosyria and Phenice,

from within. *Internal* peace is specially intended.

and the laws were kept very well.] Rather, "while the laws were **still** observed **most excellently**." There is an allusion to the subsequent coming of a time when the Mosaic law was transgressed and forsaken, and strange laws set up and followed. (See 1 Macc. i. 15, 42–49.)

Onias the high priest.] The "Onias" intended was the third of the name. He was the son and successor of Simon II., and the grandson of Onias II. He held the office of High Priest from B.C. 198 to B.C. 175. On the excellency of his character, see ch. iv. 2 and xv. 12.

2. *the kings themselves.*] *I.e.* the Syrian monarchs, Antiochus the Great, and his son, the Seleucus of *v.* 3.

did . . . magnify the temple with their best gifts.] As the Ptolemies had done before them. (See Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 2, § 5; 'Contr. Ap.' ii. 5.)

3. *Seleucus king of Asia.*] Seleucus IV. (Philopator) was the son of Antiochus the Great, and succeeded him on the throne in B.C. 187. He was a weak prince, and reigned only eleven years, from B.C. 187 to B.C. 176. It is within this space that the events recorded in the present chapter must be placed. On the title "king of Asia," see the comment upon 1 Macc. viii. 6.

bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices.] This was the customary form which royal bounty took, when it was extended to a temple. Darius Hystaspis assigned revenues for the purpose of furnishing the Jewish sacrifices in B.C. 519 (Ezra vi. 9), and Artaxerxes Mnemon in B.C. 457 (ib. vii. 20–23). Demetrius I. offered to do the same in B.C. 152 (1 Macc. x. 39).

4–7. The circumstances which led to the attempt of Heliodorus are now related with extreme brevity: "One Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin," who held the office of governor of the Temple, quarrelled with Onias, the High Priest, on the subject of certain infractions of the Law which were going on in Jerusalem, which Simon desired to shield and Onias to punish. As Onias would not yield, Simon, in revenge, suggested to Apollonius, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, the advantage that it would be to the king to seize the Temple treasures. Apollonius communicated the suggestion to Seleucus, with the result that Heliodorus was selected to effect the seizure.

4. *governor of the temple.*] The exact nature of this office is uncertain. Ewald says that Simon, "under the honourable designation of overseer, was charged with providing the various supplies for the Temple, and hence had great influence on the prices of corn and other necessaries of life in Jerusalem." ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 292.) Others suppose him to have been the Temple treasurer (γαζοφύλαξ, Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xx. 8, § 11), or the "captain of the Temple" (Acts iv. 1, v. 24); but this last-named office did not exist till Roman times. Possibly, as Calmet thinks, he was the surveyor who had charge of the Temple buildings.

fell out with the high priest about disorder.] Rather, "about **transgressions of the Law**" (παρανομία). The Hellenising spirit was just beginning to shew itself, and the opposition between the Hellenists and the Chasidim or "pious" to break forth. Onias, naturally, was on the side of the latter; Simon undertook the patronage of the former.

5. *Apollonius the son of Thraseas.*] Rather, "the son of **Thrasæus**." It has been proposed to identify this person either with the Apollonius of 1 Macc. iii. 10–12, Judas Maccabeus' first antagonist, who was commandant of Samaria about nine years later, according to Josephus ('A. J.' xii. 7, § 1), or with the Apollonius of Polybius (xxxi. 21, § 2), who is said to have had great influence with Seleucus IV., and who after the accession of Epiphanes betook himself to Miletus (Grimm). But there are no sufficient grounds for either identification.

governor of Celosyria and Phenice.] "Celosyria" is a wrong form, and should be corrected into "Cœlesyria," wherever it is found. Ἡ κοίλη Συρία was (strictly speaking)

B. C. cir. 187.

6 And told him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of infinite sums of money, so that the multitude of their riches, which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices, was innumerable, and that it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.

7 Now when Apollonius came to the king, and had shewed him of the money whereof he was told, the king chose out Heliodorus his treasurer, and sent him with a commandment to bring him the foresaid money.

8 So forthwith Heliodorus took his journey, under a colour of visiting the cities of Celosyria and Phenice, but indeed to fulfil the king's purpose.

B. C. cir. 187.

9 And when he was come to Jerusalem, and had been courteously received of the high priest of the city, he told him what intelligence was given of the money, and declared wherefore he came, and asked if these things were so indeed.

10 Then the high priest told him that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children:

11 And that some of it belonged to Hircanus *son* of Tobias, a man of

the deep valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, which formed the bulk of the Syrian territory. The term was used, however, more generally, of the whole of Southern Syria.

6. *the treasury in Jerusalem.*] The Temple treasury seems to have grown up out of the "chambers for the treasures" (Neh. xii. 44), in which were stored the tithes and offerings of the faithful (2 Chr. xxxi. 11, 12; Neh. xiii. 5, 12, 13), which were chiefly paid *in kind*. As time went on, the gifts of princes and of private individuals, in gold and silver vessels and in specie, were added to the other deposits; and ultimately private individuals, such as widows and orphans, or even wealthy men, who wanted to put their money in a sure place, were allowed to lay it up in the Temple treasury, as in a bank, from which they could draw it in their need. It was thus especially that the vast quantity of wealth in the treasury of the Temple at Jerusalem had been accumulated, and that it had reached an amount which naturally attracted the cupidity of public personages.

full of infinite sums of money.] Literally, "of **untold** sums."

which did not pertain, &c.] *I.e.* "besides what had reference to the Temple service, the support of the priests, and other similar objects."

was innumerable.] The reading of most MSS. is the opposite of this—"was numerable;" but it is absolutely necessary to make the correction (of ἐναρίθμητον into ἀναρίθμητον) which produces the sense given by our translators. The Alexandrian and nine other MSS. have the true reading.

it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.] Literally, "it was possible that all this should fall into the king's power."

7. *Heliodorus his treasurer.*] Rather, "his **chief minister**" (τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων). Heliodorus is mentioned as one of the courtiers of Seleucus by Appian ('Syriac.' § 45). He ultimately murdered his master, and seized the throne, which he occupied for a short space.

8–22. Heliodorus at first clokes his design, but, in a conference with the High Priest, reveals it and appoints a day for carrying it out. The grief and horror of all classes, and their appeals to God to prevent the sacrilege, are graphically described.

8. *under a colour, &c.*] If Heliodorus had avowed the object of his journey, the news might have preceded his arrival at Jerusalem, and the treasures might have been removed and concealed.

9. *what intelligence was given of the money.*] *I.e.* what information concerning it had been given by Simon to Apollonius (supra, *v.* 6).

10. *Then the high priest told him.*] Rather, "**she**wed him."

that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows, &c.] Literally, "that the money consisted of the deposits of widows and orphans." It had been laid up in the Temple treasury for better security by them or their guardians. In the absence of secular banks of deposit, temples were not unfrequently made a substitute for them in ancient times. Of course, no interest was allowed; but the depositors were entitled to withdraw their deposits at any moment.

11. *Hircanus son of Tobias.*] Rather, "**Hyrcanus.**" Josephus makes Hyrcanus the *grandson* of Tobias, and the son of a certain Joseph, who grew rich by farming the revenues of Palestine under the Egyptian

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great dignity, and not as that wicked Simon had misinformed: the sum whereof in all was four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold:

12 And that it was altogether impossible that such wrongs should be done unto them, that had committed it to the holiness of the place, and to the majesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world.

13 But Heliodorus, because of the king's commandment given him, said, That in any wise it must be brought into the king's treasury.

14 So at the day which he appointed he entered in to order this matter: wherefore there was no small agony throughout the whole city.

15 But the priests, prostrating themselves before the altar in their priests' vestments, called unto heaven upon him that [a] made a law concerning things given to be kept, that they should safely be preserved for

[a] Exod. 22. 7, &c.

government. Joseph's mother was a sister of Onias II., the High Priest. Hyrcanus was his father's favourite son, and became his representative at the Egyptian court, where he ingratiated himself with the monarch, and was made, like his father, a collector of the revenue. The jealousy of his brothers, who were at open feud with him, forced him after a time to withdraw himself into the country east of the Jordan, where he built himself a castle near Heshbon, and amassed considerable wealth, partly by collecting the taxes, partly by plundering the wild Arabs of the vicinity. Ultimately, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, fearing that he would be attacked and punished for his irregular proceedings, he committed suicide. (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 4, § 2–11.) His name is thought to remain in the modern *Arak*-el-Emir, the present appellation of the castle where he spent the latter portion of his life. (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 247.)

not as that wicked Simon had misinformed.] Simon had represented the whole as public money, whereas the greater part, or at any rate a great part, was private; belonging either to Hyrcanus, or to the widows and orphans.

the sum . . . four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold.] Four hundred silver talents would be equal to about 96,000*l.* of our money. Two hundred gold talents, taking gold at fifteen times the value of silver, would be equal to 720,000*l.* Thus the total value would be about 816,000*l.* When Pompey entered the Temple, the treasury contained no more than 2000 silver talents, worth 480,000*l.* (See Joseph. 'A. J.' xiv. 4, § 4.)

12. *it was altogether impossible.*] *I.e.* it was so monstrous an iniquity as to seem to him morally impossible.

that had committed it.] Rather, "that had **trusted**."

the temple honoured over all the world.] See the comment on ch. ii. 22.

14. *at the day . . . appointed he entered in.*] Rather, "he **was about to enter** in." The imperfect tense is used here, and again in verse 23, in the sense from which it derives its name, of an act contemplated but not accomplished. (Compare Herod. i. 68: Ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν.)

there was no small agony throughout the whole city.] Dean Stanley calls the description which follows "a *complete* representation of what must have been the general aspect of a panic in Jerusalem" ('Lectures,' vol. iii. p. 287). "The priests," he continues, "in their official costume are prostrate before the altar. The High Priest is in such 'an inward agony of mind that whoso had looked at his countenance and changing colour, it would have wounded his heart.' The Temple courts are crowded with supplicants; the matrons, with bare bosoms, running franctically through the streets; the maidens, unable to break their seclusion, yet peering over walls, and through windows, and at every door to catch the news; the pitiless officer bent on discharging his mission."

15. *before the altar.*] Probably, the altar of burnt offering in the court directly in front of the Temple, where they would be conspicuous to all.

in their priests' vestments.] See Ex. xxviii. 40. Vestments of fine white linen, with embroidered girdles, and white linen caps or turbans upon their heads.

called unto heaven.] Compare 1 Macc. iii. 50; ix. 46.

that they should be safely preserved.] Rather, "that **he would safely preserve them.**" The clause expresses the matter of the priests' prayer, not the object of the law which God had given.

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such as had committed them to be kept.

16 Then whoso had looked the high priest in the face, it would have wounded his heart: for his countenance and the changing of his colour declared the inward agony of his mind.

17 For the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body, that it was manifest to them that looked upon him, what sorrow he had now in his heart.

18 Others ran flocking out of their houses ‖ to the general supplication, because the place was like to come into contempt.

‖ Or, *to make general supplication.*

19 And the women, girt with sackcloth under their breasts, abounded in the streets, and the virgins that were kept in ran, some to the gates, and some to the walls, and others looked out of the windows.

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20 And all, holding their hands toward heaven, made supplication.

21 Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts, and the ‖ fear of the high priest, being in such an agony.

‖ Gr. *expectation.*

22 They then called upon the Almighty Lord to keep the things committed of trust safe and sure for those that had committed them.

23 Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed.

24 Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the

18. *Others ran flocking . . . to the general supplication.*] Rather, "to a general supplication." It is not implied that any order had been issued for the people to assemble; rather, there was a general instinctive rush of all classes from their houses to the Temple for the purpose of supplicating God. By the universality of the instinct, the supplication became a "general" one.

the place.] *I.e.* "the temple." Compare *v.* 2.

19. *the women* (*i.e.* the married women) *girt with sackcloth under their breasts.*] *I.e.* with breasts bare, and clad below the breast with a robe or gown of sackcloth. (Compare 1 Macc. ii. 14; iii. 47.)

the virgins that were kept in.] Compare 3 Macc. i. 18. The old freedom had been laid aside, and the Jewish maidens, reduced to the general Asiatic level, were kept within doors, and, as much as possible, in the female apartments. (See Philo, 'De spec. Leg.,' § 31.)

to the gates.] *I.e.* the doors of their respective mansions.

the walls.] Scarcely the town walls. Rather, the walls of gardens; or, perhaps, the parapets round the roofs of houses.

the windows.] See Judg. v. 28; 2 Sam. vi. 16; 2 Kings ix. 30. Windows, guarded by a lattice, often gave upon the street, and furnished convenient posts of observation for those who wished to see without being seen.

21. *the falling down of the multitude.*] *I.e.* their prostration in prayer.

the fear of the high priest.] Rather, "the **suspense**," or "strained expectation."

22. *They . . . called upon the Almighty Lord.*] Most of the MSS. and versions have "the Almighty *God*." With the prayer itself, compare *v.* 15.

23–34. The sounds and sights which surrounded him did not deter Heliodorus from his purpose. Epiphanes had laid his commands upon him to bring the money into his treasury (*vv.* 7, 13); and it would have been incurring a great risk to disobey his orders. Heliodorus therefore proceeded to accomplish his task. But, according to our author, at this point opposition manifested itself. A warrior in golden armour, mounted upon a fierce horse, suddenly appeared within the Temple precinct bearing down upon the Syrian minister; the horse struck at him with his fore feet, while two footmen, standing one on either side of him, scourged the rash intruder with many stripes. Heliodorus fell to the ground dazed and powerless, and was borne off in a litter, after the High Priest had offered sacrifice for him, and entreated God to spare his life. The writer regards the whole scene as miraculous; but he admits that there were some who traced in it the contriving hand of Onias, and believed the ghostly warriors to have been ordinary men, who, at the instigation of the High Priest, had terrified and chastised the king's emissary (ch. iv. 1).

23. *Heliodorus executed.*] Rather, "**proceeded to carry out.**" (See the comment on *v.* 14.)

24. *with his guard.*] That he had come with a considerable armed force, in case he should meet with resistance, is apparent also from *vv.* 28 and 35.

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treasury, the ‖Lord of spirits, and the Prince of all power, caused a great apparition, so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid.

‖ Or, *Lord of our fathers.*

25 For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold.

26 Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes.

27 And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness: but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter.

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28 Thus him, that lately came with a great train and with all his guard into the said treasury, they carried out, being unable to help himself with his weapons: and manifestly they acknowledged the power of God:

29 For he by the hand of God was cast down, and lay speechless without all hope of life.

30 But they praised the Lord, that had miraculously honoured his own place: for the temple, which a little afore was full of fear and trouble, when the Almighty Lord appeared, was filled with joy and gladness.

about the treasury.] Rather, "at the treasury"—probably at the door, about to enter.

the Lord of spirits.] So the Alexandrian Septuagint, the Syriac, and several MSS.; but the Vatican Codex and the MSS. generally have "the Lord of our fathers." The ordinary expression is "the Lord *God* of our fathers" (Ex. ii. 13, 15, 16; iv. 5;—Deut. i. 11; iv. 1; xii. 1, &c.).

caused a great apparition.] On the fondness of the author for "apparitions" see the comment on ch. ii. 21.

that presumed.] Rather, "that **had** presumed."

25. *he . . . smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet.*] Herodotus tells of a horse which was trained, on approaching an enemy, to rear up and attack him with his fore feet and teeth (v. 111). The owner of the animal was a Persian.

he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold.] So the angelic horseman in ch. xi. 8. Those in ch. x. 29 have "golden bridles." Masistius, the commander of the Persian cavalry at the battle of Platæa, wore a cuirass which was made of golden scales (Herod. ix. 22).

26. *two other young men appeared before him.*] *I.e.* "were seen in front of the rider."

27. *Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground.*] It is not said that he was cast on the ground by the horseman, much less that he was "trampled under foot" (Stanley); but rather that he fell fainting under the blows of the scourgers, and lost consciousness.

put him into a litter.] Litters were used by the Egyptians from a very early date, and are represented in the painted ornamentation of the tombs (Rosellini, 'Mon. Civili,' pl. xciii. 2). They were slung on poles, and carried on the shoulders of slaves. From the Egyptians they passed to their Persian conquerors, who used them even in their warlike expeditions (Herod. vii. 41).

28. *with a great train.*] Rather, "with many **horsemen**."

unable to help himself with his weapons.] There is no mention of "weapons." The statement is that he was "quite unable to help himself,"—"altogether helpless," as we should now say.

manifestly they acknowledged the power of God.] His bearers, some of his own heathen attendants, were so impressed by what they had seen that they openly acknowledged what had been done to have been effected by the power of God.

29. *by the hand of God.*] Rather, "by the **might** of God."

30. *when the Almighty Lord appeared.*] It is not meant to identify the angelic apparition of *v.* 25 with God himself, as some have supposed. Any surprising occurrence was regarded by the later Jews as a Divine manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) or revelation of the presence of God—even a timely and unexpected shower of rain. (See Joseph. 'A. J.' xviii. 8, § 6: Ὁ θεὸς παρουσίαν ἐδείκνυε

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31 Then straightways certain of Heliodorus' friends prayed Onias, that he would call upon the most High to grant him his life, who lay ready to give up the ghost.

32 So the high priest, suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus by the Jews, offered a sacrifice for the health of the man.

33 Now as the high priest was making an atonement, the same young men in the same clothing appeared and stood beside Heliodorus, saying, Give Onias the high priest great thanks, insomuch as for his sake the Lord hath granted thee life:

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34 And seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven, declare unto all men the mighty power of God. And when they had spoken these words, they appeared no more.

35 So Heliodorus, after he had

τὴν αὐτοῦ Πετρωνίῳ . . . ὁ Πετρώνιος δὲ κατεπέπληκτο, ὁρῶν ἐναργῶς τὸν θεὸν . . . πολλὴν ἀποσημήναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.)

31. *the most High.*] The heathen could recognise Jehovah as "the most High," either identifying Him with their own *chief* Deity—Bel, or Merodach, or Ormazd, or Zeus, as the case might be—or regarding Him as the "god of the land," and so as "most High" within His own jurisdiction. Nebuchadnezzar had given the title to the god of the Jews more than once (Dan. iii. 26; iv. 2, 34); Darius the Mede had called Him "the living God" (ib. vi. 20, 26); Cyrus, "*the* God" (*ha-elohim*); Darius Hystaspis, "the God of heaven" (Ezra vi. 9, 10); Artaxerxes, the same (ib. vii. 21, 23). Acknowledgments of this kind involved no change of religion, and were readily enough made, when there was anything to gain by making them.

to grant him his life.] Rather, "**and thus give** life to him who," &c. Onias is viewed as giving the life which he prays God to spare.

who lay ready to give up the ghost.] Literally, "who lay *at the last gasp*."

32. *suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus.*] This is probably the true explanation of the whole occurrence recorded. As it was certainly not in the designs of Providence to preserve the Temple treasures from the cupidity of the Syrian kings (1 Macc. i. 21–23), we cannot, with the author of the Book, suppose a real miracle to have been wrought. Neither can we imagine the story to have taken the full and substantial shape which it wears in this chapter without some solid foundation. Heliodorus must have made the attempt recorded; and Heliodorus must have been baffled. The question is, what baffled him? Probably, arrangements made, with the connivance of the High Priest, to impose upon his credulity by appearances which he might think supernatural, and before which he might therefore yield. Compare the arrangements by which the Delphian priests succeeded in preserving the treasures of their temple from Xerxes in B.C. 480 (Herod. viii. 37–39), and again from the Gauls in B.C. 279 (Pausan. x. 23). Onias might well fear lest the true nature of the obstacles to which Heliodorus yielded should become known.

33. *as the high priest was making an atonement.*] Rather, "**the propitiation**" (*τὸν ἱλασμόν*)—*i.e.* as he was offering the sacrifice which was to expiate Heliodorus's crime.

appeared.] Rather, "appeared **a second time**" (*πάλιν*).

34. *seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven.*] The Vatican and several other MSS. have *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, "by him," instead of *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*, "from heaven;" while the Syrian and Vulgate versions have "by God." *Ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* is probably the true reading, God being intended, not however as the actual scourger, but as the originator of the punishment, which angel hands carried out. (See the comment on *v.* 30.)

they appeared no more.] Rather, "they disappeared from sight." These later details are most probably embellishments—perhaps "encaustics" of the epitomator (ch. ii. 29).

35–40. Sequel of the story. Heliodorus, having offered sacrifice and given thanks to God, returns to Antioch, and declares to all what has happened to him. On being asked by Seleucus what sort of person he would recommend to be sent to Jerusalem on an errand similar to his own, he advises the king to select an enemy or a traitor (*v.* 38), since whoever goes will be sure to suffer pretty severely, even if he escape with his life.

35. *Heliodorus, after he had offered sacrifice.*] It was open to any one, whether Jew or heathen, to offer sacrifice in the Jewish temple. The offerer brought the sacrifice and laid his hand on its head, thus identifying

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B. C. cir. 187. offered sacrifice unto the Lord, and made great vows unto him that had saved his life, and saluted Onias, returned with his host to the king.

36 Then testified he to all men the works of the great God, which he had seen with his eyes.

37 And when the king asked Heliodorus, who might be a fit man to be sent yet once again to Jerusalem, he said,

38 If thou hast any enemy or traitor, send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life: for in that place, no doubt, there is an especial power of God.

39 For he that dwelleth in heaven hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it; and he beateth and destroyeth them that come to hurt it. B. C. cir. 187.

40 And the things concerning Heliodorus, and the keeping of the treasury, fell out on this sort.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *Simon slandereth Onias.* 7 *Jason, by corrupting the king, obtaineth the office of the high priest.* 24 *Menelaus getteth the same from Jason by the like corruption.* 34 *Andronicus traitorously murdereth Onias.* 36 *The king being informed thereof, causeth Andronicus to be put to death.* 39 *The wickedness of Lysimachus, by the instigation of Menelaus.*

THIS Simon now, [a]of whom we spake afore, having been a bewrayer of the money, and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils. cir. 187. [a] ch. 3. 4.

himself with his offering. Originally he slew it (Lev. i. 5, 11; iii. 2, 8, 24, &c.); but ultimately the Levites undertook that office (2 Chr. xxx. 17; xxxv. 6). The blood was then taken by the priests and poured upon the altar. Either the whole victim, or certain parts of it, were also burnt by the priests upon the altar. Thus both the layman and the priest might be said, in different senses, to "offer" the sacrifice.

made great vows.] The words εὔχεσθαι and εὐχαί are used indifferently of prayer, praise, vows proper, and thanksgiving. Here the offering of praise and thanksgiving would seem to be intended.

saluted Onias.] Rather, "**held friendly converse with** Onias." Compare ch. xiii. 24.

with his host.] See the comment on *v.* 24.

36. *the works . . . which he had seen with his eyes.*] Heliodorus did not consider that he had had a vision. The beings whom he regarded as supernatural had yet been seen by his natural eyes.

37. *who might be a fit man.*] Rather, "**what sort of a man** would be a fitting one to send." Seleucus did not ask him to designate the individual.

38. *traitor.*] Literally, "plotter against thy government." This was what Heliodorus himself became soon afterwards (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 46).

if he escape.] Rather, "**even** if he escape" (ἐάν περ καί).

40. *the keeping of the treasury.*] *I.e.* the watch and ward kept over the Temple treasury by angelic beings, which the story illustrates.

CHAPTER IV.

PART II.

§ 1. Further Troubles caused by Simon in Jerusalem.

1-6. On the return of Heliodorus to Antioch empty-handed, Simon was not slow to suggest that Onias had been at the bottom of the pretended miracles by which Heliodorus had allowed himself to be terrified. Onias was, he said, a "plotter against the government," and ought to be punished as such. At the same time his faction committed murders in Jerusalem, and he was known to be upheld in his opposition to Onias by the Apollonius to whom he had applied in the first instance (ch. iii. 5), the governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia. Under these circumstances the High Priest felt it incumbent on him to proceed to the Court, to defend his own conduct and induce Seleucus to put a stop to Simon's insolence.

1. *a bewrayer of the money and of his country.*] See ch. iii. 4–7. In betraying the secret of the richness of the Temple treasury, he had been a betrayer of the interests of his country.

slandered Onias.] Literally, "**spake evil** of Onias."

as if he had terrified Heliodorus.] Rather, "**that it was he who** had terrified Heliodorus." (See the comment on ch. iii. 32.)

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2 Thus was he bold to call him a traitor, that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation, and was so zealous of the laws.

3 But when their hatred went so far, that by one of Simon's faction murders were committed,

4 Onias seeing the danger of this contention, and that Apollonius, as being the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, did rage, and increase Simon's malice,

5 He went to the king, not to be an accuser of his countrymen, but seeking the good of all, both publick and private: B. C. cir. 187

6 For he saw that it was impossible that the state should continue quiet, and Simon leave his folly, unless the king did look thereunto.

7 But after the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason the bro- B. C. 176.

The accusation, no doubt, was that Onias had contrived the whole business.

2. *Thus was he bold to call him a traitor.*] Literally, "a plotter against the government." The words are the same as those used by Heliodorus in ch. iii. 38.

zealous of the laws.] Compare ch. iii. 4, 5. Onias was the head of the orthodox, Simon of the Hellenizing party. The antagonism which broke out openly soon afterwards (*vv.* 7–17) was already shewing itself. (See the comment on ch. iii. 4.)

3. *their hatred.*] *I.e.* the feud between Onias and Simon.

4. *Apollonius.*] Compare ch. iii. 5.

did rage.] Apollonius was as angry as Simon that the attempt to seize the Temple treasures had failed. He had probably looked to rise high in the favour of the king by being instrumental in obtaining him such a windfall. The failure of Heliodorus had disappointed this hope.

5. *not to be an accuser of his countrymen.*] Compare Acts xxviii. 19: "Not that I had aught to accuse my nation of." No act could be worse in the eyes of Jews than that one of their own number should lay a complaint against his nation before a heathen tribunal. The author, who is very jealous of the honour of Onias (ch. iii. 1; iv. 2, &c.), wishes to clear him of any such charge. It was not his nation, but a few individuals of his nation, that he accused, and this he did only because it was required for the general good of the whole community.

both publick and private.] Or, "both collectively and individually."

6. *unless the king did look thereunto.*] It does not appear that Seleucus took any active steps in consequence of the visit of Onias. Perhaps he might have done so had it not been for his untimely death. Or perhaps he may have sympathised rather with Simon the Hellenist, than with the strict Jew who wanted Simon to be suppressed.

§ 2. On the Death of Seleucus and Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, Jason is made High Priest. Rapid Advance of the Hellenizing Movement.

7–22. The sudden death of Seleucus and accession of his younger brother, Antiochus IV., known as Epiphanes, introduced a new element of discord into Jewish affairs. Jason, or rather Joshua, the brother of Onias, regarded the accession of a new king as favourable to his own ambition, and, having purchased the high-priestly office of Epiphanes, threw himself heart and soul into the Hellenistic movement. He began by erecting a gymnasium after the Grecian fashion in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem (*v.* 12); after which he discontinued the Temple service (*v.* 14), aped in all respects Grecian manners, and sent envoys to Tyre, who were to take part in a sacrifice to Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules (*v.* 19). He also obtained for the inhabitants of Jerusalem the citizenship of Antioch, and taught them to call themselves Antiochians (*vv.* 9, 19).

7. *after the death of Seleucus.*] Nothing is known of the death of Seleucus beyond the bare fact that he was plotted against and slain by Heliodorus, one of his courtiers (App. 'Syriac.' § 46), who is probably identical with the "treasurer" or "minister" of ch. iii. 7–40. Heliodorus seized the throne, but was in a little time driven from it by Eumenes of Pergamus, who had espoused the cause of Antiochus, Seleucus' brother.

when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom.] On the name "Epiphanes," see the comment on 1 Macc. i. 10. Epiphanes received the kingdom from Eumenes in B.C. 176. He reigned till B.C. 164.

Jason the brother of Onias.] The original name of Jason was Joshua (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 5, § 1). In connection with his general Hellenizing policy, he changed his name into Jason, the Greek appellation which most nearly approached to it.

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B. C. cir. 175. ther of Onias laboured underhand to be high priest,

8 Promising unto the king by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents:

9 Beside this, he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more, if he might have licence to set him up [b] a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem *by the name of* Antiochians.

[b] 1 Mac. 1. c.

10 Which when the king had granted, and he had gotten into his hand the rule, he forthwith brought his own nation to the Greekish fashion. B. C. cir. 175.

11 And the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews by the means of [c] John the father of Eupolemus, who went ambassador to Rome for amity and aid, he took away; and putting down the governments which were according to the law, he brought up new customs against the law:

[c] See 1 Mac. 8. 17.

12 For he built gladly a place of exercise under the tower itself, and brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat.

laboured underhand to be high priest.] Josephus knows nothing of Jason having supplanted his brother in the high priesthood, or bought the dignity of Epiphanes. On the contrary, he regards him as having succeeded regularly to the office at his brother's death, the only son left behind him by Onias being still a child, and therefore ineligible ('A. J.' *l. s. c.*).

8. *by intercession.*] Rather, "**at an interview.**" The present equivalent of 440 talents would be above 75,000*l.* sterling. It appears by the later narrative (*v.* 23) that the money was not paid till three years afterwards.

9. *he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more.*] Rather, "he **promised to give a written undertaking** for a hundred and fifty more."

to set him up a place for exercise.] See 1 Macc. i. 14, and the comment *ad loc.*

for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen.] Nothing is said in the original about "the fashions of the heathen," nor was the place intended to be one of general education. A "gymnasium" and "ephebia" was an exercise-ground for the bodily training and recreation of young men, whose mental and moral training was otherwise provided for. Still the institution was so thoroughly Greek, and so much at variance with staid Hebrew habits, that it could not but exert a very great influence over the general tone of morals and manners. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 294; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291.)

and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians.] Rather, "and to **register as Antiochians** all those who dwelt in Jerusalem." There was, it would seem, a "citizenship of Antioch," as there was a citizenship of Rome, which could be freely imparted to non-residents. There are coins which mention such a class of persons at Ptolemaïs (Mionnet, 'Description des Médailles,' tom. v. pp. 37, 88, 216; tom. viii. p. 30, &c.). Jason obtained this citizenship for the people of Jerusalem. What rights it conferred is uncertain.

10. *when . . . he had gotten into his hand the rule.*] *I.e.* the high-priestly office, with the civil power which at this time belonged to it.

he forthwith brought.] Rather, "proceeded to bring" (the *imperfect* tense).

11. *the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews.*] Those given by Antiochus the Great (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 3, § 3) are, it is probable, especially meant. The most important of these was the right of being governed by their own laws (πολιτευέσθωσαν πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρῴους νόμους).

by the means of John the father of Eupolemus.] Compare 1 Macc. viii. 17. We have no further knowledge of this "John," or of the part which he played in obtaining the privileges from Antiochus. He was evidently a less famous man than his son.

who went ambassador to Rome.] In B.C. 162–1. For an account of the embassy, see 1 Macc. viii. 17–32.

putting down the governments.] Rather, "the **modes of government.**"

12. *under the tower itself.*] Rather, "under the **citadel.**" The particular "tower" (ἄκρα), of which we hear so much in the First Book, was not yet built (see 1 Macc. i. 33). What is here intended would seem to be the southern or south-western hill, the loftiest part of the entire site. The writer regards it as aggravation of Jason's offence, that he built the gymnasium so near the city.

made them wear a hat.] To moderns this

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13 Now such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners, through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest;

14 That the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of ‖Discus called them forth;

15 Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all.

‖ Or, *the Discus*, which was a stone with an hole in the midst.

16 By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them: for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things.

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17 For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God: but the time following shall declare these things.

18 Now when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyrus, the king being present,

19 This ungracious Jason sent ‖special messengers from Jerusalem,

‖ Gr. *who were religious ambassadors*

does not appear a great offence. But the particular hat mentioned—the broad-brimmed hat or *petasus*—was discredited in Jewish eyes by its association with figures of Mercury, the presiding god of gymnasia, and so seemed almost an idolatrous emblem.

13. *Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest.*] Unworthy, *i.e.*, to be counted among the real High Priests. (Compare St. Paul, of himself, "that am not meet to be called an apostle.")

14. *the priests had no courage.*] Rather, "no **readiness**," or "no **inclination**." As Dean Stanley says, "The priests in the Temple caught the infection, left their sacrificial duties unfinished, and ran down from the Temple court to take part in the spectacle as soon as they heard the signal . . . which was to lead off the games" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291).

the unlawful allowance.] Rather, "the unlawful **shows**" or "**exhibitions**." A large outlay was made by the authorities to render the gymnasia attractive. They were a kind of "People's parks," which it cost a good deal to keep up. Athletes contended in them; rhetoricians declaimed; jugglers probably exhibited their tricks. The office of γυμνασιαρχής, or provider of the gymnasia with whatever was required to make them attractive, was reckoned a very expensive one.

after the game of Discus called them forth.] Rather, "after the **proclamation of the disk-throwing had been made**." The exercises opened with disk, or quoit, throwing, which was itself preceded by a πρόκλησις—an invitation to all who wished to take part in it.

15. *Not setting by the honours of their fathers &c.*] This is scarcely intelligible. Translate—"not setting store by the honours which their sires esteemed, but deeming those glories the highest which were approved by the Greeks."

16. *By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them.*] The writer views the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus, and the persecution that followed, as a judgment on the nation for the levity with which it had welcomed the first departures from ancient Hebrew practice, and introduction of Hellenic novelties. There was a special Nemesis, he considers, in the instruments of their chastisement being the very people whose manners and customs on some points they had been so eager to make their own.

whose custom.] Rather, "whose **customs**."

17. *the time following shall declare these things.*] *I.e.* "the course of time will always shew that it is no light matter to do wickedly against God's laws."

18. *when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyrus.*] The "Great Games" of Greece were celebrated either every alternate year, or once in four years. The greatest of all—the Olympian and the Pythian—fell under the latter category. And such was also the case with this festival at Tyre, which was perhaps an imitation of the Olympic one (Grimm).

the king being present.] Epiphanes was a lover of shows and games (Polyb. xxxi. 3, 4). and naturally attended so important a festival as this seems to have been. Jason probably sent his gift on account of Epiphanes being there, to draw the king's attention to his Hellenizing zeal.

19. *This ungracious Jason.*] Rather, "this **wicked** Jason."

sent special messengers.] Rather, "**sacred envoys**." The word (θεωροί) is used only of messengers sent on a sacred errand.

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B. C. cir. 174. who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred drachms of silver to the sacrifice of Hercules, which even the bearers thereof thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice, because it was not convenient, but to be reserved for other charges.

20 This money then, in regard of the sender, was appointed to Hercules' sacrifice; but because of the bearers thereof, it was employed to the making of gallies.

cir. 173. 21 Now when Apollonius the *son* of Menestheus was sent into Egypt for the coronation of king *Ptolemeus* Philometor, Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs, provided for his own safety: whereupon he came to Joppe, and from thence to Jerusalem:

B. C. cir. 173.

‖ Or, *enthronizing.*

22 Where he was honourably received of Jason, and of the city, and was brought in with torch light, and with great shoutings: and so afterward went with his host unto Phenice.

who were Antiochians.] See the comment on *v.* 9.

three hundred drachms of silver.] This is so small a sum—less than 10*l.* sterling—that the reading is with reason suspected. Several MSS. and the Syriac Version have 3,300, which is a far more likely amount.

the sacrifice of Hercules.] The Tyrian Melkarth was identified by the Greeks with their own Hercules, though on no very sufficient grounds. He was more properly an aspect of Baal, the Sun-god—Baal viewed as "the king of the city," the special guardian and protector of Tyre. (See 'Ancient Religions,' pp. 161, 162.)

which even the bearers . . . thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice.] The bearers were more scrupulous than their master. They shrank from making an offering to a heathen god, regarding it as "not convenient," or rather as "**unfitting.**" They applied the money therefore to a different purpose. (See *v.* 20.)

20. *This money . . . was appointed.*] Our translators read ἔπεσεν for ἔπεμψεν, with three or four MSS., which certainly gives a better sense.

it was employed to the making of gallies.] The bearers gave it to the Syrian king, as a contribution towards the expenses of his navy.

21. *Apollonius the son of Menestheus.*] "Son of Menestheus" is added, to distinguish him from the "son of Thraseas," of whom we have heard in ch. iii. 5–7; iv. 4. Grimm conjectures that he may be the Apollonius who headed an embassy sent to Rome by Epiphanes, mentioned in Livy (xlii. 6).

for the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor.] The meaning of the word πρωτοκλίσια is very obscure; but of all the significations suggested "coronation," or rather "inthronisation," is perhaps the best—the word being equivalent to *prima sessio in solio.* This event took place in B.C. 173, eight years after his accession, on the death of his mother, when he had attained the age of fifteen. Antiochus Epiphanes had then been king three years.

Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs.] The alienation of Philometor from Antiochus was the work of his ministers Eulæus and Lenæus, in whose hands the weak boy was a mere tool. Deeming Epiphanes half a madman, they thought it would be easy to deprive him of Cœlesyria and Palestine, and recover them to the Ptolemæan kingdom. They therefore made demands which could not be acceded to, and plunged Egypt into war.

he came to Joppe.] By sea, probably, from Seleucia, the port of Antioch.

22. *Where he was honourably received.*] Rather, "**magnificently** received."

was brought in with torch light.] Processions where torches were held in the hand are mentioned among the religious ceremonies of the Greeks; but a torch-light reception of a great man by a town seems to have been an illumination of the town by means of torches placed along the roofs of the houses. (See Athen. 'Deipnosoph.' iv. 29.)

§ 3. Menelaus obtains the High Priesthood from Antiochus. Flight of Jason.

23–28. Three years after his purchase of the high-priestly office, Jason sent the sum of money which he had undertaken to pay to Antiochus, by the hands of a certain Menelaus, whom Josephus makes his brother, but whom our author calls the brother of Simon the Benjamite (ch. iii. 4). Arrived at the Court, Menelaus took the opportunity to undermine Jason, and, by the promise of a much larger sum than he had paid, induced Antiochus to depose Jason, and transfer the high priesthood to himself. Jason, upon receiving the intelligence, fled into the country of the Ammonites. Not long afterwards, Menelaus, having failed

B. C. cir. 171. 23 Three years afterward Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to bear the money unto the king, and to put him in mind of certain necessary matters.

24 But he being brought to the presence of the king, when he had magnified him for the glorious appearance of his power, got the priesthood to himself, offering more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver.

25 So he came with the king's mandate, bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast. B. C. cir. 171.

26 Then Jason, who had undermined his own brother, being undermined by another, was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.

27 So Menelaus got the principality: but as for the money that he had promised unto the king, he took no good order for it, albeit Sostratus the ruler of the castle required it:

28 For unto him appertained the gathering of the customs. Wherefore they were both called before the king.

to pay the sum which he had promised, was summoned to Antioch.

23. *Three years afterward.*] Probably in B.C. 171.

Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother.] According to Josephus, Simon, the son of Onias II., had three sons—Onias III., Jason, and a second Onias, who took the name of Menelaus ('A. J.' xii. 4, § 10; 5, § 1). After Jason had supplanted Onias III., a civil war broke out between him and his brother, Menelaus, in which the latter was worsted; whereupon he appealed to Antiochus, who made him High Priest and deprived Jason. It is impossible to reconcile this account with our author's. We must necessarily choose between them. The primary objection to our author's statement is, that Menelaus, if a Benjamite, could not be a priest, much less High Priest. It is a sufficient reply to this, that the Syrian kings had no regard for the Jewish Law, and that Antiochus was at this time aiming at its entire abolition. It is also noticeable that when Alcimus was appointed High Priest by Eupator, confidence was felt in him because, as was said, "One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army" (1 Macc. vii. 14), implying previous irregularity. Josephus's statement that two brothers, who both grew up, had the same name, is moreover suspicious.

24. *offering more than Jason by three hundred talents.*] Three hundred talents would be equal to 72,000*l.* of our money. It is not clear whether the payment was to be made once for all, or annually.

25. *So he came.*] "Returned," *i.e.* "to Jerusalem."

having the fury of a cruel tyrant.] See below, *vv.* 34, 39; ch. v. 15, 16.

26. *Jason . . was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.*] As persistent enemies of Israel (see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 6), the Ammonites would be ready enough to give an asylum to powerful Jewish refugees, who might be counted upon to injure and harass their own countrymen, as Jason afterwards did (ch. v. 5–7).

27. *the money that he had promised.*] See *v.* 24.

the ruler of the castle.] Rather, "the **commandant of the citadel.**" On the position of the "citadel," see the comment on *v.* 12. Sostratus is not elsewhere mentioned.

28. *the customs.*] Rather, "the taxes." The Syrian commandant in Jerusalem had the duty of collecting all the taxes of the city and province, and of remitting them to the king's treasury. Sostratus claimed that his right extended to the sum which the High Priest had agreed to pay for his office. Menelaus disputed this claim, which seems to have been a novel one, since Jason sent his money by his own special messenger (*v.* 23).

§ 4. MENELAUS, HAVING LEFT HIS BROTHER LYSIMACHUS IN CHARGE AT JERUSALEM, GOES TO ANTIOCH, BUT FINDS THE KING ABSENT, AND ANDRONICUS REGENT. HAVING BRIBED ANDRONICUS WITH SOME OF THE TEMPLE TREASURES, HE IS REBUKED BY ONIAS, WHEREUPON HE PROCURES ONIAS'S DEATH.

29–35. In obedience to the king's summons both Menelaus and Sostratus quitted Jerusalem and went to Antioch, leaving deputies to take their place. On their arrival, they found that the king had quitted the city, in order to put down an insurrection in Cilicia, and had left a certain Andronicus as regent till his return. Menelaus, to ingratiate him-

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B. C. cir. 171.

29 Now Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead in the priesthood; and Sostratus *left* Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians.

30 While those things were in doing, they of Tarsus and Mallos made insurrection, because they were given to the king's concubine, called Antiochis.

31 Then came the king in all haste to appease matters, leaving Andronicus, a man in authority, for his deputy. B. C. cir. 171.

32 Now Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time, stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, and gave some of them to Andronicus, and some he sold into Tyrus and the cities round about.

33 Which when Onias knew of a surety, he reproved him, and withdrew himself into a sanctuary at Daphne, that lieth by Antiochia.

self with the regent, presented him with some golden vessels, which he was believed to have stolen from the Temple. Hereupon Onias, the ex-High Priest, who was in the neighbourhood, ventured to rebuke him, having previously, however, knowing his danger, taken sanctuary in one of the temples at Daphné. Menelaus had sufficient influence with Andronicus to induce him, contrary to all the Greek notions of what was just and right, to draw forth Onias from his asylum by a promise of safety, and then immediately to violate it by casting him into prison and there putting him to death.

29. *Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead.*] This seems to be the true meaning, though the word translated "in his stead" is διάδοχος, which commonly signifies a "successor." There is a similar use of the word in ch. xiv. 26.

Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians.] This cannot mean, "who was at the time governor of the Cyprians," since the governor would naturally reside in the island, and at any rate would not, while governor, be holding a subordinate post at Jerusalem—not to mention that Cyprus was at the time a dependency of Egypt. Crates must be called "governor of the Cyprians," either as having once held that office under one of the Ptolemies, or else, by *prolepsis*, as the man who subsequently was appointed governor, when in B.C. 168 Epiphanes conquered the island.

30. *they of Tarsus and Mallos.*] Tarsus and Mallos were, both of them, Cilician cities—the former the well-known capital of Cilicia Campestris, the latter a less important place in the same region, situated near the sea, to the east of the old bed of the Pyramus, in lat. 36° 36′, long. 35° 20′ nearly. (See Beaufort's 'Karamania,' p. 294.)

they were given to the king's concubine.] It was a practice of the Achæmenian Persians to assign the revenues of one or more cities to individuals as an act of favour. Artaxerxes Longimanus made over the revenues of three Greek cities to Themistocles (Thuc. i. 138); Mnemon gave those of several villages in Syria to Parysatis (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 4, § 9). According to Herodotus, Anthylla, a city of Egypt, was permanently assigned under the Achæmenians, as pin-money, to the wife of the satrap of Egypt for the time being (Herod. ii. 98). The practice is mentioned as a general one by Cicero ('Orat. in Verrem,' iii. 33). It is also noticed by Plato, Athenæus, Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, and Philostratus.

31. *Then came the king.*] *I.e.* Epiphanes departed from Antioch, and went with all speed into Cilicia, to put down the insurrection.

leaving Andronicus.] This Andronicus is not otherwise known. The name is a common one.

32. *Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time.*] It is not clear why the time should have seemed particularly "convenient." Menelaus, being at Antioch, could only have obtained the vessels by requiring his deputy, Lysimachus, to send them, which would have given the affair unnecessary publicity. Probably he had brought the vessels with him from Jerusalem.

stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple.] Literally, "appropriated to himself some of the golden vessels of the temple."

and some he sold into Tyrus.] Rather, "and others he **had previously sold**."

33. *he reproved him, and withdrew himself.*] This translation inverts the order of the events. The Greek text states that Onias, "having first withdrawn himself into sanctuary at Daphne, then proceeded to reprove Menelaus."

a sanctuary at Daphne.] Daphné, often spoken of as a "suburb" of Antioch (Dio Cass. li. 7; Am. Marc. xix. 12, § 19), was really situated about five miles to the south-west. It was a sacred precinct, nearly ten miles in circumference, on the northern slope of the hills which shut in the Orontes valley

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B. C. cir. 171.

34 Wherefore Menelaus, taking Andronicus apart, prayed him to get Onias into his hands; who being persuaded thereunto, and coming to Onias in deceit, gave him his right hand with oaths; and though he were suspected *by him*, yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary: whom forthwith he shut up without regard of justice.

35 For the which cause not only the Jews, but many also of other nations, took great indignation, and were much grieved for the unjust murder of the man.

B. C. cir. 171.

36 And when the king was come again from the places about Cilicia, the Jews that were in the city, and certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also, complained because Onias was slain without cause.

37 Therefore Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept, because of the sober and

upon the south. Naturally a place of extreme beauty, with an abundance of perennial springs and frequent groves of bay and cypress trees (Liban. 'Antioch.' p. 356), it was adorned also by art with several temples and shrines, as well as with numerous statues and fountains. The main temple was one of Apollo and Diana, built by the first Seleucus. That the right of asylum belonged to the place is mentioned by Polyænus ('Strateg.' viii. 50).

that lieth by Antiochia.] The Syrian capital was distinguished from other cities of the same name by the suffix ἐπὶ Δάφνης, "near Daphné." It has been questioned whether, under any circumstances, a religious Jew, such as Onias is represented to have been (ch. iii. 1; iv. 2, &c.), would have consented to take sanctuary in a heathen precinct, especially in one so notorious for licentiousness and debauchery as that of Daphné. But our author, at any rate, did not think such a thing impossible.

34. *to get Onias into his hands.*] Or, "to put Onias to death." The verb used (χειροῦσθαι) has this sense (Xen. 'Cyrop.' vii. 5, § 30; Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' iv. 5; 3 Macc. vii. 15).

yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary.] This was a common proceeding. The Greeks had a strong objection to violating the right of sanctuary by actual slaughter of the refugee within the place of asylum, though in hot blood they would do this sometimes (Plutarch, 'Vit. Solon.' § 12); but they thought little of evading the right, and reducing it to a nullity. Sometimes they would surround the asylum, prevent the entrance of food, and, having reduced their victim to the last gasp, remove him without violence, and let him perish just outside the sacred place (Thucyd. i. 134); sometimes they would make the most solemn promises to spare the victim's life, yet cut him down the moment he had left the asylum. It was universally allowed that such conduct was wrong, and the guilt of it attached not merely to the individual, but to his descendants (Herod. v. 70; Thucyd. i. 126–135); but the sin was reckoned less than that of actually violating a sanctuary, and admitted of expiation.

whom forthwith he shut up.] The Vulgate and Syriac versions translate, "he put to death;" and so Wahl and Grimm. But it is admitted that παρακλείω has nowhere else this meaning. Still, the next verse shews that, in point of fact, Andronicus did put Onias to death.

§ 5. ANTIOCHUS AVENGES THE MURDER OF ONIAS BY THE EXECUTION OF ANDRONICUS.

36–38. On his return from Cilicia to Antioch, after the suppression of the revolt, Antiochus found the inhabitants generally, both Jews and Gentiles, in a state of indignation at the murder of Onias. Participating in this feeling himself, since he had greatly respected Onias, he first degraded Andronicus by stripping off his purple robe, and tearing his under garments, and then put him to death on the spot where he had killed the ex-High Priest.

36. *the places about Cilicia.*] *I.e.* Tarsus and Mallos. (See *v.* 30, and the comment *ad loc.*)

the Jews that were in the city.] *I.e.* in Antioch. The Jewish colony in Antioch was very large, though its numbers cannot be exactly estimated. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 237, 239, 241.)

and certain of the Greeks . . . complained.] The Greek text rather implies that the Jews alone "complained," but that the Greeks generally sympathised with them.

37. *Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept.*] The character of Antiochus Epiphanes was extraordinary. Dean Stanley's estimate of it has been already quoted. (See the comment on 1 Macc. i. 10.) It was remarkable for its strange inconsistencies and curious combination of opposites. Here we have one of the softer and more pleasing traits. The "Great King" yields to

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B. C. cir. 171. modest behaviour of him that was dead.

38 And being kindled with anger, forthwith he took away Andronicus his purple, and rent off his clothes, and leading him through the whole city unto that very place, where he had committed impiety against Onias, there slew he the cursed murderer. Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment, as he had deserved.

39 Now when many sacrileges had been committed in the city by Lysimachus with the consent of Menelaus, and the bruit thereof was spread abroad, the multitude gathered themselves together against Lysimachus, many vessels of gold being already carried away. B. C. cir. 171.

40 Whereupon the common people rising, and being filled with rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men, and began first to offer violence; one Auranus being the Or, *Tyrannus.*

his feelings, and "weeps" on account of the untimely end of one whom he had admired and respected.

the sober and modest behaviour.] Or, "the sobriety and great modesty." The same two qualities are ascribed to Scipio Æmilianus by Polybius (xxxii. 11, § 8).

38. *being kindled with anger.*] Rather, "**inflamed** with anger."

he took away Andronicus his purple.] We have seen in the First Book of the Maccabees that the privilege of wearing purple was confined to a few. (See 1 Macc. viii. 14; x. 20, 62.) Andronicus, as regent (*v.* 31), had naturally been entitled to the distinction. Stripping his purple off him was like striking a knight's spurs from his heels before executing him.

rent off his clothes.] Rather, "rent his clothes"—*i.e.* tore them so that they looked like the clothes of a mean person.

leading him through the whole city.] That his disgrace might be seen by all. The proceeding was the converse of that enviable display of such as a king "delighted to honour" in the sight of a whole town, whereof we read in Gen. xli. 43; Esther vi. 11; and 1 Macc. x. 63.

there slew he the cursed murderer.] It has been questioned whether the passage has this meaning. The verb translated "he slew" means ordinarily "he stript off his ornaments" —an impossible signification here: (1) as his ornaments were already taken from him; (2) as such a punishment could not have been regarded by a Jew as equal to his deserts. Ewald would give the word here the meaning of "he banished;" but this is wholly without authority. The Syriac and Vulgate render, "he killed" or "he deprived of life;" and this meaning is etymologically possible, since ἀποκοσμεῖν might conceivably mean, "he removed from the world." The writer affects strange words and strange meanings for his words, and especially endeavours to vary those which express the taking of life. (See above, *v.* 34, and below, *v.* 42.)

Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment.] It is characteristic of the writer to see everywhere the hand of Divine Providence. (Compare ch. iii. 24, 28, 29, 33; v. 20; vi. 12–16, &c.)

§ 6. THE SACRILEGIOUS AND VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS OF LYSIMACHUS CAUSE A TUMULT AT JERUSALEM, WHEREIN HE IS SLAIN.

39–42. In the absence of Menelaus, Lysimachus followed the bad example which he had set, and continued to steal the gold vessels belonging to the Temple. After a time his doings became generally known, and roused public feeling to such an extent that gatherings took place, and insurrection seemed imminent. Hereupon Lysimachus took the initiative, and, arming 3,000 men, let them loose upon the people. A bloody tumult followed, in which Lysimachus himself and many of his partisans were slain.

39. *when many sacrileges had been committed.*] Literally, "when the temple had been many times robbed."

with the consent of Menelaus.] It is not clear whether Menelaus had returned to Jerusalem from Antioch, or whether he was detained there by Antiochus, either on account of his debt (*v.* 27), or of the part which he had taken with respect to Onias (*v.* 34). On the whole it seems most probable that he had been placed under arrest. (See the comment on *v.* 45.)

40. *Lysimachus armed about three thousand men.*] Literally, "armed men up to the number of three thousand." It is implied that he gave them the regular offensive and defensive arms of soldiers.

one Auranus being the leader.] Some MSS

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B. C. cir. 171. leader, a man far gone in years, and no less in folly.

41 They then seeing the attempt of Lysimachus, some of them caught stones, some clubs, others taking handfuls of dust, that was next at hand, cast them all altogether upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them.

42 Thus many of them they wounded, and some they struck to the ground, and all *of them* they forced to flee: but as for the church-robber himself, him they killed beside the treasury.

43 Of these matters therefore there was an accusation laid against Menelaus. B. C. cir. 171.

44 Now when the king came to Tyrus, three men that were sent from the senate pleaded the cause before him:

45 But Menelaus, being now convicted, promised [d] Ptolemee the *son* of Dorymenes to give him much money, if he would pacify the king toward him. [d] 1 Mac. 3. 38.

46 Whereupon Ptolemee taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air, brought him to be of another mind:

47 Insomuch that he discharged

have "one Tyrannus;" but it is unlikely that so familiar a name (Acts xix. 9; Apollod. ii. 4, § 5; Böckh, 'Corp. Inscr.' No. 1732) should have been changed into the otherwise unknown "Auranus." *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua.*

41. *seeing the attempt of Lysimachus.*] Rather, "the attack of Lysimachus."

upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them.] Literally, "upon Lysimachus and his partisans."

42. *the church-robber.*] Lysimachus. Their killing him "beside the treasury" may have been accidental, but looks more like a designed act of retribution, like the execution of Andronicus on the very spot where his great crime had been committed (*v.* 38).

§ 7. MENELAUS, ACCUSED TO ANTIOCHUS AS THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE DISTURBANCES, BRIBES PTOLEMY, SON OF DORYMENES, TO INTERCEDE FOR HIM. BY THIS DEVICE HE ESCAPES, AND HIS ACCUSERS ARE EXECUTED.

43–50. Antiochus, being at Tyre, and having Menelaus with him, as a prisoner whose fate was not yet decided, the Jewish senate sent three commissioners to accuse him to the king as the "fons et origo mali,"—the real originator of all the troubles, both as having begun the plunder of the Temple treasures, and as having set over the city so execrable a governor as Lysimachus. Menelaus upon this, aware of his danger, promised a sum of money to Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, one of Antiochus's courtiers, if he succeeded in getting him pardoned. This Ptolemy did; and Antiochus not only found him innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, but punished his accusers with death. The flagrant injustice of this sentence aroused the indignation of the Tyrians, who, to mark their disapproval, gave the commissioners a magnificent funeral.

43. *there was an accusation laid against Menelaus.*] Literally, "a trial was impending over Menelaus."

44. *three men . . . sent from the senate.*] The number may have been chosen with reference to Deut. xix. 15: "At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established." On the existence of a Jewish senate, or council, at this time, see the comment on ch. i. 10.

45. *Menelaus, being now convicted.*] It is difficult to see how this meaning is to be obtained from the Greek. The ordinary reading, λελειμένος, has usually the sense of "being left behind," or "still surviving." Εἰλημμένος, a conjectural reading of Ewald's, would mean "being taken," "being held in fetters." Λείπεσθαι has sometimes the meaning of "being defeated," but scarcely when the matter in contention is a lawsuit. Perhaps Ewald's reading and rendering should be accepted.

Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes.] See 1 Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 8, x. 12, 13. He seems to have succeeded Apollonius in the government of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia.

46. *taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air.*] If we could accept these details as fact, we should have to suppose that the original author, Jason, had a very exact knowledge of all the particular circumstances of the history, and was either an eye-witness, or wrote from the reports of eye-witnesses. As it is, we cannot but suspect that the epitomator is here introducing some of his "painting" and "encaustic." (See ch. ii. 29.)

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B. C. cir. 171. Menelaus from the accusations, who notwithstanding was cause of all the mischief: and those poor men, who, if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, should have been judged innocent, them he condemned to death.

48 Thus they that followed the matter for the city, and for the people, and for the holy vessels, did soon suffer unjust punishment.

49 Wherefore even they of Tyrus, moved with hatred of that wicked deed, caused them to be honourably buried.

50 And so through the covetousness of them that were of power Menelaus remained still in authority, increasing in malice, and being a great traitor to the citizens. B. C. cir. 171.

CHAPTER V.

2 *Of the signs and tokens seen in Jerusalem.* 6 *Of the end and wickedness of Jason.* 11 *The pursuit of Antiochus against the Jews.* 15 *The spoiling of the temple.* 27 *Maccabeus fleeth into the wilderness.*

ABOUT the same time Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt: cir. 171.

2 And then it happened, that through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers,

47. *if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians.*] St. Paul in one place uses the word "Scythian" as an equivalent for "barbarian" (Col. iii. 11), as does Cicero frequently ('Orat. in Verr.' ii. 5, § 58; 'Orat. in Pison.' § 8). So also does the writer of the Third Book of Maccabees (vii. 5). According to the pictures drawn by Herodotus (iv. 1–142) and Hippocrates ('De Aere, Aqua, et Locis,' § 47), the savagery of the nation was of an extreme type. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 222–226.)

48. *they that followed the matter for the city.*] Rather, "they **who had pleaded on behalf of** their city."

49. *caused them to be honourably buried.*] Rather, "**conducted their obsequies with magnificence.**"

50. *a great traitor to the citizens.*] Rather, "a great **plotter against his fellow-citizens.**" (See below, ch. v. 15, 16, 23.)

CHAPTER V.

§ 8. THE SIGNS AND WONDERS SEEN IN JERUSALEM DURING THE TIME OF EPIPHANES' SECOND EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

1–4. Epiphanes had invaded Egypt in B.C. 172, taking the offensive, as Ptolemy refused to remain at peace. He now, B.C. 171, invaded it a second time. During his absence, strange portents appeared in the sky through a space of nearly six weeks, armed hosts seeming to contend one with the other. As calamity was thought to be portended, the Jews prayed that the evil, whatever it was, might not fall on their nation.

1. *Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt.*] Literally, "his second *journey*;" but the meaning is, "his second expedition." On the circumstances of the first expedition, see the comment on 1 Macc. i. 16–19. In the second expedition, Antiochus took Pelusium and Memphis, and obtained possession of the person of Ptolemy Philometor; but Philometor's brother, Physcon, still maintained himself at Alexandria. (See Polyb. xxviii. 20–22; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 66.)

2. *through all the city.*] "*The* city" is here Jerusalem, as generally with our author (ch. iii. 14; iv. 39; v. 5, 17; viii. 3, &c.), though not always (ch. iv. 36).

for the space almost of forty days.] "Forty" is not only a "sacred" number with the Hebrews, but it has always been a common "round" number with Orientals, who will use it whenever the actual number exceeds twenty and falls short of a hundred. Thus the ruined palace at Persepolis is called that of "the forty pillars;" a generation is "forty years;" Abdon has "forty sons" who ride on "forty ass colts" (Judg. xii. 14); a numerous band of robbers is spoken of as "the Forty Thieves," &c. Here there is an (unusual) admission, that the number is not exact.

there were seen horsemen running in the air.] Such sights have frequently been reported, and seem to be quite possible, through a peculiar state of atmosphere, which intensifies refraction and reflection. Tacitus says, in speaking of the last Jewish war: "Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma" ('Hist.' v. 13). Josephus gives it as the statement of many eye-witnesses, that at this time chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the air throughout the length and breadth of the land

B. C. cir. 171.

3 And troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of ‖ pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts.

‖ Or, staves.

4 Wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.

5 Now when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead, Jason took at the least a thousand men, and suddenly made an assault upon the city; and they that were upon the walls being put back, and the city at length taken, Menelaus fled into the castle:

B. C. cir. 171.

6 But Jason slew his own citizens without mercy, not considering that

('Bell. Jud.' vi. 5, § 3). Moderns add similar testimony (Brewster, 'Natural Magic,' pp. 201–223; edit. of 1883). As ships at sea have frequently been seen in the sky by abnormal refraction and reflection, so may armed hosts be seen, when a country is alive with soldiers marching and counter-marching. On the other hand, under excitement of feeling, men may see in mere clouds a semblance of armies.

in cloth of gold.] Literally, "in gold apparel." (Compare Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 13.) On the actual use of gold or gilded armour, see the comment on ch. iii. 25.

3. *encountering and running one against another.*] Rather, "**charging and making raids**"—some of course doing the one, some the other.

glittering of golden ornaments.] Orientals usually indulge in this species of display. The greater part of a man's wealth is often carried openly upon his person. Herodotus speaks of the Persians slain at Platæa as having worn bracelets and chains and scimitars with golden ornaments (ix. 80). Xenophon says that golden earrings and collars were worn by the Persians generally ('Anab.' i. 2, § 27). The Syro-Macedonians had probably adopted this practice, together with other Persian customs.

harness of all sorts.] Rather, "**corslets** of all manner of kinds." These were sometimes of linen (Herod. ii. 182; iii. 47), more commonly of metal, which was either of a single piece, like the breastplates of modern *cuirassiers*, or made of scales, one overlaying another (ib. ix. 22).

4. *every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.*] The appearances were taken as portending war. The Jews prayed that the war might turn out to their advantage and not to their hurt.

§ 9. On a Rumour of the Death of Epiphanes, Jason makes an Attack upon Jerusalem. His Attack fails. His unhappy Fate.

5–10. On quitting Jerusalem, Jason had taken up his abode in the Ammonite country to the east of the Jordan. There he could easily watch the course of events, and be ready to take advantage of any turn in affairs that might seem to give him a chance of re-establishing himself. The report that Epiphanes had died in Egypt seemed to him just the opportunity which he needed. Though he could hastily raise no more than about a thousand men, he swooped on Jerusalem, took the town all but the citadel, whither Menelaus retired, and proceeded to revenge himself upon his nation by numerous cruelties. He was, however, compelled after a short time to evacuate the city and retreat across the Jordan. Here he was attacked by Aretas, an Arabian chief, who drove him from place to place, till at last he was obliged to take refuge in Egypt with the Ptolemies. Eventually he retired to Lacedæmon, where he claimed protection as being of a kindred race, but lived and died unhonoured.

5. *when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead.*] It is impossible to say how this report arose. Antiochus does not appear to have run any risk of his life in Egypt. He was successful from first to last, and would have completed the conquest of the country, but for the Romans.

the city . . . taken.] Rather, "**on the point of being** taken." That Jason should so nearly have succeeded in his attempt when he was at the head of only a thousand men, must be accounted for, first, by the suddenness of his attack; and, secondly, by his having many partisans within the walls. It must be borne in mind that he was the legitimate High Priest.

Menelaus fled into the castle.] Rather, "into the **citadel**." See the comment on ch. iv. 12.

6. *Jason slew his own citizens without mercy.*] The original is still stronger. It implies that the ex-High Priest, during the time that he held the city, made repeated massacres of the unresisting citizens.

not considering, &c.] Literally, "not considering that to gain the day over his own kinsmen was the greatest possible loss of the day for himself; but imagining that he was

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B. C. cir. 171. to get the day of them of his own nation would be a most unhappy day for him; but thinking they had been *his* enemies, and not *his* countrymen, whom he conquered.

7 Howbeit for all this he obtained not the principality, but at the last received shame for the reward of his treason, and fled again into the country of the Ammonites.

8 In the end therefore he had an unhappy return, being accused before Aretas the king of the Arabians, fleeing from city to city, pursued of all men, hated as a forsaker of the laws, and being had in abomination as an open ‖enemy of his country and countrymen, he was cast out into Egypt.

B. C. cir. 171.

‖ Or, *executioner.*

9 Thus he that had driven many out of their country perished in a strange land, retiring to the Lacedemonians, and thinking *there* to find succour by reason of his kindred:

10 And he that had cast out many unburied had none to mourn for him, nor any solemn funerals at all, nor sepulchre with his fathers.

erecting trophies of victories over enemies, and not over his countrymen."

7. *he obtained not the principality.*] He did not succeed in ousting Menelaus and re-establishing himself in the civil governorship of Jerusalem. On the contrary, as Menelaus held out, and Antiochus started for Jerusalem "in a furious mind" (*v.* 11), as soon as he heard of Jason's attack, he felt compelled to retreat, and to place the Jordan between himself and the Syro-Macedonian monarch.

and fled again.] See ch. iv. 26.

8. *In the end therefore he had an unhappy return.*] Many other renderings have been proposed; but on the whole this seems to be the best. Ἔπειτα is used adverbially, as τέλος so often; and ἀναστροφὴ is to be preferred to καταστροφή—the reading of several MSS.—and understood of Jason's "turning back" to the point from which he started.

being accused before Aretas.] Our translators, following Luther and Grotius, have preferred the reading ἐγκληθεὶς to ἐγκλεισθείς. But the latter has far more authority than the former, and yields at least an equally good sense. Aretas "imprisoned" Jason, who escaped, and fled from city to city, everywhere an object of hatred, until at last he was, as it were, "thrust" into Egypt. No doubt the passage is coloured by Jewish animosity; but its main facts may be accepted. The supplanter of the good Onias, the first purchaser of the high priesthood, the introducer into Jerusalem of a Greek gymnasium, the sacrificer (so far as intention went) to Hercules, had a miserable ending, wandered from land to land, and died in poverty and exile.

the king of the Arabians.] Aretas is often found as the name of Arab chiefs. It is perhaps the native *Harith.* An Aretas, whose capital was Petra, had a war with Herod Antipas (Joseph. 'A. J.' xviii. 5, § 1), and subsequently held Damascus for a time, soon after the conversion of St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 32). Another, called also Obedas, was engaged in a war with Alexander Jannæus (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 13, § 5) about B.C. 79, and was afterwards attacked by the Roman general, Scaurus (ibid. xiv. 5, § 1). The Aretas of the present passage is distinct from both of these.

he was cast out into Egypt.] In Egypt he would be sure of a refuge, as an enemy of Epiphanes.

9. *Thus he that had driven many out.*] Rather, "And he that had driven," &c. The writer sees in the ultimate fate of Jason another instance of exact retribution, and so of strict justice, as defined by the poet—εἴ κε πάθοι τά κ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο. (Compare ch. iv. 38.)

the Lacedemonians, . . . his kindred.] See 1 Macc. xii. 7, 10, 21; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 26, § 1. Utterly unfounded as was the idea of a connection between races so entirely unlike in all respects as the Spartans and the Jews, it was apparently accepted as a fact by both nations.

10. *nor sepulchre with his fathers.*] To be "gathered to their fathers" was always the Jews' desire in death (Gen. xlix. 30, 31; 2 Kings xi. 43, xiv. 31, &c.; 1 Macc. ix. 19, xiii. 25). It was felt as the denunciation of a heavy penalty, when the sentence went forth: "Thy carcase shall not come into the sepulchre of thy fathers" (1 Kings xiii. 22). Ancestral tombs were sunk deep in the rock, which received generation after generation. In every case there was a desire at least to rest in the holy soil, and not in the unsanctified earth of a "strange land."

§ 10. Return of Antiochus from his Second Egyptian Campaign. He vents his Fury upon the Jews by Massacres in the City, and by the Plundering of the Temple. Menelaus abets his Proceedings.

11–21. Antiochus was disappointed with the results of the Egyptian war. Though he

B. C. cir. 171.

11 Now when this that was done came to the king's ear, he thought that Judea had revolted: whereupon [a] removing out of Egypt in a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms,

[a] 1 Mac. 1. 10, &c.

12 And commanded his men of war not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went up upon the houses.

13 Thus there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants.

14 And there were destroyed within the space of three whole days fourscore thousand, whereof forty thousand were slain in the conflict; and no fewer sold than slain.

B. C. cir. 171.

15 Yet was he not content with this, but presumed to go into the most holy temple of all the world; Menelaus, that traitor to the laws, and to his own country, being his guide:

16 And taking the holy vessels with polluted hands, and with pro-

had been generally successful, yet Alexandria had escaped him, and the representations of foreign powers had induced him to forego almost all the advantages which he had gained. The disturbances in Jerusalem during his absence (*vv.*5–7) had also displeased him, and he needed a scapegoat on which he might vent his fury. He was likewise terribly in want of money; and recent events had made it clear, 1. That there was a vast accumulation of treasure at Jerusalem; and 2. That there was a strong party among the Jews themselves which would connive at the conversion of these treasures to secular purposes. Epiphanes therefore resolved to treat Jerusalem as a revolted city—to assault it, take it, and plunder it. Our author says that 80,000 of the inhabitants were slain in the assault and massacre, and an equal number sold as slaves. Menelaus served Epiphanes as guide to the Temple treasures, which were plundered and carried off, to the amount of 1800 talents (432,000*l.*).

11. *he thought that Judea had revolted.*] This might naturally be the first impression that the tidings made; but it is impossible that Epiphanes should not have been better informed before he gave the order for the assault. He must have become aware that, whatever Jason's intentions may have been—and it is improbable that even he had aimed at shaking off the Syro-Macedonian yoke—Jason had been foiled, and the authority of Menelaus re-established. The assault can only be looked on as a wanton outrage, for which the motive was cupidity. The Syrian treasury needed replenishing. No easier mode of filling it offered than the seizure of half a million of money and the sale of 80,000 (or even 10,000) captives.

12. *such as went up upon the houses.*] They were to kill all whom they found in the streets, and all who took post upon the house-roofs in what might be viewed as a threatening attitude.

13. The point of this verse is the *promiscuous* character of the slaughter. Neither age nor sex was spared. Young and old, men and women, even infants, were ruthlessly massacred.

14. *three whole days.*] Rather, "three days **altogether**." The massacre was continued on into the third day.

fourscore thousand.] It may be suspected that this number is exaggerated. The writer's numbers are frequently suspicious (ch. viii. 20, 30; ch. x. 17, 31; ch. xi. 11, &c.); and here he seems greatly to over-estimate the population of Jerusalem, which he makes considerably more than 160,000. Josephus ('A. J.' xii. 4, § 5) does not say how many were killed on this occasion, but gives the number of the prisoners as "about ten thousand." The slain are not likely to have much exceeded this amount.

no fewer sold.] On the practice of selling captives as slaves, see 1 Macc. iii. 41; 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11.

15. *presumed to go into.*] Compare 1 Macc. i. 21; Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 4, § 5.

the most holy temple of all the world.] See above, ch. ii. 22; iii. 12.

16. *the holy vessels.*] Cyrus had made over to Zerubbabel a number of the original vessels of Solomon, which Nebuchadnezzar had carried off. These consisted of 5,400 vessels in all (Ezra i. 11). Artaxerxes Longimanus had subsequently made a present of further vessels to the Temple by the hand of Ezra (ibid. vii. 19). Others may have been added by successive high priests. These "holy vessels" had, it would appear, until the high-priesthood of Menelaus, remained intact. Menelaus, first of all, laid his profane hands upon them (ch. iv. 32, 39, 42). Epiphanes now, at one fell swoop, carried off the remainder. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 21–23.)

with polluted hands . . . with profane hands.] Rather, "with **his** polluted hands . . . with **his** profane hands."

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B. C. cir. 170. fane hands pulling down the things that were dedicated by other kings to the augmentation and glory and honour of the place, he gave them away.

17 And so haughty was Antiochus in mind, that he considered not that the Lord was angry for a while for the sins of them that dwelt in the city, and therefore his eye was not upon the place.

18 For had they not been formerly wrapped in many sins, this man, as soon as he had come, had forthwith been scourged, and put back from ch. 3. 25, 26. his presumption, [b] as Heliodorus was, whom Seleucus the king sent to view the treasury.

19 Nevertheless God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake. B. C. cir. 170.

20 And therefore the place itself, that was partaker with them of the adversity that happened to the nation, did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord: and as it was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, so again, the great Lord being reconciled, it was set up with all glory.

21 So when Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia, weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot: such was the haughtiness of his mind.

pulling down.] Rather, "**sweeping off.**"

he gave them away.] This cannot be the author's meaning. The whole object of Epiphanes in plundering the Temple was the replenishment of his treasury. His motive was, as Josephus says, "covetousness" (πλεονεξία). Grimm understands, "he gave them to his servants to convey to Antioch." But possibly the reading is a corrupt one.

17. *so haughty was Antiochus.*] Rather, "**so lifted up.**"

18. *had they not been formerly wrapped in many sins.*] Rather, "Had **it not chanced that they were wrapped up** in many sins." It is the present time, not any earlier one, whereof the writer is speaking.

scourged . . . as Heliodorus was.] See above ch. iii. 26.

Seleucus the king.] *I.e.* Seleucus IV., called Philopator. (See the comment on ch. iii. 3.)

19. *Nevertheless.*] Rather, "**But.**"

God did not choose the people for the place's sake.] The Temple was not the end but the means. God's object was to purify to Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. The Temple was hallowed, and sanctified, and protected, and kept free from pollution, in order to help towards the people's purification and sanctification. When the people had corrupted themselves (ch. iv. 12–15), notwithstanding God's care of the Temple, there was no longer any object in maintaining the Temple's sanctity. Its pollution was therefore permitted.

20. *the place . . . did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord.*] See below, ch. x. 1–8; compare 1 Macc. iv. 36–59.

21. *a thousand and eight hundred talents.*] If this is the estimate of the value of the whole booty in the ordinary (Attic) silver talent, the amount would be little short of half a million of our money. If it is a statement of the weight, the value must remain unknown, since we cannot tell what proportion the gold vessels bore to the silver.

weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot.] *I.e.* thinking himself *capable* of reversing the order of nature, as Xerxes had done, when he bridged the Hellespont and cut through Athos (Herod. vii. 22–24, 36; Justin. ii. 10, § 24). It is not meant that Epiphanes entertained any such projects.

§ 11. EPIPHANES CONTINUES HIS OPPRESSION BY HIS INSTRUMENTS, PHILIP, ANDRONICUS, MENELAUS, AND APOLLONIUS. JUDAS MACCABEUS, WITH NINE OTHERS, RETIRES TO THE WILDERNESS.

22–27. Not content with the cruelties which he had superintended in person, Epiphanes, on quitting Jerusalem, left a heathen governor in the city further to oppress the people, and also left another in Samaria, besides confirming Menelaus in the high-priestly office. After his arrival at Antioch —two years after, according to 1 Macc. i. 29 —he further sent his chief officer of revenue, Apollonius (probably the person who is called "governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia" in ch. iii. 5; iv. 4), to commit fresh atrocities. Apollonius made a great massacre of the males on the Sabbath day, and, seizing the

B. C. cir. 170.

22 And [c] he left governors to vex the nation: at Jerusalem, Philip, for his country a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous than he that set him there;

[c] 1 Mac. 1. 51.

23 And at Garizim, Andronicus; and besides, Menelaus, who worse than all the rest bare an heavy hand over the citizens, having a malicious mind against his countrymen the Jews.

cir. 168.

24 He sent also [d] that detestable ringleader Apollonius with an army of two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that

[d] 1 Mac. 1. 29.

B. C. cir. 168.

were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort:

25 Who coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath, when taking the Jews keeping holy day, he commanded his men to arm themselves.

26 And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons slew great multitudes.

‖ Gr. *who was the tenth.*

[e] 1 Mac. 1. 53. Hebr 11. 38.

27 But Judas Maccabeus ‖ with nine others, or thereabout, [e] with-

women and children, sold them as slaves. Upon this, Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, withdrew from the city into the wilderness, and lived on the wild fruits of the earth, becoming the nucleus of the rebellion which followed.

22. *Philip . . . a Phrygian.*] "Philip the Phrygian" must have continued to be governor of Jerusalem through all the time of the severe persecution (chs. vi.–vii.), since we find him still at the head of affairs in B.C. 166–5, when he sends to the governor of Cœlesyria to help him against the rebels under Judas (ch. viii. 8).

23. *And at Garizim, Andronicus.*] "Garizim" seems to be used here as an equivalent of Samaria. Properly it was the name of the hill on which the Samaritans had built their temple (John iv. 20: "Our fathers worshipped in *this mountain*"). The Syro-Macedonians seem at this time to have confounded the Samaritans with the Jews, and to have looked on both with equal suspicion. Samaria had therefore to be garrisoned, and to receive a Syro-Macedonian governor. He has been supposed to be the Andronicus of ch. iv. 31–38; but we have shewn reasons for believing that that individual suffered death before this. (See the comment on ch. iv. 38.)

24. *that detestable ringleader.*] Rather, "that ringleader **of corruption**." The article (τὸν μυσάρχην) implies that Apollonius is already known to the reader, whence it may be concluded that he is the "governor of Cœlesyria" mentioned in ch. iii. 5; iv. 4. He may have exchanged that office recently for the chief collectorship of revenue which is assigned to him in 1 Macc. i. 29. A Ptolemy is found as governor of Cœlesyria in B.C. 166–5 (2 Macc. viii. 8).

all those that were in their best age.] Rather, "all those of the military age"—*i.e.* all those between 17 and 47, or whatever were the limits of military service recognised by the Syro-Macedonians.

to sell the women and the younger sort.] Compare above, *v.* 14.

25. *did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath.*] The Sabbatarian feeling was, we know, strong among those of the religious and patriotic party. At a later date than that to which the narrative has brought us, they still refused to resist attack upon the Sabbath, and allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep (1 Macc. ii. 36–38). Apollonius must have calculated upon this feeling.

keeping holy day.] Literally, "resting"—or "observing rest."

26. *And so he slew all them that were gone.*] Rather, "that were gone **forth**"—*i.e.* that had quitted the city, and gone across to the Temple hill, to attend the Temple worship.

and running through the city.] Rather, "**into** the city." Besides his attack on the worshippers in the Temple, he sent his bands into the city on the western hill, and there killed "great multitudes."

27. *Judas Maccabeus with nine others.*] It is remarkable that the author ignores Mattathias wholly, and makes Judas the leader of the revolt. In this there can be no doubt that he is unhistorical. The authority of the First of Maccabees and of Josephus must override his. Judas, however, it is clear, remained, in the eyes of his countrymen, the *great* hero of the war of independence—the chief to whom all others were secondary. It was he who first defeated armies; who first made success seem possible; above all, who first recovered and

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B. C. cir. 168. drew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The Jews are compelled to leave the law of God.* 4 *The temple is defiled.* 8 *Cruelly upon the people and the women.* 12 *An exhortation to bear affliction, by the example of the valiant courage of Eleazarus, cruelly tortured.*

B. C. cir. 168. NOT long after this the king sent an old man of ‖ Athens to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and not to live after the laws of God:

‖ *Antioch*: the Latin interpreters.

2 And to pollute also the temple

purified the Temple, and re-established the daily sacrifices.

withdrew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains.] Compare 1 Macc. ii. 26, 27. The place chosen seems to have been "the wilderness of Judea," or the tract south and south-east of Jerusalem, between the great southern road and the Dead Sea.

after the manner of beasts.] This is rhetorical exaggeration. Neither in the time of Judas, nor even in that of Mattathias, were the patriots brought so low as is here asserted. They had always "cattle" (1 Macc. ii. 30), and the spoil of cities (ibid. 44–47; iii. 8), and consequently the ordinary means of sustaining life.

lest they should be partakers of the pollution.] We learn from 1 Macc. ii. 1–28, that Mattathias and his sons did not withdraw into the wilderness until an attempt had been made, at their own village of Modeïn, to force them to offer sacrifice on a heathen altar to heathen gods. It was this "pollution" in which they refused to partake. Compare the conduct of the early Christians (Plin. 'Epist.' x. 97).

CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. A Royal Commissioner sent to Jerusalem with Orders to extirpate the Jewish Religion. His Proceedings with this Object.

1–9. Epiphanes now thought that the time was come when he might be able wholly to obliterate the Jewish religion; and accordingly he sent a commissioner—an Athenian, according to our author—with full powers, and strict orders to put down all Jewish usages. The Temple was to be re-dedicated to Jupiter Olympius; heathen festivals with licentious rites were to be celebrated in it; the altar was to be polluted by the sacrifice of swine upon it; the observance of the Jewish feasts and even of the Sabbath was to be prohibited; circumcision was to be forbidden; the copies of the Law were to be destroyed (1 Macc. i. 56); and the Jews were to be compelled to join in the heathen feasts and sacrifices. Finally, the commands and prohibitions were extended beyond Judæa to the neighbouring Grecian cities; and the Jews of all parts of the Empire were forced under the penalty of death to adopt Gentile customs.

1. *Not long after this.*] In the same year with the attack of Apollonius (B.C. 168), towards its close—in November or December.

the king sent an old man of Athens.] The Vulgate has "an old man of Antioch"—a reading of which Ewald approves ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 298, note [5]). But, as Antiochus was at the time engaged in building the magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens (Polyb. xxvi. 1, § 10), of which the ruins are still to be seen on the banks of the Ilissus, it is quite likely that he may have selected an Athenian to introduce the worship of the same god at Jerusalem. The worship would thus, as Dean Stanley observes ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295) have seemed to be "introduced from its most genuine seat."

to depart from the laws of their fathers.] Compare 1 Macc. i. 42–50; Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 5, § 4. Josephus says: "He compelled them to lay aside the ceremonial observances of their own God, and to worship the gods whom he acknowledged; to build temples and erect altars in every city and village, and to offer upon them every day a sacrifice of swine. He also forbade them to circumcise their children, and threatened all who should be caught so doing with punishment."

2. *to pollute also the temple.*] "It was the 23rd of the month Marchesvan (November)," says Dean Stanley ('Lectures,' vol. iii. p. 297), "that the enclosure was broken between the outer and inner court; in after days the breaches were pointed out in thirteen places. On the 15th of the next month (Chisleu—December) a small Grecian altar was planted on the huge platform of the altar of Zerubbabel in honour of the Olympian Jupiter. On the 25th the profanation was consummated by introducing a herd of swine and slaughtering them in the sacred precincts. One huge sow was chosen from the rest. Her blood was poured on the altar before the Temple and on the Holy of Holies

B. C. cir. 168. in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and that in Garizim, of Jupiter the Defender of strangers, ‖ as they did desire that dwelt in the place.

‖ Out of Joseph. lib. 12. cap. 7. or, *as they were.*

3 The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people:

4 For the temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles, who dallied with harlots, and had to do with women within the circuit of the holy places, and besides that brought in things that were not lawful.

5 [a] The altar also was filled with profane things, which the law forbiddeth. B. C. cir. 168.

[a] 1 Mac. 1. 47

6 Neither was it lawful for a man to keep sabbath days or ancient feasts, or to profess himself at all to be a Jew.

7 And in the day of the king's birth every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy.

within. A mess of broth was prepared from the flesh, and sprinkled on the copies of the Law. This was the 'abomination of desolation'—the horror which made the whole place a desert."

the temple of Jupiter Olympius.] Jupiter (Zeus) was worshipped as "Olympian" chiefly at Olympia in Elis (Herod. ii. 7); but Antiochus had recently begun to build a temple to him under the same title at Athens (see the comment on *v.* 1). He perhaps identified the Greek "Zeus Olympios" with the Roman "Jupiter Capitolinus," to whom he had built a splendid temple at Antioch (Liv. xli. 20).

of Jupiter the Defender of strangers.] Zeus is mentioned as worshipped under this title (Xenius) very frequently by the classical writers (Hom. 'Il.' xiii. 625; 'Od.' i. 270; Æsch. 'Agam.' ll. 61, 362, 748; Pind. 'Ol.' viii. 38; Eurip. 'Cycl.' l. 357; Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 2, § 4; Plat. 'De Leg.' v. 730; Arist. 'De Mundo,' § 7; Pausan. iii. 11, § 11; Athen. 'Deipn.' xv. p. 696, D, &c.). He was regarded as careful to avenge any wrongs suffered either by strangers or by guests or hosts.

as they did desire that dwelt in the place.] Rather, "as they **were** that dwelt in the place." The writer means that the title was selected in reference to the character of the Samaritans, who were "protectors of strangers" themselves. It is remarkable that a Jew should give this testimony.

3. *grievous to the people.*] Rather, "grievous **even to the multitude.**" *I.e.* not only was it disliked by the upper orders, or the more strictly religious, but it was felt as a grievance by the common people generally.

4. *revelling.*] Literally, "bands of revellers."

who dallied with harlots.] On the licentious character of the Gentile worship at this period, and the indecent orgies permissible in heathen temples, see Döllinger's 'Judenthum und Heidenthum' *passim.* The Syro-Macedonians were especially addicted to these unspeakable abominations, and Antioch with its notorious suburb of Daphné was the head-quarters of religious profligacy. Hence we may well believe that the charges here made were not without a foundation in fact.

brought in things that were not lawful.] As swine, and broth made from the flesh of swine. (See the comment on *v.* 2.)

5. *The altar . . . was filled with profane things.*] It was permanently surmounted by a heathen altar, on which heathen sacrifices were offered. It was trampled on by the feet of the heathen sacrificing priests, and was also on at least one occasion purposely polluted by the pouring upon it of swine's blood (Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1).

6. *Neither was it lawful . . . to keep sabbath days.*] Compare 1 Macc. i. 45.

or ancient feasts.] Literally, "ancestral feasts"—those which had come down to the Jews of the day from their forefathers—the Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Purim, &c.

7. *in the day of the king's birth every month.*] Rather, "**on** the day." It is questioned whether this statement is worthy of belief. No other instance has been as yet found of a king's birthday being kept *monthly*, and it is thought improbable that even Epiphanes would have introduced such a custom. Grimm suggests that the author has confused the annual royal birthday with the monthly sacrifice mentioned in 1 Macc. i. 59.

when the feast of Bacchus was kept.] In every Greek state "Dionysia" were celebrated at least once a year; in some, as at Athens, they were celebrated twice. Autumn was the usual time for them, the feast being specially connected with the vintage, and its celebration being accompanied with wild dances, coarse gestures and songs, uproar, tumult, and revelry. A "pomp" or "pro-

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Gr. Grecians.

8 Moreover there went out a decree to the neighbour cities of the [g]heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemee, against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions, and be partakers of their sacrifices:

9 And whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death. Then might a man have seen the present misery.

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10 For [h]there were two women brought, who had circumcised their children; whom when they had openly led round about the city, the babes hanging at their breasts, they cast them down headlong from the wall.

[h] 1 Mac. 1. 60.

11 And others, that had run together into caves near by, to keep the sabbath day secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt to-

cession" was a necessary part of the festival. The worshippers defiled through the streets in a long train, on their way generally to some temple, where sacrifice was to be offered and a sacrificial feast to follow. Ivy was worn by those who went in the procession, as the sacred plant of Dionysus (3 Macc. ii. 29; Eurip. 'Bacch.' l. 81).

8. *to the neighbour cities of the heathen.*] Rather, "of the **Grecians**." The cities intended must have lain within the dominions of the Seleucidæ, as Ptolemaïs, Epiphaneia, Apameia, and perhaps Antioch. The Jewish population at Antioch was considerable.

by the suggestion of Ptolemee.] Many MSS., including the Vatican, have "by the suggestion of *the Ptolemies*," which could only be understood of the Egyptian royal house. But it is inconceivable that the foreign princes who ruled in Egypt should have undertaken to advise Epiphanes on a matter belonging entirely to the internal administration of his own empire. The reading which our translators have followed is therefore greatly to be preferred; and the "Ptolemee" intended is probably "Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes" (ch. iv. 45), who was among the chief advisers of the Syro-Macedonian king.

against the Jews.] The existing text does not admit of the translation, "there went out a decree against the Jews." To obtain this meaning we must change the place of the clause, *κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, which has no meaning where it stands at present.

that they should observe the same fashions.] Literally, "that they should lead the same life."

9. *And whoso would not conform . . . should be put to death.*] Here was the sting of the decree. Both in Judæa and elsewhere it was made a capital offence to observe Jewish customs, or profess oneself a Jew, or even to possess a copy of the Jewish scriptures. Any one might denounce his neighbour, and death was the consequence. (See 1 Macc. i. 50, 57, 60, 63.)

to the manners of the Gentiles.] Rather, "to the customs of the **Greeks**" (*ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά*).

Then might a man have seen, &c.] This is a transition clause from the general to the particular. It concludes the writer's survey of the general position of his countrymen under the edicts issued by Epiphanes, and introduces the graphic account which he proceeds to give in the remainder of the chapter and in ch. vii., of the practical results which followed from the edicts.

§ 13. Special Instances of Persecution. Case of the Two Women. Case of those burnt for keeping the Sabbath.

10, 11. The writer proceeds now to adduce special instances of persecution. He begins with the case, noted also by the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. i. 60, 61), of two mothers, who, contrary to the king's edict, had had their children circumcised, who were led round the city, with their children hung around their necks, and then cast headlong from the city wall into the ditch. He next notes a case where persons who had met secretly for worship on the Sabbath day in some of the caves near Jerusalem, were burnt to death in them unresistingly, as their conscience would not allow them to defend themselves on the Sabbath.

10. *there were two women brought.*] Rather, "brought **up**," or "brought **before the court**."

who had circumcised their children.] *I.e.* "who had caused them to be circumcised." The operation was performed by men. (See 1 Macc. i. 61.)

the babes hanging at their breasts.] Literally, "after they had hung the babes at their breasts."

11. *others that had run together into caves near by.*] Literally, "into **the** caves." The limestone rocks of Palestine are everywhere perforated with caves, some natural, some arti-

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B. C. cir. 168. gether, because they made a conscience to help themselves for the honour of the most sacred day.

12 Now I beseech those that read this book, that they be not discouraged for these calamities, but that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction, but for a chastening of our nation.

13 For it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished.

14 For not as with other nations, whom the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins, so dealeth he with us, B. C. cir. 168.

15 Lest that, being come to the height of sin, afterwards he should take vengeance of us.

16 And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: and though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people.

17 But let this that we have spoken be for a warning unto us. And now will we come to the declaring of the matter in few words. cir. 167.

ficial, and often capable of containing a considerable assemblage of persons. The "cave of Adullam" (1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13) is notorious. Other scriptural notices of caves in Palestine are Gen. xxiii. 17; Josh. x. 16; 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; 1 Kings xviii. 4; Heb. xii. 38.

being discovered to Philip.] *I.e.* to "Philip the Phrygian," the Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem (ch. v. 22).

were all burnt together.] Perhaps rather suffocated than burnt. When brushwood is piled at the mouth of caves and set on fire, the inmates are mostly suffocated. The operation is among the recognised ones even of modern warfare. It was practised by the French in the subjection of Algeria.

they made a conscience to help themselves.] *I.e.* they had a conscientious scruple against defending themselves on the Sabbath. (Compare 1 Macc. ii. 32–38.)

§ 14. Remarks of the Author on the purpose of God in suffering His People to be thus persecuted.

12–17. The writer here interrupts his narrative, and interposes certain remarks on the method of God's government, in order to prevent his readers from being depressed and disheartened by his history. God, he says, allows other nations to persist in their iniquities, until they have filled up the measure of them and are the proper objects of His vengeance. With Israel He acts differently. Their transgressions He constantly corrects and chastens, before they come to a head; and so He brings them back to himself, and is never driven to destroy them, or forsake them utterly. The persecutions which he is relating were Divine chastisements with a merciful object.

12. *I beseech those that read this book.*] Literally, "those that happen upon this book" or "chance to meet with it."

that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction.] Rather, "that they **take into account** that those punishments **were** not for our destruction." The persecutions did not destroy Israel, but purified the nation, and raised it up to a height of glory and prosperity which it had not enjoyed for centuries.

13. *wicked doers.*] The "wicked doers" intended are not Epiphanes and his advisers, but the irreligious Israelites—Jason, Menelaus, and their partisans—whose impieties are viewed as having brought a general judgment upon the nation.

14. *other nations . . . the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins.*] Compare Gen. xv. 16; Dan. viii. 23. The principle was not, however, as the writer thought, one from the operation of which the Jews were exempt. They too, ultimately, "filled up the measure of their iniquities" (Matt. xxiii. 32; 1 Thess. ii. 16), and, having exhausted the patience and long-suffering of God, were dealt with penally, cast off, and "forsaken." God, however, having once chosen them to be His "peculiar people," did watch over them, chastise them, check their wanderings, recall them to the right path, with especial patience, especial tenderness. (See 2 Kings xvii. 9–23; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14–16; Is. i. 2–27.)

17. *But let this . . . be for a warning unto us.*] Rather, "for a **reminding**." Men are apt to forget the method of God's dealings with them. They need to have their hearts stirred up "by way of remembrance." This is the object which the writer has proposed to himself in his digression.

in few words.] Rather, "**after brief divergence**." The writer does not pretend

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18 Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well-favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth, and to eat swine's flesh.

19 But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, and came of his own accord to [c]the torment,

[c] Hebr. 11. 35.

20 As it behoved them to come, that are resolute to stand out against such things, as are not lawful for love of life to be tasted.

21 But they that had the charge of that wicked feast, for the old acquaintance they had with the man, taking him aside, besought him to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king;

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22 That in so doing he might be delivered from death, and for the old friendship with them find favour.

23 But he began to consider discreetly, and as became his age, and the excellency of his ancient years, and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come, and his most honest education from a child, or rather the holy law made and given by God: therefore he an-

that he is about to use brevity in his coming narrative, which is remarkably diffuse.

§ 15. Account of the Martyrdom of Eleazar.

18–31. One of the simplest modes of compelling Israelites to transgress the Law, was to make them swallow unclean food; and of unclean foods the readiest at hand was the flesh of swine, which were largely used by the heathen for sacrifice and for the food of the common people. In carrying out their system of persecution, the authorities at Jerusalem required one Eleazar, an old man of ninety and one of the chief scribes, to thus pollute himself; but when the flesh was forced into his mouth, Eleazar spat it out. They then suggested privately, that he might provide himself with clean meat, and pretend to eat the swine's flesh offered him; but Eleazar rejected this proposal as an unworthy hypocrisy and as the setting of a bad example. He was accordingly martyred, being cruelly beaten to death.

18. *Eleazar.*] A common name among the Jews, and one certainly in use at the time, since it was borne by one of the sons of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 5)—not, as some have supposed, a fancy name, ascribed to an ideal personage. In the Hellenistic Greek "Eleazar" became "Lazarus."

one of the principal scribes.] Therefore, probably, a member of the Sanhedrin—perhaps also a priest, as stated in 4 Macc. v. 3, 34; vii. 6, 12, but certainly not "high priest," as called by Josephus Gorionides (iii. 4). A man of high station, however, on terms of intimacy with the authorities, as appears from *vv.* 21, 22.

an aged man.] Ninety years old (see *v.* 24).

of a well-favoured countenance.] The original is stronger. Translate, "of a **most beautiful** countenance." The face of the first Christian martyr, when he addressed the Jewish council, is said to have been "as the face of an angel" (Acts vi. 15).

19. *came of his own accord to the torment.*] Literally, "to the instrument of torture." What exactly was the nature and construction of the *tympanum* is uncertain. By *v.* 30 it would seem that the machine was not one which caused death, since Eleazar was killed by repeated blows of a whip or scourge.

21. *they that had the charge of that wicked feast.*] It would seem that, in order to carry on the persecution, a special sacrifice of swine was made, after which the Jews at hand were brought in to take part in the customary "feast upon the *viscera*" (σπλαγχνισμός, *visceratio*). The mouths of those who resisted were forced open, and the unclean meat put into them. All was done in the presence, and with the sanction, of the civil authorities. At a little distance was the "torture-instrument," on which those were placed who would not swallow the unclean food.

23. *the excellency of his ancient years.*] So Grimm, who quotes ch. xv. 13. But ὑπεροχὴ γήρως more naturally means "**extreme advance** in years," and should be so taken here; the clause καὶ τῆς τοῦ γ. ὑπεροχῆς being exegetical of the preceding τῆς ἡλικίας.

and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come.] This is a somewhat loose paraphrase. Nothing is said in the original about "honour." Translate—"and the **conspicuous** gray head whereto he had come."

or rather the holy law.] Rather, "and **still more** the holy **legislation**."

B. C. cir. 167. swered accordingly, and willed them straightways to send him to the grave.

24 For it becometh not our age, *said he*, in any wise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion;

25 And so they through mine hypocrisy, and desire to live a little time and a moment longer, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to mine old age, and make it abominable.

26 For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men: yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead.

27 Wherefore now, manfully changing this life, I will shew myself such an one as mine age requireth,

28 And leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws. And when he had said these words, immediately he went to the torment:

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29 They that led him changing the good will they bare him a little before into hatred, because the foresaid speeches proceeded, as they thought, from ‖ a desperate mind.

‖ Or, *madness*, or, *pride*.

30 But when he was ready to die with stripes, he groaned, and said, It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the holy knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from death, I *now* endure sore pains in body by being beaten: but in soul am well content to suffer these things, because I fear him.

31 And thus this man died, leaving his death for an example of a noble courage, and a memorial of virtue, not only unto young men, but unto all his nation.

willed them.] Rather, "bade them."

24. *a strange religion.*] The same word as that translated "heathenish manners" in ch. iv. 13. The term is used by our author as antithetical to Ἰουδαϊσμός, and designates "the religion of the Gentiles," as Ἰουδαϊσμὸς does that of the Jews.

26. *yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead.*] It is belief in a future life, and in the just judgment of God, that has always sustained the martyrs, both Jewish and Christian, and enabled them to set the threats of their persecutors at defiance. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews probably refers to this passage, among others, when he says—"And others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, *that they might obtain a better resurrection*" (Heb. xi. 35).

28. *to die.*] Rather, "to die **a noble death.**" Our version fails to give any expression to the εὖ in ἀπευθανατίζειν.

29. *proceeded, as they thought, from a desperate mind.*] Literally, "were, as they thought, mere folly." The world always counts suffering for conscience sake to be folly. It is accepting present certain evil, in the hope of future and (as they think) very uncertain good. Christianity itself was "to the Greeks foolishness" (1 Cor. i. 23). Paul was thought by Festus to be "beside himself" (Acts xxvi. 24). The life of the good man is generally "accounted madness, and his end to be without honour" (Wisd. v. 4).

30. *when he was ready to die with stripes.*] Literally, "with **the** blows"—*i. e.* those which he received while stretched upon the *tympanum*. By the word μαστιγούμενος towards the end of the verse they would appear to have been blows from a scourge. The writer evidently regards the mode of punishment as familiar to his readers, and therefore does not describe it. Martyrdoms by scourging are mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xi. 36).

31. *leaving his death for an example.*] It is as "examples" that the martyrs of this and of other times are brought forward in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where they are joined with the Christian's great example, Jesus (Heb. xii. 1, 2).

and a memorial of virtue.] "Virtue" (ἀρετή), or moral excellence—the perfection of man's moral nature, according to Greek philosophy—is not very often brought forward either in the Apocrypha or in the Canonical Scriptures as the condition at which men should endeavour to arrive. Piety (εὐσέβεια) and righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) are commonly the ends set before him. Ἀρετή, however, receives occasional acknowledgment. (See Philipp. iv. 8; 2 Pet. i. 5; Wisd. iv. 1; 2 Macc. xv. 12; 3 Macc. vi. 1, &c.)

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CHAPTER VII.

The constancy and cruel death of seven brethren and their mother in one day, because they would not eat swine's flesh at the king's commandment.

IT came to pass also, that seven brethren with their mother were taken, and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips.

2 But one of them that spake first said thus, What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? we are ready to die, rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers.

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3 Then the king, being in a rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot:

4 Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the utmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on.

5 Now when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him being yet alive to be brought to the fire, and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another with the mother to die manfully, saying thus,

CHAPTER VII.

§ 16. ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SEVEN BROTHERS AND THEIR MOTHER.

1–42. The martyrdom of the seven brothers is a main subject of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, where it occupies the chapters from ch. viii. to the end. They were known as the "All-Holy Hebdomade" (*παναγία ἁδελφῶν ἑβδομάς*, 4 Macc. xiv. 7), and were believed to have suffered all in one day (*v.* 20). The place where they suffered is uncertain. The present narrative does not fix it, excepting in so far as the presence of Epiphanes, who is said in ch. v. 25 to have returned to Antioch, may be considered to suggest the Syrian capital as the scene. The author of the Fourth Book makes them suffer at Jerusalem (ch. iv. 22; v. 1), as also does Cedrenus (vol. i. p. 223). Josephus Gorionides gives "the neighbourhood of Jerusalem" as the place (iii. 5, § 2); while John of Malala ('Chronograph.' viii. p. 206) and the Roman Martyrology distinctly say that the martyrdom was at Antioch. Our author has observed that the persecution was not confined to Judæa, but extended to the "neighbour cities of the heathen" also (ch. vi. 8). Even, however, if Antioch was the scene, it is very unlikely that Antiochus would have been present at the executions.

1. *seven brethren . . . were taken.*] *I.e.* "seized," "apprehended."

against the law.] The Jewish law of unclean meats is of course intended. (See Lev. xi. 7.)

scourges and whips.] "Scourges" (*μάστιγες*) were whips of cords (John ii. 15); "whips" (*νευρὰ*) were of untanned hide. The latter inflicted far more suffering than the former.

2. *What wouldest thou ask?*] "Why," *i.e.*, "this mockery of an inquiry? What is there to learn? *Habes confitentes reos.* We are Jews; we admit it; and we are resolved not to transgress the Law. Put us to death at once."

3. *the king . . . commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot.*] The "caldrons" (*λέβητες*) of the present passage seem to have been the vessels that contained the fire, on the top of which were placed the "pans" (*τήγανα*), that these latter might be heated to a glow. The victims were placed in the "pans" (*v.* 5). Burning to death was a recognised Assyrian and Babylonian practice ('Records of the Past,' vol. i. p. 77; vol. ix. p. 56, &c.; Dan. iii. 6–27; Jer. xxix. 22), but seems to have been effected ordinarily by means of a furnace.

4. *to cut off the utmost parts of his body.*] On this punishment, see Xen. 'Anab.' i. 9, § 13; 'Beh. Inscr.' col. ii. par. 13, 14; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 132; Herodian. vi. 6. § 6; viii. 4, § 29, &c. Our translators, like the Syriac, have omitted wholly to attempt any rendering of the participle *περισκυθίσαντες*, which must certainly designate some other distinct cruelty. It probably means "scalping," or "removing the scalp"—a noted Scythian practice (Herod. iv. 64; Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 11; Hesych. ad voc. *Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον*). The Vulgate gives "cute capitis abstracta."

5. *as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed.*] The meaning seems to be, that the scent of the roasting flesh extended to a considerable distance, reaching the spot where the mother and her other children stood. So the Syriac Version, and Dean Stanley ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 299, note [1]), who parallels the remark with the jests of St. Lawrence in the martyrologies.

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6 The Lord God looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as [a] Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared, saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants.

[a] Deut. 32. 36.

7 So when the first was dead after this manner, they brought the second to make him a mocking stock: and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body?

8 But he answered in his own language, and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did.

9 And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life.

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10 After him was the third made a mocking stock: and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully,

11 And said courageously, These I had from heaven; and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again.

12 Insomuch that the king, and they that were with him, marvelled

6. *The Lord God looketh upon us.*] Rather, "the Lord God **keepeth watch**"—has an eye, not only over us, but over all things. The expression is quite general.

hath comfort in us.] Rather, "**is compassionate towards** us," according to the general meaning of the phrase. (See Deut. xxxii. 36; Ps. xc. 13, cxxxv. 14.)

Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces.] Rather, "which witnessed **against them** to their faces" (*τῆς ἀντιμαρτυρούσης ᾠδῆς*). The reference is to *vv.* 15–33 of the "Song," where Moses reproaches the Israelites with their unfaithfulness.

saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants.] Our version of the "Song" gives —"and repent himself for his servants" (Deut. xxxii. 36).

7. *to make him a mocking stock.*] Compare Heb. xi. 36, "and others had trials of cruel *mockings* and scourgings;" and for the practice of mocking an accused person before executing him, see Matt. xxvii. 29, 30; Mark xv. 20, 31; Luke xxiii. 11, 36.

when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair.] A variant mode of describing the operation of scalping. Compare *v.* 4, and the comment *ad loc.*

Wilt thou eat?] Supply "swine's flesh" from *v.* 1.

before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body.] As the first brother had been punished. (See *vv.* 4 and 5.)

8. *he answered in his own language.*] *I.e.* in the Syriac of the time, which the executioners would understand well enough, though Antiochus, as seems to be implied below (*v.* 24), might not, as a Greek, be familiar with any other language than his own.

9. *Thou like a fury.*] Rather, "Thou, **O wicked one**." An *ἀλάστωρ* is a man who does deeds of wickedness that cannot be forgotten (*ὁ ἄλαστα δεδρακώς*). The word is rarely found in prose, but is common with the tragedians. (See Æsch. 'Ag.' 1482; 'Eum.' 227; 'Suppl.' 410; 'Pers.' 256;—Soph. 'Œd. Col.' 788; 'Aj.' 372;—Eurip. 'Hec.' 675, 949; 'Phœn.' 1556, &c.)

shall raise us up . . . unto everlasting life.] See the comment on ch. vi. 26. As that passage alludes to the punishment after death of those who offend God, so the present brings forward with great distinctness the happiness enjoyed after death by those who have remained faithful to Him. Whatever obscurity had hung about the doctrine of a future life and future rewards and punishments, during the earlier period of the Mosaic dispensation, it is clear that at this time there was a firm belief in them among all the religious part of the nation. (See *vv.* 11, 14, 23, 29, 36; and compare ch. xii. 43–45, xiv. 46.)

10. *After him was the third made a mocking stock.*] See the comment on *v.* 7.

11. *These I had from heaven.*] *I.e.* they were given to me by God at my birth. His hands "made me and fashioned me" (Job x. 8). "In his book were all my members written; which day by day were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them" (Ps. cxxxix. 16).

from him I hope to receive them again.] Here we have belief in the resurrection of the *body* expressed. This doctrine is perhaps scarcely taught in Job xix. 25–27, where some have thought to find it; but it appears distinctly in Daniel (xii. 2) and Ezekiel (xxxvii. 1–14), and seems to have been the general belief of the Jews after the return from the Captivity.

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B. C. cir. 167. at the young man's courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

13 Now when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner.

14 So when he was ready to die he said thus, It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him: as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life.

15 Afterward they brought the fifth also, and mangled him.

16 Then looked he unto the king, and said, Thou hast power over men, thou art corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God;

17 But abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed.

18 After him also they brought the sixth, who being ready to die said, Be not deceived without cause: for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done *unto us*. B. C. cir. 167.

19 But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape unpunished.

20 But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bare it with a good courage, because of the hope that she had in the Lord.

21 Yea, she exhorted every one of them in her own language, filled with courageous spirits; and stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach, she said unto them,

12. *the king.*] Rather, "the king **himself**."

14. *when he was ready to die.*] Or, "at the point of death."

to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him.] It was distinctly recognised by the Jews that there could be no *natural* resurrection. The "dead bones" could not "live," unless through some miraculous exertion of Divine power upon them. Consequently each Jew looked to be raised up to a new life after death by a distinct act of Omnipotence performed for his individual benefit.

as for thee.] The denunciations of their persecutor by the martyrs, here and in vv. 17, 19, 31, 35–37, are such as Christian martyrs have been taught by their Lord not to utter (Matt. v. 44; Luke xxiii. 34). They are, however, such as the brutal conduct of Antiochus well deserved, and such as human nature instinctively utters, unless subdued and perfected by grace. Compare the denunciations of the Psalms (Ps. xxxv. 4; xl. 14, 15; lv. 15; lix. 10–13; &c.).

16. *Thou hast power . . . thou art corruptible . . . thou doest.*] The *nexus* of the clauses is lost by this interpretation. Translate—"Thou that art corruptible, yet hast power over men, doest what thou wilt." The point of the reproach is, that, being a frail perishing mortal, entrusted with power over men, he should suppose himself at liberty to treat them according to his mere will and pleasure. Compare John xix. 11, where our Lord suggests to Pilate his responsibility for the use of a "power given to him from above."

17. *abide a while.*] Literally, "Be patient;" *i.e.* "Do not be in a hurry to judge: wait, and see the result."

how he will torment thee and thy seed.] Compare ch. ix. 5–28; xiv. 2. The speaker does not claim the prophetic gift, but utters his threat upon the general conviction that God will punish evil-doers, and their seed after them. (Compare Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; Lev. xxvi. 39, &c.)

18. *being ready to die.*] Rather, "**when he was about** to die."

for ourselves.] Rather, "**on our own account**"—because we have sinned, and God is punishing us in this life, to purify us and make us fit for the life which is to come in heaven. (See ch. vi. 13.)

20. *the mother was marvellous above all.*] First, as a woman, whereas the rest were men and might be expected to bear pain and death; secondly, as subjected to worse suffering than the others, since there is no such agony as that felt by a mother who sees her children tortured and slain. But the crowning marvellousness is no doubt that related in vv. 24–29—the mother exhorting her youngest not to accept the offer of his life and of the royal favour, but to die nobly like his brethren.

21. *in her own language.*] See the comment on v. 8.

stirring up her womanish thoughts with a

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22 I cannot tell how ye came into my womb; for I neither gave you breath nor life, neither was it I that formed the members of every one of you;

23 But doubtless the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will also of his own mercy give you breath and life again, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake.

24 Now Antiochus, thinking himself despised, and suspecting it to be a reproachful speech, whilst the youngest was yet alive, did not only exhort him by words, but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a rich and a happy man, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and that also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs.

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25 But when the young man would in no case hearken unto him, the king called his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the young man to save his life.

26 And when he had exhorted her with many words, she promised him that she would counsel her son.

27 But she bowing herself toward

manly stomach.] Gregory Nazianzen says she had the soul of a man in the body of a woman ('Hom. in Macc.' p. 399). The language is perhaps rather conventional, than in accordance with the facts of human nature, since in enduring pain women have at all times exhibited at least equal courage with men, and the martyrologies shew as many female names as male.

22. *I cannot tell how ye came into my womb.*] Compare Eccles. xi. 5. Conception, generation, growth, have always been mysteries, and remain such, despite of vivisection and the microscope. The formation of human beings in the womb is fairly paralleled with their re-formation after death and dissolution have taken place. Each is a Divine work, and requires Divine power and Divine knowledge for its accomplishment. God's ability to effect the one may well encourage us to believe that He can effect the other. This is the mother's argument.

I neither gave you breath nor life.] The most earnest wishes, the greatest care, on the part of the mother will not secure the child's being born alive. God alone gives the life, the vital principle, the soul, or whatever we choose to call it, the germ of personality and of an undying existence.

nor was it I that formed the members.] Compare Job x. 8–12: "Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about . . . thou hast made me as the clay . . . thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favour," &c. See also Ps. cxxxix. 13–16.

23. *the Creator . . . who formed the generation of man.*] See Gen. i. 26, 27; ii. 7, 18–22.

and found out the beginning of all things.] *I.e.* who determined after deep thought the constitution of the universe. Compare Eph. i. 11, "Who worketh all things *after the counsel* of his will."

of his own mercy.] Rather, "of his mercy." There is no epithet to ἔλεος.

24. *Antiochus . . . suspecting it to be a reproachful speech.*] Rather, "suspecting **the tone of reproach** in which she spoke." Antiochus could not understand what the woman said, as he did not know Syriac; but he caught the *tone* of the speech (τὴν φωνήν), which sounded like one of reproach; and this made him suspicious of the tenor of her words.

he would take him for his friend.] On the position of "king's friend" at the Syrian Court, see the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 18, where the offer here made is repeated to Mattathias.

25. *in no case.*] Rather, "in no **wise**."

the king . . . exhorted her.] Either the mother is to be regarded as understanding Greek, or Antiochus as having spoken to her through an interpreter.

26. *she promised him that she would counsel her son.*] Literally, "that she would *persuade* her son." The king, no doubt, understood this to mean, that she would persuade him to accept his offer; but the mother only meant that she would use her influence with him, and persuade him to do what she thought right.

27. *bowing herself toward him.*] *I.e.* leaning towards him, so as to bring herself nearer, and to give her words greater effect. The touch is most graphic and affecting. She was afraid that her youngest, probably a mere boy, might yield, and so tarnish the glory of her race, and at the same time become eternally lost to her (*v.* 29).

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B. C. cir. 167. him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner; O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee suck three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education.

28 I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that [b] God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise.

[b] Rem. 4. 17.

29 Fear not this tormentor, but, being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death, that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren.

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30 Whiles she was yet speaking these words, the young man said, Whom wait ye for? I will not obey the king's commandment: but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses.

31 And thou, that hast been the author of all mischief against the Hebrews, shalt not escape the hands of God.

32 For we suffer because of our sins.

laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn.] Rather, "**passing a cheat on** the cruel tyrant"—*i.e.* making him think she was persuading her son to accept his offer, when she was doing the opposite.

that bare thee.] Literally, "that carried thee about."

and gave thee suck three years.] Compare 2 Chr. xxxi. 16, where we find that the children of the priests had no daily portion of food assigned them until they were three years old. Children are still suckled in the East for three, or even four, years.

and endured the troubles of education.] Rather, "and **did thy nursing.**" Compare Deut. i. xxxi; and Acts xiii. 18 (according to one reading). The word points to the tendance of a nurse, not to "education" in our sense of the term.

28. *consider that God made them of things that were not.*] Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων. Compare Heb. xi. 3: "Things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." The creation of the universe out of nothing, which was an idea never reached by heathen philosophy, seems to have been from the first the conception of the Hebrews. No pre-existent matter is spoken of in Genesis, where God makes all things by a mere word. Compare the declaration of the Psalmist, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth" (Ps. xxxiii. 6). Contact with Greek philosophy at Alexandria modified the Hebrew view; and we find the author of the Book of Wisdom declaring, quite in the language of a Platonist, that God's "almighty hand made the world out of matter without form" (ἐξ ὕλης ἀμόρφου). Compare Plat. 'Tim.' p. 30, A; and Tim. Locr. § 1.

and so was mankind made likewise.] This is not altogether true. "God formed man of the dust of the ground" (Gen. ii. 7), and formed woman out of man (ib. *vv.* 21, 22). But he had previously formed the dust of the ground out of nothing.

29. *this tormentor.*] Or, "this hangman." The word employed is the usual one for the common executioner. It is a term, not merely of vituperation, but of insult.

that I may receive thee again.] The mother expects to meet her sons again in the other world, and to hold still the relation of a mother towards them.

30. *Whiles she was yet speaking.*] Some MSS. have καταληγούσης, which would mean "as she was leaving off;" and Grimm prefers this reading; but it does not suit the preceding ἔτι, "yet." We can say, "while she was yet speaking," but not "while she was *yet* leaving off." The Vulgate, the Syriac, and Joseph. Gorion. (iii. 6), confirm the received text.

I will not obey.] Literally, "I obey not"—*i.e.* "I decide not to obey."

31. *the author of all mischief.*] Literally, "the inventor of all evil." Compare Rom. i. 30. Jason, Menelaus, and others had no doubt been the original conceivers of much of the "mischief;" but nothing could have been *done* except by command of Antiochus. On him therefore the responsibility rested.

against the Hebrews.] The old ethnic name, "Hebrews" (Ex. ii. 13), which had fallen out of use for many centuries, was revived in the course of the second century B.C., and came to be regarded as a title of honour. (See 2 Macc. xi. 13, xv. 37; 4 Macc. iv. 11, v. 1, viii. 2, &c.; Acts vi. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 22; Philipp. iii. 5.) It has not, however, any special force in this place.

32. *we suffer because of our sins.*] Compare *v.* 18.

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33 And though the living God be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yet shall he be at one again with his servants.

34 But thou, O godless man, and of all other most wicked, be not lifted up without a cause, nor puffed up with uncertain hopes, lifting up thy hand against the servants of God:

35 For thou hast not yet escaped the judgment of Almighty God, who seeth all things.

36 For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God's covenant of everlasting life: but thou, through the judgment of God, shalt receive just punishment for thy pride.

37 But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation; and that [c] thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God;

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38 And that in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon all our nation, may cease.

39 Then the king, being in a rage, handled him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked.

40 So this man died undefiled, and put his whole trust in the Lord.

41 Last of all after the sons the mother died.

42 Let this be enough now to have spoken concerning the idolatrous feasts, and the extreme tortures.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Judas gathereth an host.* 9 *Nicanor is sent against him: who presumeth to make much money of his prisoners.* 16 *Judas encourageth his men, and putteth Nicanor to flight,* 28 *and divideth the spoils.* 30 *Other enemies are also defeated,* 35 *and Nicanor fleeth with grief to Antioch.*

[c] 2 Macc. 6. 13. ch. 9. 12, &c.

34. *puffed up with uncertain hopes.*] The vain hope of forcing Hellenism on the whole Jewish nation, and inducing them to renounce their own religion.

35. *who seeth all things.*] Rather, "who **keepeth a watch**"—*i.e.* who has an eye on men and their doings (ἐπόπτης, not παντόπτης).

36. *God's covenant of everlasting life.*] It is not easy to see how, anterior to Christianity, God could be said to have entered into covenant with man, to give him "everlasting life." Daniel had declared that, of those who slept in the dust of the earth, some should "awake to *eternal life*, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (ch. xii. 2); but the declaration was in no way a "covenant." David, it is true, had spiritualised the idea of Canaan, and spoken of an entrance into rest as guaranteed to true Israelites, which was still future in his day (Ps. xcv. 8–11; Heb. iii. 7–19, iv. 5–9). But this was far short of a covenant to give *eternal life*. Perhaps the covenant was regarded as anterior to revelation, and implied in man's moral nature. Perhaps no very definite account could have been given of it, even by those with whom it was an article of faith.

37. *that thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God.*] The "torments and plagues," which the writer believes Antiochus to have suffered, are set forth in ch. ix. 5–11; the confession, which he supposes him to have made, in ch. ix. 12–17. Of these, the latter seems to be an invention (see 1 Macc. vi. 11–13), while the former are much exaggerated (ibid. 8–10).

39. *and took it grievously.*] Rather, "**since he** took it grievously." The author assigns this as the reason of his rage, and of his excessive cruelty towards the youngest of the brothers.

40. *and put his whole trust, &c.*] It would be better to translate — "trusting wholly in the Lord." The trust was before, and at the time of, death.

42. *Let this be enough now to have spoken.*] Compare the summaries in ch. iii. 40, x. 9, xiii. 26, and xv. 38, 39. It is the author's habit to end each portion of his work with a sort of summary or recapitulation.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART III.

THE WAR OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS WITH ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

§ 1. THE BEGINNINGS OF MACCABÆUS. PHILIP'S APPLICATION TO PTOLEMÆUS, GOVERNOR OF CŒLESYRIA.

1–8. The writer had told us (ch. v. 27), that Judas Maccabæus, with about nine

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B. C. cir. 166. THEN Judas Maccabeus, and they that were with him, went privily into the towns, and called their kinsfolks together, and took unto them all such as continued in the Jews' religion, and assembled about six thousand men.

2 And they called upon the Lord, that he would look upon the people that was trodden down of all; and also pity the temple profaned of ungodly men;

3 And that he would have compassion upon the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground; and hear the blood that cried unto him, B. C. cir. 166.

4 And remember the wicked slaughter of harmless infants, and the blasphemies committed against his name; and that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.

5 Now when Maccabeus had his company about him, he could not be withstood by the heathen: for the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.

others, withdrew himself from Jerusalem, soon after the cruel massacre of unarmed Jews in the streets of Jerusalem by Apollonius (ibid. *v.* 26). He now resumes his account of this hero and his marvellous doings, occupying with them the remainder of his treatise, but dividing them into three portions, corresponding to the three reigns of Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius Soter. Here he relates how Judas, having collected about six thousand men, and made solemn prayer to God, began a series of offensive operations, chiefly by night, and thus got into his hands many of the Judæan towns, and gained several victories over the king's troops. At last, Philip, the commandant of Jerusalem, finding himself overmatched, applied to Ptolemy, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, for aid, and begged him to interpose in the war, which was going against the interests of the king.

1. *they that were with him.*] The little knot of nine or ten friends, who, according to our author, had withdrawn with him from Jerusalem. We know from 1 Macc. ii. 27–48 that the first army was in reality collected, and the first battles fought, by Mattathias, whom the author of the Second Book wholly ignores.

about six thousand men.] According to the author of the first book, Judas had no more than 3000 men in his contest with Gorgias and Nicanor (1 Macc. iv. 6). Against Lysias he mustered 10,000 (ibid. *v.* 29). The estimate of numbers with Orientals is always vague and uncertain.

2. *they called upon the Lord.*] On the strong devotional spirit that animated Judas, see 1 Macc. iii. 18–22, 46–60; iv. 8–11, 24, 30–33, 36–59; ix. 10. The present passage (*vv.* 2–4) is quite in accordance with those above quoted, and adds the further fact, that his army was animated by much the same spirit as himself, and "continued calling upon God" (ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Κύριον) day by day and hour by hour.

that was trodden down of all.] Trampled upon by Syrians, Phrygians (ch. v. 22), and renegade Jews, the last the worst enemies of God's faithful people.

the temple profaned of ungodly men.] See ch. v. 15–21, vi. 2–5; and compare 1 Macc. i. 21–59, iii. 45. If the profanation described in ch. vi. 4 continued, we can well understand the horror of all pious Jews, and their earnest prayers that such pollutions might cease.

3. *the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground.*] Apollonius had "set the city on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side" (1 Macc. i. 31).

the blood that cried unto him.] *I.e.* the blood of the 80,000 slain by Antiochus himself (ch. v. 14), of the 22,000 slaughtered by Apollonius (ibid. *v.* 24), and of all the later martyrs (ch. vi. 10–31). Innocent blood, shed by man, cries to God for vengeance (Gen. iv. 10; Rev. vi. 10).

4. *the wicked slaughter of harmless infants.*] See 1 Macc. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10.

the blasphemies committed.] As calling the temple of Jehovah that of Jupiter Olympius (ch. vi. 2). Impious deeds, however, seem to have been regarded as "blasphemies," no less than impious words. (See the comment on ch. ii. 6.)

that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.] Literally, "that he would hate wickedness." But the translation does not ill express the meaning of the writer.

5. *his company.*] *I.e.* his army of 6,000 men (see *v.* 1).

he could not be withstood.] See 1 Macc. iii. 10–26.

the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.] The prayers of the seven brethren had been heard (Grimm). The tide had turned. The fortunes of Israel were once more in the ascendant. Instead of a nation

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6 Therefore he came at unawares, and burnt up towns and cities, and got into his hands the most commodious places, and overcame and put to flight no small number of his enemies.

7 But specially took he advantage of the night for such privy attempts, insomuch that the bruit of his manliness was spread every where.

8 So when Philip saw that this man increased by little and little, and that things prospered with him still more and more, he wrote unto Ptolemeus, the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, to yield more aid to the king's affairs.

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9 Then forthwith choosing Nicanor the *son* of Patroclus, one of his special friends, he sent him with no

crushed beneath the heel of the oppressor, there was now to be seen a nucleus of patriots, determined on resisting the tyrant to the uttermost, and on maintaining at once the national religion and the separate national existence. Uninterrupted success attended the early efforts of this party under the leadership of Judas.

6. *at unawares.*] His first successes were a series of surprises. He suddenly appeared before towns and villages which did not expect him, besieged, stormed, and burnt them. His attacks were chiefly made by night (see *v.* 7).

and got into his hands . . . and overcame.] Rather, "and **by getting** into his hands the most commodious places, he overcame," &c. The seizure of important posts is represented as the cause of his victories.

7. *specially took he advantage of the night.*] Night attacks are regarded by the Orientals as especially dangerous, and are very seldom adventured on. A leader whose attacks were systematically made by night would in the East soon acquire a reputation for extraordinary daring.

8. *So when Philip saw.*] "Philip the Phrygian" was the Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem, whom Antiochus had left there when he withdrew to Antioch (ch. v. 22). His continuance in the office is implied in ch. vi. 11.

he wrote unto Ptolemeus.] The name Ptolemy was very common at the time, and causes much confusion; but the Ptolemy here intended is probably the son of Dorymenes, already mentioned by the author as high in the favour of Antiochus (ch. iv. 45, 46), and coupled with Nicanor and Gorgias by the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 38). For the antecedents of this Ptolemy, see the comment on the last-quoted passage.

the governor of Celosyria and Phenice.] Apollonius had ceased to hold that office (ch. iii. 5, iv. 4, v. 24, compared with 1 Macc. i. 29, iii. 10–12), apparently before his death, and had been replaced by Ptolemy.

§ 2. The Expedition of Nicanor and Gorgias against Judas. Victory of Judas. His solemn Thanksgiving and Prayer.

9–29. This passage has to be compared with 1 Macc. iii. 38–60, iv. 1–25, which relates to the same occurrences. The chief differences between the two accounts are—(1.) That in 1 Macc. Lysias is made to conceive the expedition, while Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias are entrusted with its execution; but in 2 Macc. Ptolemy forms the plan and assigns its execution to the two others. (2.) In 1 Macc. Gorgias appears as the actual commander, while Nicanor is barely mentioned; in 2 Macc. the position of the two is reversed. (3.) The writer of 1 Macc. estimates the Syro-Macedonian forces at 47,000 (ch. iii. 39); those under Judas at 3,000 (ch. iv. 6), while our author makes the respective numbers 20,000 (*v.* 9) and 6,000 (*v.* 16). On the other hand, the number of the slain on the Syro-Macedonian side, which is but 3,000 in 1 Macc. iv. 15, is raised to 9,000 in 2 Macc. viii. 24. (4.) The account in 1 Macc. goes into much greater detail than that in 2 Macc. with respect to the movements on either side, military and other; while 2 Macc. adds an interesting feature in the division of his forces made by Judas (*v.* 22), and another in the part assigned to Eleazar (*v.* 23). (5.) The account of Judas's march on Jerusalem and return to Emmaus is peculiar to 1 Macc. (ch. iii. 46–57), while the accounts of his speech immediately before the battle (2 Macc. viii. 16–20) and his thanksgiving afterwards (ibid. *vv.* 27–29) are given at length only in 2 Macc. Altogether the two accounts have little that is contradictory except the numbers, and help to fill out each other.

9. *Then forthwith choosing.*] Rather, "**And he** (*i.e.* Ptolemy) forthwith choosing," &c. Ewald says that our author regards *Philip* as appointing these officers ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 310, note [1]); but this is incorrect. The pronoun ὁ can only refer to the latest antecedent, Ptolemy.

Nicanor the son of Patroclus.] See 1 Macc.

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B. C. cir. 166. fewer than twenty thousand of all nations under him, to root out the whole generation of the Jews; and with him he joined also Gorgias a captain, who in matters of war had great experience.

10 So Nicanor undertook to make so much money of [a]the captive Jews, as should defray the tribute of two thousand talents, which the king was to pay to the Romans.

[a] 1 Mac. 3. 41. ver. 25, 34.

11 Wherefore immediately he sent to the cities upon the sea coast, proclaiming a sale of the captive Jews, and promising that they should have fourscore and ten bodies for one talent, not expecting the vengeance that was to follow upon him from the Almighty God.

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12 Now when word was brought unto Judas of Nicanor's coming, and he had imparted unto those that were with him that the army was at hand,

13 [b]They that were fearful, and distrusted the justice of God, fled, and conveyed themselves away.

[b] 1 Mac. 3. 56.

14 Others sold all that they had left, and withal besought the Lord to deliver them, being sold by the wicked Nicanor before they met together:

15 And if not for their own sakes, yet for the covenants he had made with their fathers, and for his holy

iii. 38, and Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 3. It is probable, though not quite certain, that this is the same Nicanor who made the expeditions against Judæa of which an account is given by our author in chs. xiv. and xv.

no fewer than twenty thousand.] Forty-seven thousand, according to 1 Macc. (iii. 39) and Josephus (*l. s. c.*). Ewald accepts the larger number.

to root out the whole generation of the Jews.] Rather, "the whole **race**." Compare 1 Macc. iii. 35, 36, where this design is distinctly ascribed to Antiochus himself.

with him he joined also Gorgias.] See 1 Macc. iii. 38; iv. 1, 5, 18; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, §§ 3, 4.

10. *Nicanor undertook.*] Rather, "**determined**." It is represented as his own idea that he should raise the money wanted for the tribute by the sale of Jewish slaves. Note that the writer of the First Book knows nothing of this proposed application of the money, and that Roman history knows nothing of any "tribute" due at this time to Rome from Antiochus. Syria was not tributary to Rome; and the last instalment of the indemnity to which Antiochus the Great became liable after the battle of Magnesia, was paid by Epiphanes in B.C. 173 (Liv. xlii. 6), eight years before this expedition of Nicanor's.

11. *the cities upon the sea coast.*] The Phœnician cities especially, which profited largely by the sale of slaves (Ezek. xxvii. 13).

fourscore and ten bodies for one talent.] Slaves were called "bodies" in the later Greek, being regarded materially, as mere live implements (ἔμψυχα ὄργανα, Arist. 'Pol.' i. 2). Ninety slaves for a talent was an extraordinarily low price, when all classes of slaves were to be included; since it was very little above the lowest current rate. *That*, according to Xenophon ('Mem.' ii. 5, § 2), was half a *mina* (2*l.*). Captives in war were ordinarily redeemable at a *mina* (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' v. 6, § 1). Strong and capable slaves fetched commonly ten *minæ* (40*l.*); superior ones sometimes fetched a talent (240*l.*). The rate established by Nicanor made the price of a slave two-thirds of a *mina* (2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*). He must have expected to sell 180,000, in order to obtain the 2000 talents which he intended to raise. On the flocking of the slave-merchants to the Syrian camp on the occasion, see 1 Macc. iii. 41.

13. *They that were fearful . . . fled.*] The author of the First Book says that Judas issued an order that all those who were afraid should disperse to their homes (1 Macc. iii. 56).

14. *Others sold all that they had left.*] Rather, "**the** others," or "**the remainder**." The fact is unnoticed by the writer of the First Book, and may perhaps be doubted. It is not very clear what fugitives like those who formed the army of Judas (1 Macc. iii. 43, 44) would have to sell, or to whom they could sell, unless it were one to another.

before they met together.] Rather, "before **he fell in with them**," or "before **he joined battle with them**." Nicanor had as good as sold them; *i.e.* he had arranged for their price, and invited their purchasers into his camp, before he had even so much as met them in the field.

15. *for the covenants he had made with their fathers.*] As with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (see ch. i. 2), and again with the whole nation in the wilderness (Ex. xix. 5–8; xxiv. 3–8; xxxiv. 10).

and for his holy and glorious name's sake,

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B. C. cir. 166. and glorious name's sake, by which they were called.

16 So Maccabeus called his men together unto the number of six
[c] 1 Mac. 4. 8. thousand, and exhorted them [c]not to be stricken with terror of the enemy, nor to fear the great multitude of the heathen, who came wrongfully against them; but to fight manfully,

17 And to set before their eyes the injury that they had unjustly done to the holy place, and the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery, and also the taking away of the government of their forefathers:

18 For they, said he, trust in their weapons and boldness; but our confidence is in the Almighty God, who at a beck can cast down both them that come against us, and also all the world. B. C. cir. 166.

19 Moreover he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found, and [d]how they were delivered, [d] 1 Mac. 7. 41. when under Sennacherib an hundred ch. 15. 22. fourscore and five thousand perished.

20 And he told them of the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians, how they came but eight thousand in all to the business, with four thousand Macedonians, and that the Macedonians being perplexed, the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand because of the help that they had from heaven, and so received a great booty.

by which they were called.] Rather, "and because of their being called by his holy and glorious name." Because, *i.e.*, they were known as "the people of God" (Ex. xxxiii. 13; Deut. ix. 26, &c.), and their destruction, at which Nicanor aimed, would have been a sort of dishonour to God himself.

16. *unto the number of six thousand.*] The writer seems to have forgotten what he had said, of many having "fled and conveyed themselves away" (*v.* 13). He makes the number of Judas's army, after this defection, exactly the same as before it. (See *v.* 1.) The writer of the First Book, on the contrary, makes the armed men who remained with Judas no more than 3,000 (1 Macc. iv. 6), and Josephus agrees with this estimate ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4).

nor to fear the great multitude.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 8.

17. *the injury . . . unjustly done to the holy place.*] See above, ch. vi. 2–5.

the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery.] The inhabitants of the city, rather than the city itself, seem to be here intended, and the reference to be to the "cruel handling" and "mocking" of the martyrs. (See ch. vii. 7, 10, 13, &c.)

the taking away of the government of their forefathers.] The appointment of Philip the Phrygian as Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem (ch. v. 22), and the sending of royal commissioners from Antioch with unlimited powers (ch. vi. 1), were infringements of the terms on which the Jews had become subjects of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, and amounted to an abolition (*κατάλυσις*) of their ancestral government. Under the new system, the High Priest was a mere puppet in the hands of the Syro-Macedonian governor.

19. *Moreover he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found.*] The writer of the First Book makes his sole historic reference to be to the deliverance of Israel from the Egyptians at the Red Sea (ch. iv. 9). This our present author omits, while bringing forward two other great deliverances.

under Sennacherib.] See 2 Kings xix. 35; and compare 1 Macc. vii. 41.

20. *the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians.*] Rather, "in **Babylonia**." Nothing more is known of this engagement. Galatian troops were widely employed as mercenaries by the Asiatic kings for some time after the great Galatian inroad into Asia Minor in the third century B.C. (Justin. xxv. 2, § 10), and are said to have fought on both sides in the war of Antiochus the Great with Molo. As Babylon was in fact the scene of this struggle, it is conjectured that Judas alludes to some episode of the contest, not elsewhere mentioned, in which the Jews who served under Antiochus had gained a victory over a large body of Galatians in the service of Molo (Grimm).

with four thousand Macedonians.] *I.e.* "Syro-Macedonians"—Greek subjects of the Seleucidæ.

the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand.] Here there is probably a great exaggeration. The Galatians, in the height of their prosperity, never brought into the field more than about 20,000 warriors (Liv. xxxviii. 16). Moreover, the number of mercenaries in the service of any single Asiatic king is not found to have exceeded 8,000.

and so received a great booty.] Literally,

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21 Thus when he had made them bold with these words, and ready to die for the laws and the country, he divided his army into four parts;

22 And joined with himself his own brethren, leaders of each band, *to wit*, Simon, and Joseph, and Jonathan, giving each one fifteen hundred men.

23 Also *he appointed* Eleazar to read the holy book: and when he had given them this watchword, The help of God; himself leading the first band, he joined battle with Nicanor.

24 And by the help of the Almighty they slew above nine thousand of their enemies, and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host, and so put all to flight;

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25 And took [e]their money that came to buy them, and pursued them far: but lacking time they returned:

[e] ver. 10, 11, 34.

26 For it was the day before the sabbath, and therefore they would no longer pursue them.

27 So when they had gathered [‖]their armour together, and spoiled their enemies, they occupied them-

[‖] That is, *the enemies' armour.*

"great advantage." The nature of the advantage is not stated.

21. *he divided his army into four parts.*] Literally, "He made **a sort of fourfold division** of his army." It is not meant that he made an actual separation of his men, and sent some to fight in one place and some in another, as was done by his adversaries (1 Macc. iv. 1–7), but only that he enrolled his soldiers in four regiments, each under its own leader. The leaders were himself and three of his brothers, Simon, John, and Jonathan.

22. *Joseph.*] This "Joseph" is clearly the brother called John by the author of the First Book (ch. ii. 2; ix. 36, 38). It is not, however, a wrong reading, or even a mere slip of the pen on the part of the writer, but probably an actual mistake. He repeats the error in ch. x. 19.

giving each one fifteen hundred men.] This statement assumes that the total number was 6,000, as stated in *v.* 16. If it was really no more than 3,000, we must regard the "regiments" as consisting each of 750 men.

23. *Also he appointed Eleazar to read the holy book.*] The existing Greek text is ungrammatical, and cannot be said to have any clear and distinct meaning. It seems necessary to change *παραγνοὺς* into *παραγνῶναι*, in order to obtain anything like a satisfactory sense. We may then supply *ἔταξε* from the *τάξας* at the beginning of *v.* 22, and translate as in the English Version. The *δοὺς* of the second clause probably misled the copyists.

this watchword, The help of God.] Compare ch. xiii. 15. On the practice of giving a watchword to an army about to engage in battle, see Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, § 17; 'Cyrop.' iii. 3, § 58; vii. 1, § 10; Appian, 'Bell. Civ.' ii. 76; Veget. 'De Re Mil.' iii. 3, &c.

himself leading the first band.] *I.e.* the first of the four regiments into which he had divided his army (*v.* 21).

he joined battle with Nicanor.] Nicanor, it appears, was in command of the main body of Syro-Macedonian troops encamped at Emmaus, which Judas attacked, after Gorgias had been sent with five thousand men into the hill-country to attack him (1 Macc. iv. 1–14).

24. *they slew above nine thousand.*] The slain are reckoned by the writer of the First Book as "upon a three thousand" (ch. iv. 15). So also Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4). The probability is in favour of the smaller number.

and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host.] Another exaggeration. If 3,000 were killed, it is not likely that more than 6,000 were wounded. But Nicanor's host had numbered twenty thousand, according to our author (*v.* 9); forty-seven thousand, according to the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 39).

25. *And took their money that came to buy them.*] See above, *v.* 11, and compare 1 Macc. iii. 41. On the richness and abundance of the spoil taken after the battle, see 1 Macc. iv. 23.

and pursued them far.] To Gazara, Azotus, Jamnia, and the borders of Idumæa (ibid. *v.* 15).

but lacking time they returned.] The writer of the First Book attributes the short pursuit and speedy return of Judas's army to the fact that Gorgias, with an unbroken body of Syro-Macedonian troops, was in the immediate neighbourhood, and had to be guarded against (1 Macc. iv. 15–18). He says nothing of the approach of the Sabbath.

27. *when they had gathered their armour together.*] Here there is an "undesigned coincidence" between the accounts of the two historians. The writer of the First Book notes, that the troops of Judas before the battle

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B. C. cir. 166. selves about the sabbath, yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord, who had preserved them unto that day, which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.

28 And after the sabbath, when they had given part of the spoils to the ‖maimed, and the widows, and orphans, the residue they divided among themselves and their servants.

‖ Or, *lamed with tortures.*

29 When this was done, and they had made a common supplication, they besought the merciful Lord to be reconciled with his servants for ever.

30 Moreover of those that were with Timotheus and Bacchides, who fought against them, they slew above twenty thousand, and very easily got high and strong holds, and divided among themselves many spoils more, and made the ‖maimed, orphans, widows, yea, and the aged also, equal in spoils with themselves.

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‖ Or, *lamed.*

31 And when they had gathered their armour together, they laid them up all carefully in convenient places, and the remnant of the spoils they brought to Jerusalem.

32 They slew also Phylarches, that wicked person, who was with Timotheus, and had annoyed the Jews many ways.

33 Furthermore at such time as they kept the feast for the victory in

"had neither armour nor swords to their mind," but says nothing of their stripping the dead after their victory. The author of the Second supplies this fact, without having previously noted the want of satisfactory arms on the part of the Israelites.

yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 24.

which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.] Our translators preferred the reading στάξαντος or στάξαντι, which is followed also by the Vulgate. But the ordinary reading of the MSS. (τάξαντος or τάξαντι) is more probable, and gives as good a sense. Translate, "and had appointed a beginning of mercy for them." The author, apparently, is not aware of the previous victories of Judas over Apollonius and Seron (1 Macc. iii. 10–24).

28. *the maimed.*] Those who had been injured, without being killed, by the persecutors. Compare ch. vii. 1–4.

29. *they . . . made a common supplication.*] The "supplication" was apparently additional to the thanksgiving of *v.* 27, and subsequent to it. No mention is made of it by the writer of the First Book.

§ 3. Further Successes of Judas against Timotheus and Bacchides.

30–33. The successes here briefly mentioned seem to be those which the writer of the First Book considers to have been gained over Lysias (1 Macc. iv. 28–34), and which belong to the year B.C. 165–164, the year following the defeat of Nicanor. It is possible that Timotheus and Bacchides were generals under Lysias during the campaign of this year, though they are not mentioned by the writer of the First Book.

30. *they slew above twenty thousand.*] In the great battle between Judas and Lysias 5,000 only were slain (1 Macc. iv. 34; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 5). There may have been other engagements with his generals; but it is not at all likely that the entire loss of the Syro-Macedonians in the campaign can have reached the figure here given. "Twenty thousand" is a favourite number with our author. (See ch. viii. 9; x. 17, 23, 31.)

and . . . got high and strong holds.] One of these was certainly Bethsura (Beth-Zur), which fell into the hands of Judas after the defeat of Lysias, according to the writer of the First Book. (See 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61.)

31. *when they had gathered their armour together.*] See the comment on *v.* 27. The Jewish levies were still glad to obtain the superior arms and armour of their enemies. (See 1 Macc. iii. 12; iv. 6.)

32. *They slew also Phylarches.*] Rather, "the phylarch." Had the word been a proper name, it would not have been accompanied by the article. Moreover, the proper name is "Phylarch*us*," not "Phylarch*es*."

that wicked person.] Rather, "a most impious person." Nothing more is known of him than what is here stated.

33. *at such time as they kept the feast for the victory.*] Victories were celebrated by festivals both among the heathen and among the Jews. In the case of a great victory, the day was sometimes observed annually (ch. xv. 36; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 5).

in their country.] Jerusalem is probably meant rather than Judæa, since there would have been no need to state that Judæa was the scene of a Jewish feast.

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B. C. cir. 165. their country they burnt Callisthenes, that had set fire upon the holy gates, who had fled into a little house; and so he received a reward meet for his wickedness.

34 As for that most ungracious Nicanor, who had brought a thousand
f ver. 25. merchants *f* to buy the Jews,

35 He was through the help of the Lord brought down by them, of whom he made least account; and putting off his glorious apparel, and discharging his company, he came like a fugitive servant through the midland unto Antioch, having very great dishonour, for that his host was destroyed. B. C. cir. 165.

36 Thus he, that *g* took upon him *g* ver. 10.
to make good to the Romans their tribute by means of the captives in Jerusalem, told abroad, that the Jews had God to fight for them, and therefore they could not be hurt, because they followed the laws that he gave them.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Antiochus is chased from Persepolis.* 5 *He is stricken with a sore disease,* 14 *and promiseth to become a Jew.* 28 *He dieth miserably.*

they burnt Callisthenes.] According to the majority of MSS., the passage runs thus:—"They burnt those who had set fire to the holy gates, namely Callisthenes and certain others, who had all fled into one small house; and so they received a reward meet for their wickedness." Grimm prefers the reading which our translators have followed; but it is a fatal objection to it, that it makes the writer say that "one man fled into *one* small house" (εἰς ἓν οἰκίδιον), as if it were possible for a man to fly into several. If it be said that ἓν may be an equivalent of τι (Wahl, 'Clavis Lib. Apoc.' *ad voc.* εἷς), the reply is, that in no other passage does the writer of this Book, whose Greek is (on the whole) good, make this unclassical substitution. The fact of the burning may be compared with what is related in ch. vi. 11, and vii. 5, 8, &c. If the one side employed this horrid mode of execution, the other side was in a manner driven to it.

that had set fire upon the holy gates.] See 1 Macc. iv. 38.

§ 4. NICANOR'S FLIGHT, AND TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE JEWS.

34–36. According to our author, Nicanor, after his defeat, disguised himself, and, dismissing his retinue, returned to Antioch a solitary fugitive. Arrived there, he bore witness to the Providence which kept watch over the Jews, and declared his conviction that under the protection of their resistless God they were invincible. But little trust can be placed in any portion of these statements, which have the appearance of rhetorical embellishments. (See ch. ii. 29.)

34. *that most ungracious Nicanor.*] Literally, "the threefold sinner." Compare ch. xv. 3. The epithet is applied to Haman in the 'Additions to Esther,' ch. xvi. 15, where our translators render it by "wicked wretch."

who had brought a thousand merchants.] Rather, "**the man who brought the** thousand merchants to buy the Jews." The writer speaks as if he had mentioned the thousand merchants before, which he had certainly not done, either in v. 11 or elsewhere; or else as if the number was a well-known fact. It is probably one of his exaggerations.

35. *putting off his glorious apparel.*] *I.e.* his dress as commander of the army.

and discharging his company.] Rather, "his **retinue.**" Literally, the phrase used is, "making himself a solitary."

having very great dishonour.] Rather, "having **met with a** great **misfortune.**"

36. *that took upon him to make good to the Romans their tribute.*] See the comment on v. 10. It is there shewn that no tribute was at this time payable by the Syro-Macedonians to the Romans.

the Jews . . . could not be hurt.] Literally, "could not be *wounded*," or "were invulnerable;" but the meaning is, that they could not be conquered. Compare the testimony which Heliodorus is said by the writer to have borne, when he returned to Antioch from Jerusalem after the failure of his attempt to plunder the Temple treasury (ch. iii. 36–39).

CHAPTER IX.

§ 5. THE EXPEDITION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES INTO PERSIA, AND THE AFFLICTION THAT BEFELL HIM AS HE WAS RETURNING.

1–10. This entire chapter runs parallel with 1 Macc. vi. 1–16. The accounts agree (1) with respect to the attempt made by Antiochus to plunder a Persian temple, and its frustration by popular resistance; (2) with respect to news reaching him on his way home of the reverses which had befallen his

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ABOUT that time came Antiochus ‖with dishonour [a]out of the country of Persia.

‖ Or, *disorderly.*

[a] 1 Mac. 6. 1, &c.

2 For he had entered the *city* called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city; whereupon the multitude running to defend themselves with their weapons put them to flight; and so it happened, that Antiochus being put to flight of the inhabitants returned with shame.

3 Now when he came to Ecbatane, news was brought him what had happened unto Nicanor and Timotheus.

4 Then swelling with anger, he thought to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee. Therefore commanded he his chariotman to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey, the judgment of God now following him. For he had spoken proudly in this sort, That he would come to Jerusalem, and make it a common buryingplace of the Jews.

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5 But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague: for as soon as he had spoken these words, [b]a pain of the bowels that was reme-

[b] 1 Mac. 6. 8, 9, 13.

arms in the Jewish war; (3) with respect to the fact of his then falling into a severe illness, from the effects of which after a little time he died. They differ (1) in the place where the temple was situated; (2) in the cause and character of the sickness; and (3) in the steps taken by Antiochus when he knew that he was dying. The account in 1 Macc. vi. has more air of truth about it than that of our present author.

1. *came Antiochus with dishonour out of . . . Persia.*] Rather, "it happened that Antiochus had set off with dishonour on his return." He died at Tabæ, *in Persia* (Polyb. xxxi. 11, § 3). The "dishonour" is explained in the next verse.

2. *he had entered the city called Persepolis.*] Polybius (*l. s. c.*) and Appian ('Syriac.' § 66) place the temple which Epiphanes tried to plunder in Elymaïs, and therefore considerably to the north-west of Persepolis, which was in Persia Proper.

the multitude running to defend themselves.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 3, 4: "They of the city, having had warning, rose up against him in battle." Polybius agrees, but Appian says that he succeeded in plundering the temple.

3. *when he came to Ecbatane.*] According to the author of the First Book, Epiphanes after his repulse set out for Babylon (ch. vi. 4), but died, before reaching it, in Persia (*vv.* 5, 16). Ecbatana would lie very far to the north of this route.

news was brought him what had happened.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 5–7. This writer includes in the news the recovery of the Temple by Maccabeus, which our author seems to place later (ch. x. 1–3).

4. *the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee.*] *I.e.* his repulse from the temple which he had tried to plunder (*v.* 2).

the judgment of God now following him.] Rather, "when the judgment of **heaven** was now **approaching** him." The original expresses the idea of the judgment being just on the point of falling. The actual fall is declared in the next verse.

5. *the Lord Almighty.*] Literally, "the All-supervising" or "All-superintending Lord." The author of the Book aims at strongly impressing upon his readers God's superintending providence and constant watchfulness over the world, and especially over the actions of its inhabitants. He does not view God so much in the light of an Almighty Being (παντοκράτωρ), able to create worlds out of nothing and destroy them by the breath of His mouth, as in the light of an All-watchful Being (πανεπόπτης), constantly supervising human life and actions, with the special intent of bringing vengeance down on the proud and overbearing, and shewing mercy on the sinner who is self-abased and penitent. (See ch. ii. 22; iii. 24–29, 38, 39; v. 17–20; vi. 12–16; vii. 6, 23, 28, 31–36; viii. 2–4, 18, 29, 35, &c.)

smote him with an incurable and invisible plague.] It is remarkable that Polybius so far agrees with our author as to ascribe the death of Epiphanes to a Divine visitation (δαιμονήσας ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον). He connects the visitation, however, with the attempt upon the Elymæan temple. Josephus, not without reason, objects to this view, that the accomplished sacrilege at Jerusalem was more calculated to draw down the Divine vengeance than the contemplated profanation in Elymaïs ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1). The author of the First Book of Maccabees considers the death natural, a pining away through grief and disappointment (ch. vi. 8–13). But it is hard to say where what is natural ends, and what is providential begins.

a pain of the bowels, &c.] The physical

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B. C. cir. 163. diless came upon him, and sore torments of the inner parts;

6 And that most justly: for he had tormented other men's bowels with many and strange torments.

7 Howbeit he nothing at all ceased from his bragging, but still was filled with pride, breathing out fire in his rage against the Jews, and commanding to haste the journey: but it came to pass that he fell down from his chariot, carried violently; so that having a sore fall, all the members of his body were much pained.

8 And thus he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea, (so proud was he beyond the condition of man) and weigh the high mountains in a balance, was now cast on the ground, and carried in an horselitter, shewing forth unto all the manifest power of God.

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9 So that [c]the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man, and whiles he lived in sorrow and pain, his flesh fell away, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to all his army.

[c] Acts 12. 23.

10 And the man, that thought a little afore he could reach to the stars of heaven, no man could endure to carry for his intolerable stink.

descriptions of our author (*vv.* 5–12) are probably "evolved from his inner consciousness." They receive no kind of confirmation from any of the other accounts.

6. *And that most justly.*] Here we have the origin of the narrative. Antiochus was made to suffer that which the Jewish writers thought it would have been strict *justice* for him to have suffered.

7. *he nothing at all ceased from his bragging.*] Rather, "from his **haughtiness**."

he fell down from his chariot, carried violently.] This tale is probably derived from the fact related by Granius Licinianus, that, on its way to Antioch, his body fell into a river, through the animals by which it was conveyed taking fright.

all the members of his body were much pained.] Rather, "were **racked**." Nemesis required this, as he had himself racked many.

8. *he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea.*] See above, ch. v. 21. The meaning is that Epiphanes thought himself a god upon earth. It is certain that he allowed himself to be addressed as "God" (θεὸς) by his subjects (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 5, § 5), and assumed the same title upon his coins (Eckhel, 'Doct. Num.' vol. iii. p. 224 *et seqq.*). How far he himself believed in his own divinity may be a question.

and weigh the high mountains in a balance.] Compare Isaiah xl. 12, where God is said to have "weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance."

cast on the ground.] See *v.* 7.

carried in an horselitter.] Rather, "in a **litter**." It is not said that the litter was drawn by horses; and we may gather from *v.* 10 that, at first at any rate, it was borne on the shoulders of men. Egyptian litters were certainly thus borne (Rawlinson, 'History of Ancient Egypt,' vol. i. p. 535), and so was the Roman *lectica*.

9. *the worms.*] Rather, "worms." The Greek has no article. On this form of malady, see Herod. iv. 205; Plut. 'Vit. Artaxerx.' § 16; Acts xii. 23.

his flesh fell away.] "Piecemeal," as Grimm observes; one portion of flesh at one time, one at another. The description is graphic, but drawn probably from the imagination of the writer. Polybius gives no hint of any such terrible end, nor is it prophesied in the Book of Daniel.

the filthiness of his smell.] Compare *vv.* 10 and 12. This would be a natural feature of the disease described; but the author's knowledge of it does not add anything to the credibility of his narrative.

10. *the man that thought . . . he could reach to the stars of heaven.*] The idealised king of Babylon is declared by Isaiah to have "said in his heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God . . . I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High" (ch. xiv. 13, 14).

§ 6. ANTIOCHUS HUMBLES HIMSELF, AND PROMISES FREEDOM AND FAVOUR TO THE JEWS.

11–17. Our author regards Antiochus as brought to feel remorse at any rate, if not true repentance, by his sufferings—as acknowledging in them the hand of God, and proceeding from such acknowledgment to make four solemn promises to God on the subject of Jerusalem and the Jews: viz., (*a*) a promise that he would make Jerusalem a free city; (*b*) a promise that he would give

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11 Here therefore, being plagued, he began to leave off his great pride, and to come to the knowledge *of himself* by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.

12 And when he himself could not abide his own smell, he said these words, It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself, as if he were God.

13 This wicked person vowed also unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him, saying thus,

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14 That the holy city (to the which he was going in haste, to lay it even with the ground, and to make it a common buryingplace,) he would set at liberty:

15 And as touching the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts, he would make them all equals to the citizens of ‖Athens:

‖ Or, *Antioch.*

16 And the holy temple, which before he had spoiled, he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore all the holy vessels with many more,

all Jews the Athenian (Antiochian?) citizenship; (*c*) a promise that he would restore the holy vessels to the Temple and re-establish the ancient worship; and (*d*) a promise that he would himself become a Jew, and go through the world proclaiming the power of the God of the Jews. In these statements, and in the "letter" which follows (*vv.* 19–27), we have probably exaggerations and embellishments of the fact recorded by the author of the First Book (ch. vi. 12, 13), that in his last illness Epiphanes expressed regret for his cruel treatment of the Jews, and his desecration of the Temple.

11. *being plagued.*] Rather, "being **broken in spirit.**"

by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.] Rather, "**the pain that he suffered through the scourge of God** increasing every moment." The "scourge of God" is the disease that had fallen upon him. (See *v.* 5.)

12. *when he . . . could not abide his own smell.*] Compare *vv.* 9, 10.

13. *the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.*] It is possible to exhaust the patience and mercy of God. "Esau found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears" (Heb. xii. 17). "Wisdom" warns men in the Book of Proverbs: "Because I have called, and ye have refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you; then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me; for that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord; they would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own ways, and be filled with their own devices. For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them" (Prov. i. 24–33). Antiochus had reached this point. He had provoked God beyond endurance. He had "filled up the measure of his iniquity." Nothing remained for him, but that "fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation" whereof the Apostle speaks to the Hebrews (Heb. x. 27).

14. *the holy city to the which he was going in haste.*] See above, *vv.* 5 and 7.

he would set at liberty.] *I.e.* restore to the degree of freedom which it had enjoyed under his father Seleucus (ch. iii. 1–3).

15. *the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried.*] This piece of savagery is not ascribed to Epiphanes by any other author, and cannot be accepted as true on the unsupported authority of the present writer.

he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens.] If the text is sound, we must suppose that (in the view of the author) Antiochus had conferred on all Athenians a certain status, perhaps isopolity, within his dominions, and that he now expressed the intention of conferring a similar privilege on the Jews. Perhaps, however, Ἀθηναίοις is a corruption of Ἀντιοχέσι, and the privilege now promised to all Jews is that already granted to the people of Jerusalem (ch. iv. 9).

16. *the . . . temple . . . he would garnish with goodly gifts.*] See the comment on ch. iii. 2.

restore all the holy vessels.] See above, ch. v. 16. The vessels had probably, long

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B. C. cir. 163.

and [d] out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices:

17 Yea, and that also he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God.

18 But for all this his pains would not cease: for the just judgment of God was come upon him: therefore despairing of his health, he wrote unto the Jews the letter underwritten, containing the form of a supplication, after this manner:

19 Antiochus, king and governor, to the good Jews his citizens wisheth much joy, health, and prosperity: B. C. cir. 163.

20 If ye and your children fare well, and your affairs be to your contentment, I give very great thanks to God, having my hope in heaven.

21 As for me, I was weak, or else I would have remembered kindly your honour and good will. Returning out of Persia, and being taken with a grievous disease, I thought it necessary to care for the common safety of all:

22 Not distrusting mine health,

[d] So Ezra 6. 9. 1 Mac. 10. 39, 40.

before this, been melted down at the royal mint, to help the king's necessities. He might, however, have given back others like them; and this is perhaps what is meant.

and out of his own revenue defray the charges.] As his father had done (ch. iii. 3).

17. *he would become a Jew himself.*] *I.e.* a proselyte. It is extremely improbable that Epiphanes ever expressed any such intention.

§ 7. Supposed Letter of Antiochus to the Jewish Nation.

18–27. Jason of Cyrene had apparently an especial liking for documents, and accepted any that came in his way without subjecting them to a very searching criticism. The present "letter" is a manifest forgery; since (*a*) it is written in slipshod Greek such as no educated Hellene would have put on paper; (*b*) it gives Epiphanes a title (στρατηγὸς, "general") which he would never have condescended to take; (*c*) it makes Epiphanes say that he had *often* visited the inland provinces, whereas he only visited them once; (*d*) it speaks of his having committed the care of his son to the Jews during these frequent absences! (*e*) it represents Eupator as grown up, whereas he was certainly no more than twelve years old at his father's death.

18. *containing the form of a supplication.*] Rather, "**bearing the character** of a supplication"—written, *i.e.*, in the tone, not of a harsh master, but of a timid supplicant. See especially *v.* 26.

19. *Antiochus, king and governor.*] Rather, "king and general." It is not likely that any Syro-Macedonian king would have added the poor title of "general" to the grand one of "king." Such an addition is not made in any of the other letters ascribed to the Seleucidæ. (See 1 Macc. x. 18, 25; xi. 30, 32; xiii. 36; 2 Macc. xi. 22, 27, &c.)

to the good Jews.] An improbable piece of flattery.

his citizens.] They were not yet, except the Jews of Jerusalem, "citizens." Antiochus had only promised to make them such. (See *v.* 15.)

wisheth much joy, health, and prosperity.] This form is quite unusual. It combines the Greek χαίρειν with the Latin "salutem dat," and adds to them a third good wish, not found elsewhere in salutations of the time and country.

20. *If ye . . . fare well.*] This Latinism is scarcely likely to have been used by the Syro-Macedonian kings. It is taken from the ordinary "S. V. B. E. E. Q. V." (Compare ch. xi. 28.)

having my hope in heaven.] The use of "Heaven" for "God," common in the Hellenistic Greek of the period (1 Macc. iii. 18, 60; iv. 10, 55, &c.), is not in accordance with the classical Greek idiom.

21. *As for me, I was weak, or else.*] There is no "or else" in the original, which is absolutely ungrammatical and gives no sense. To produce a sense, either εἰ μὴ must be inserted before ἀσθενῶς, or ἄλλως γὰρ before ὑμῶν.

I would have remembered . . . your honour.] *I.e.* the honour in which you have held me.

Returning out of Persia.] Literally, "out of the regions about Persia"—the same expression as that used in *v.* 1.

22. *Not distrusting mine health.*] Grimm finds a contradiction between this statement and that of *v.* 18, that Antiochus wrote the letter because he "despaired of his health."

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B. C. cir. 163. but having great hope to escape this sickness.

23 But considering that even my father, at what time he led an army into the high countries, appointed a successor,

24 To the end that, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, or if any tidings were brought that were grievous, they of the land, knowing to whom ‖ the state was left, might not be troubled:

‖ Or, *common affairs.*

25 Again, considering how that the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom wait for opportunities, and expect what shall be the event, I have appointed my son Antiochus king, whom I often committed and commended unto many of you, when I went up into the high provinces; to whom I have written as followeth:

B. C. cir. 163.

26 Therefore I pray and request you to remember the benefits that I have done unto you generally, and in special, and that every man will be still faithful to me and my son.

27 For I am persuaded that he

But it is conceivable that he might really despair of it, yet wish the Jews to think otherwise.

to escape this sickness.] Rather, "to escape **from** this sickness"—*i.e.* to survive it, recover from it.

23. *my father.*] Antiochus III., known as "the Great" (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 65). In the year B.C. 187 this monarch made a journey into the eastern provinces for the purpose of collecting treasure, and, having entered Elymaïs, attempted to plunder a rich temple of Belus, but was met with armed resistance by the natives, who overpowered his attendants, and slew the king himself. (See the comment on ch. i. 17.) It is quite possible that he may have "appointed a successor" before starting on his expedition; but we have no confirmation of our author's statement on this point by any other authority.

the high countries.] Literally, "the upper regions"—*i.e.* those at a distance from the Syrian sea-coast. (Compare the expression ἡ ἄνω Ἀσίη, so common in Herodotus.)

appointed a successor.] The practice was common in the East, and was followed by Cyrus (Herod. i. 208), by Alyattes (ib. i. 92), by Darius (ib. vii. 3), and many others. A monarch was regarded as entitled to make a selection from among his grown-up sons, and, if no son were grown up, might either name a regent or pass the crown on to a brother. In practice, the law of primogeniture was, for the most part, respected.

24. *if anything fell out . . . grievous.*] A long periphrasis is preferred to a direct mention of the calamity intended, viz. the king's death, which it was of evil omen to mention. The euphemism is in entire accordance with Oriental practice.

25. *Again.*] Rather, "**And further.**"

the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom.] Rather, "the princes that are borderers, and **the (other)** neighbours unto my kingdom." The "princes" intended are probably Ptolemy Philometor, Attalus of Pergamus, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia; the "other neighbours," the Jews themselves, the Arab tribes, the Idumæans, Moabites, &c. All would be on the look-out for an opportunity to aggrandise themselves, if internal troubles should break out in Syria on the death of the king.

I have appointed my son Antiochus king.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 15. The nomination was necessary in order to give Eupator any title to the throne, since the legitimate heir was Demetrius, son of Seleucus Callinicus, the elder brother of Epiphanes, who was not of age to mount the throne at his father's death, but was now grown to manhood.

whom I often committed and commended unto many of you.] Literally, "to most of you." The "committal" of the young heir to the special guardianship of the Jews, is a fiction of a very barefaced character. The assertion that such a committal had taken place "often" is a further indication of the recklessness and ignorance of the writer. (See the comment on vv. 18–27.)

to whom I have written as followeth.] We must suppose that a second letter, addressed to Eupator, was originally appended to the existing document (vv. 19–27), but that this was omitted, either by Jason of Cyrene, or by our author.

26. *I pray . . . you to remember the benefits.*] It is perhaps not wholly absurd for Epiphanes to be made to speak of his "benefits" to the Jewish people. He would consider the Antiochene citizenship which he had conferred on the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ch. iv. 9), and perhaps even the permission to set up a gymnasium (ibid.), as "benefits."

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‖ Or, *following.*

‖ understanding my mind will favourably and graciously yield to your desires.

28 Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains.

29 And Philip, that was brought up with him, carried away his body, who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt to Ptolemeus Philometor.

B. C. cir. 163.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Judas recovereth the city, and purifieth the temple.* 14 *Gorgias vexeth the Jews.* 16 *Judas winneth their holds.* 29 *Timotheus and his men are discomfited.* 35 *Gazara is taken, and Timotheus slain.*

27. *understanding my mind.*] Rather, "**carrying out** my **intention**."

will favourably and graciously yield to your desires.] Literally, "will deal with you graciously and lovingly." The author of the letter would scarcely have made Epiphanes pledge himself so positively as to his son's system of government, had he remembered that Eupator was at his father's death, at most, twelve years of age. Appian says nine ('Syriac.' § 45).

§ 8. Death of Epiphanes and Flight of Philip to Egypt.

28, 29. The death of Epiphanes in Persia is a certain fact. The author of the First Book tells us that, previously to his decease, he appointed Philip, one of his "friends," regent of the kingdom, and guardian of his son Eupator (ch. vi. 14, 15). Philip conducted the Syro-Macedonian army from Tabæ, where Epiphanes died, to Antioch (ibid. 55, 56). He no doubt brought with him the body of the king. At Antioch he was well received and possessed himself of the government (ibid. 63), but was unable to take charge of Eupator, who was absent from the city, with Lysias in Judæa. Lysias, on learning what had happened, patched up a peace with Judas Maccabæus, and marched rapidly against Philip, whom he besieged in Antioch. After a short siege, he took the city by storm; but it is possible that Philip had previously quitted it and escaped to Egypt.

28. *the murderer and blasphemer.*] Compare ch. v. 12–21; vi. 1–8, &c.

as he entreated other men.] See above, v. 6.

in the mountains.] Here the writer has got hold of a true tradition. Tabæ, where Epiphanes died, was in Elymaïs, a portion of the mountainous Zagros region, which separates the high plateau of Persia from the Mesopotamian lowland. The writer's object in mentioning the fact is (as Grimm notes) rhetorical rather than geographic. He means to say, "This great king died, not in a royal palace, not in a luxurious city, but in a wild and lonesome tract, far from the haunts of civilised men."

29. *Philip.*] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 14, 55, 63. Some critics regard him as identical with "Philip the Phrygian" (2 Macc. v. 22), whom Epiphanes made governor of Jerusalem; but this is scarcely probable. Philip the Phrygian was governor of Jerusalem at the time of the expedition of Gorgias and Nicanor (ch. viii. 8); Philip the regent had probably accompanied Epiphanes into Armenia and Persia previously.

carried away his body.] *I.e.* "took it with him," to give it honourable burial at Antioch. The meaning, "buried it," or "caused it to be buried," which Grimm suggests, is unsupported by any parallel passage.

who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt.] It is very questionable whether this passage has *any* historical value. Our author's statements, when unsupported, must be accepted or rejected, according to their internal probability. Now, it is clear that Philip could not have "feared" Eupator, whose legal protector he had been constituted, until he found, on returning to Antioch, that Lysias was in possession of the boy's person, and was prepared to maintain that he, and not Philip, was the rightful regent. *Possibly* he may then have gone by sea from Antioch to Alexandria, in the hope of obtaining aid from Philometor; but to quit the capital would, under the circumstances, have been a great risk, and one which he is scarcely likely to have incurred on the faint hope of getting Ptolemy to help him. Or, again, he may, after the siege was begun, have escaped from the town and made his way to Egypt, where Ptolemy may have given him refuge. We have to set against this, however, the positive statement of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7), that he was made prisoner at the capture of the city, and put to death by Lysias.

CHAPTER X.

§ 9. Recovery of the Temple by Judas, and Restoration of the Jewish Worship. Institution of the Feast of the Dedication.

1–9. The present writer does not fix the exact date of the recovery of the Temple,

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B. C. 164. NOW Maccabeus and his company, the Lord guiding them, recovered the temple and the city:

2 But the altars which the heathen had built in the open street, and also the chapels, they pulled down.

3 And having cleansed the temple [a] they made another altar, and striking stones they took fire out of them, and offered a sacrifice after two years, and set forth incense, and lights, and shewbread.

[a] 1 Mac. 4. 47.

4 When that was done, they fell flat down, and besought the Lord that they might come no more into such troubles; but if they sinned any more against him, that he himself would chasten them with mercy, and that they might not be delivered unto the blasphemous and barbarous nations. B. C. 164

5 Now [b] upon the same day that the strangers profaned the temple, on the very same day it was cleansed again, even the five and twentieth day of the same month, which is Casleu. [b] 1 Mac. 4. 52, 54.

which, however, we know from the First Book (ch. iv. 28) to have occurred in B.C. 164. Antiochus died in B.C. 163. Thus, there is a departure from chronological order in chs. ix. and x., the first section of ch. x. (*vv.* 1–8) belonging to a time anterior to any of the events related in ch. ix. This dislocation does not arise from ignorance on the part of our author, since he not only (in ch. x. 9) states that the recovery took place within the lifetime of Epiphanes, but (in ch. viii. 31) gives an indication that he knew of Jerusalem, or a part of it, being in possession of the patriots before the illness of Epiphanes began. His object in departing from chronological order seems to have been rhetorical. He wished to conclude the second portion of his narrative with the grand event of Judas's earlier career—the recovery of the Temple from the hands of the heathen, and its rededication to the worship of the true God.

1. *Maccabeus . . . recovered the temple and the city.*] This is an over-statement. All that Judas recovered was the Temple and such part of the city as stood upon the Temple hill. The remainder, including all the buildings upon the western hill, which was the main city, continued in the possession of the Syro-Macedonians until the time of Simon, whose great glory it was that he drove out the heathen from it, and completed the recovery of Jerusalem. (See 1 Macc. iv. 41–60; vi. 18–26; xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36.)

2. *the altars which the heathen had built in the open street.*] Rather, "in the market-place." It was the custom of the Greeks to have numerous altars to different gods in various parts of their cities. Some of these may have been erected in the *agora* of the eastern city. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 47, 54.)

and also the chapels.] Rather, "the **sacred enclosures**." Compare the comment on 1 Macc. i. 47.

3. *having cleansed the temple.*] See 1 Macc. iv. 43.

they made another altar.] The old altar of burnt offering having been polluted by having an idolatrous altar erected on the top of it (1 Macc. i. 54), it was thought best to pull it down, and build a new one with unhewn stones, in accordance with Ex. xx. 25. (See the fuller narrative of the cleansing in 1 Macc. iv. 41–51.)

and striking stones they took fire out of them.] The author of the First Book omits this characteristic feature. It was quite in accordance with the spirit of the command to build the altar of rough natural stones, the idea being that nature was unpolluted, while everything with which man had come into contact had more or less of pollution attaching to it. We may well accept our author's statement in this place, contradictory as it is to the tale told in ch. i. 18–36, as "the simple historical account" of the matter (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 311).

after two years.] This is a mistake. The exact dates of the First Book (1 Macc. i. 54; iv. 52) shew *three* years to have elapsed between the desecration of the Temple by Epiphanes and its purification by Maccabæus.

incense, and lights, and shewbread.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 50, 51.

4. *they . . . besought the Lord . . . that he himself would chasten them.*] So David, when given his choice of punishments (2 Sam. xxiv. 14).

blasphemous and barbarous nations.] See the comment on ch. ii. 21. The cruelties of the Syro-Macedonians might well justify the epithet "barbarous" (ch. v. 12–14, 24–26; vi. 10, 11, 18–31; vii. 3–40, &c.).

5. *upon the same day.*] Compare 1 Macc i. 59; iv. 52–54. Judas, no doubt, intentionally arranged this exact correspondence, in order that the sense of national humiliation should be swallowed up in that of joy and triumph, when the fated day came round.

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B. C. 164. 6 [c] And they kept eight days with gladness, as in the feast of the tabernacles, remembering that not long afore they had held the feast of the tabernacles, when as they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts.

[c] 1 Mac. 4. 56.

7 Therefore they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also, and sang psalms unto him that had given them good success in cleansing his place.

[d] 1 Mac. 4. 59. 8 [d] They ordained also by a common statute and decree, That every year those days should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews.

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9 And this was the end of Antiochus, called Epiphanes.

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10 Now will we declare the acts of Antiochus Eupator, who was the son of this wicked man, gathering briefly the calamities of the wars.

11 So when he was come to the crown, he set one Lysias over the affairs of his realm, and *appointed*

6. *they kept eight days.*] See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 56.

as in the feast of the tabernacles.] See the next verse, and compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 7; xiii. 13, § 5.

not long afore they had held the feast of the tabernacles.] The Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated on the fifteenth day of the month Tisri, or rather from the fifteenth day to the twenty-second, about three months previously to the twenty-fifth of Casleu, or Chisleu. The similarity in the observances customary at the two feasts led to their being known respectively as "the Tabernacle Feast of the Autumn," and "the Tabernacle Feast of the Winter." (See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 59.)

they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts.] Compare ch. v. 27. The writer seems to forget that the patriots had long since issued from their fastnesses, and made themselves masters of towns and villages (ch. viii. 6), and become a power in the land (ibid. 16–32).

7. *they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also.*] Compare Neh. viii. 15. They made the Feast of the Dedication a sort of supplement to that of Tabernacles, which had no doubt been celebrated under difficulties, while the campaign against Gorgias and Nicanor was going on, and had been shorn of some of its customary rites.

8. *They ordained also by a common statute and decree.*] See 1 Macc. iv. 59. The festival continued to be celebrated in the time of our Lord's ministry (John x. 22), and indeed was only discontinued when the Temple was finally destroyed.

9. *this was the end of Antiochus, called Epiphanes.*] Rather, "And **thus ended the reign** of Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes." The writer does not refer to the circumstances of Epiphanes' death, but simply notes that this is the point in his narrative where the reign of Epiphanes ends and that of Eupator begins. It is also the point where the Third Portion of his work ends, and the Fourth Portion begins.

PART IV.

THE WAR OF JUDAS WITH ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR.

§ 1. Lysias succeeds Ptolemy Macron as Governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia.

10–13. In accordance with his idea that Eupator was grown to manhood at his father's death, and had the actual direction of affairs (see the comment on ch. ix. 18–27), the writer represents him as selecting Lysias for high office, and assigning him a certain command. In reality, Lysias had been left at the head of affairs in Syria by Epiphanes, when he departed for the East (1 Macc. iii. 32–38) and had been made Eupator's guardian (*v.* 33). When Epiphanes died, Eupator was at the most twelve years old, and was a mere puppet in the hands of the regent. Lysias proclaimed him, and ruled in his name (1 Macc. vi. 17), but kept all power in his own hands (ibid. 53–60). It is not likely that he held at any time so subordinate an office as that of "governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia:" and if Ptolemy was at this time superseded, it cannot have been with the object of Lysias taking his place.

10. *Antiochus Eupator.*] On the name and reign of this prince, see Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 45;—Polyb. xxxi. 12, § 7; 19, § 2;—Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' Part i. 40, § 15, &c. His age at his father's death, according to Appian, was nine; according to Porphyry, twelve.

gathering briefly the calamities of the wars.] Compare above, ch. ii. 31, where the author promises "brevity."

11. *he set one Lysias over the affairs of his realm.*] It has been noted above, that Lysias was placed in power, not by Eupator, but by Epiphanes, and that the boy Eupator was a puppet in his hands. Lysias is strangely intro-

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B. C. 163. *him* chief governor of Celosyria and Phenice.

12 For Ptolemeus, that was called Macron, choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews for the wrong that had been done unto them, endeavoured to continue peace with them.

13 Whereupon being accused of *the king's* friends before Eupator, and called traitor at every word, because he had left Cyprus, that Philometor had committed unto him, and departed to Antiochus Epiphanes, ‖and seeing that he was in no honourable place, he was so discouraged, that he poisoned himself and died. B. C. 163

‖ Or, *and not bearing his authority as becometh a nobleman.*

14 But when Gorgias was governor of the ‖holds, he hired soldiers, and nourished war continually with the Jews:

‖ Or, *strong places.*

15 And therewithal the Idumeans,

duced in this place as "*one* Lysias," or "a certain Lysias" (Λυσίαν τινά), an expression which commonly denotes obscurity of birth and condition. Lysias was in fact, as the writer very well knew (ch. xi. 1), a member of the royal family, and one of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. He was the actual ruler of Syria for above three years, from the departure of Antiochus for the East in B.C. 166–5, to his own destruction by Demetrius in B.C. 162–1. He is mentioned as regent of Syria by Appian, Polybius, Livy, and Porphyry. (See the comment on 1 Macc. iii. 32.)

12. *Ptolemeus, that was called Macron.*] Evidently the same with the Ptolemeus mentioned as "governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnice" in ch. viii. 8, and therefore probably the same as "Ptolemee, son of Dorymenes" (1 Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. iv. 45, 46).

choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews.] It has been made an argument against the identification of Ptolemy Macron with Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes (Grimm), that the latter was ill-disposed to the Jews (2 Macc. vi. 8), while the former favoured them. But there is no difficulty in conceiving that a better acquaintance with the nation may have induced the governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia to change his policy.

for the wrong that had been done unto them.] The wrong done was such as might well have called forth the pity of a conscientious heathen. (See ch. v. 12–26; vi. 1–11, 18–31; vii. 1–41, &c.)

endeavoured to continue peace with them.] Rather, "endeavoured to **manage his dealings with them peaceably.**" Ptolemy thought that the policy of war and violence hitherto pursued was wrong, and recommended a complete change. He would have had all the matters in dispute arranged by negotiation and diplomacy.

13. *being accused of the king's friends.*] The simplest translation would be—"by his friends;" but as this is unlikely, we may perhaps accept the gloss of our translators, who have regarded "the friends" as "the *king's* friends"—*i.e.* the courtiers of the first rank, who bore that title. (See 1 Macc. ii. 18; iii. 38; vi. 28; vii. 8; x. 20, 60, 65, &c.)

before Eupator.] Formally, the boy king may have presided at the investigation; but the real judge of the cause must have been Lysias.

because he had left Cyprus, &c.] See Polyb. xxvii. 11. Ptolemy Macron had been appointed governor of Cyprus by Philometor, but in the campaign of B.C. 169 had deserted his cause, and made the island over to Epiphanes. It was hard that he should be taxed with treachery by the side to which he had deserted.

and departed.] Rather, "and **gone over.**"

§ 2. GORGIAS, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE IDUMÆANS, MAKES WAR UPON JUDAS. SUCCESSES OF JUDAS.

14–23. We seem here to have an account, given with some detail, of the Idumæan war briefly touched on by the writer of the First Book in ch. v. 2, 3. We learn from the present passage that Gorgias had a share in the operations, which however were chiefly in the Idumæan country, where Judas made himself master of various strongholds, and put to death their garrisons. It is impossible to accept our author's numbers, in *vv.* 17, 23; but we may gather from his statements that the Maccabee leader acted during the campaign with great severity, both towards the enemy and towards those of his own party who were inclined to leniency. (See *vv.* 20–22.)

14. *when Gorgias was governor of the holds.*] Gorgias had been previously mentioned as "a captain of great experience," and as joined with Nicanor in the campaign of B.C. 165 (ch. viii. 9). The active part which he took in that campaign appears from 1 Macc. iv. 1–5, 18–22.

he hired soldiers.] *I.e.* "he collected a force of mercenaries." Compare what is said of Lysias in 1 Macc. iv. 35.

15. *And therewithal the Idumeans.*] Rather, "And **in conjunction with him** the Idumæans **also.**"

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B. C. 163. having gotten into their hands the most commodious holds, kept the Jews occupied, and receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem, they went about to nourish war.

16 Then they that were with Maccabeus made supplication, and besought God that he would be their helper; and so they ran with violence upon the strong holds of the Idumeans,

17 And assaulting them strongly, they won the holds, and kept off all that fought upon the wall, and slew all that fell into their hands, and killed no fewer than twenty thousand.

18 And because certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled together into two very strong castles, having all manner of things convenient to *sustain* the siege, B. C. 163.

19 Maccabeus left Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus also, and them that were with him, who were enough to besiege them, and departed himself unto those places which more needed his help.

20 Now ‖ they that were with Simon, being led with covetousness, were persuaded for money through certain of those that were in the castle, and took seventy thousand drachms, and let some of them escape. ‖ Or, *Simon.*

21 But when it was told Maccabeus what was done, he called the

having gotten into their hands the most commodious holds.] Rather, "**being masters of certain** commodious strongholds." It is not implied that they had recently taken these holds, but only that they were in possession of them.

receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem.] It was a natural consequence of the recovery of the Temple hill by Judas, that a number of those Jews whom he found established there should be expelled from their homes and driven to seek a refuge elsewhere. They would be necessarily Jews of the Hellenizing party, whose continued presence within the recovered portion of the city would be a danger. Compare the exodus of the inhabitants from the western city, when it was taken by Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 50).

16. *ran with violence.*] Rather, "**marched hastily.**"

17. *kept off all that fought upon the wall.*] Rather, "**repulsed**" them, "drove them back."

slew all that fell into their hands.] Rather, "all **with whom they fell in.**" It is not intended that there was a massacre of prisoners in cold blood, but that the soldiers of Judas, when they burst into each town, killed every one whom they found in the streets. Their proceedings were in accordance with the barbarous usage of the time.

and killed no fewer than twenty thousand.] This number is quite incredible, and may be confidently regarded as one of our author's many exaggerations. "Twenty thousand" recurs too frequently in his estimates to have any historical value. (See ch. viii. 9, 30; ch. x. 23, 31.)

18. *certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled . . . into two . . . castles.*] Rather, "into two **towers.**" Nine *hundred* would be a more probable number than "nine thousand" for "two towers" to receive and shelter.

19. *Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus.*] "Simon" is, no doubt, the elder brother of Judas (1 Macc. ii. 3), whom Judas commonly made his second in command (1 Macc. v. 20, 55; 2 Macc. viii. 22). "Joseph" is probably, as in ch. viii. 22, the eldest son of the family, whose real name was "Joannan," or John (1 Macc. ii. 2). Zaccheus is otherwise unknown.

20. *they that were with Simon.*] The ordinary meaning of the phrase used is "Simon and his friends;" but it would seem to have here a narrower meaning, and to designate strictly "those who were about Simon," *i.e.* his chief officers. They may have acted without his authority or knowledge.

in the castle.] Rather, "in the **castles**" or "**towers.**"

seventy thousand drachms.] About 2840*l.* At the ordinary rate of a mina for a man, this sum should have ransomed 700 persons.

21. *when it was told Maccabeus.*] Judas, having returned from the expedition glanced at in *v.* 19, learnt what had been done in his absence. He appears to have been greatly angered. To spare the lives of enemies given by God into his hand he regarded as inexcusable, since it was an endangering of the lives of Israelites, whom the escaped enemies might afterwards kill in battle. He therefore determined to visit the offence with exemplary punishment.

he called the governors of the people to-

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B. C. 163. governors of the people together, and accused those men, that they had sold their brethren for money, and set their enemies free to fight against them.

22 So he slew those that were found traitors, and immediately took the two castles.

23 And having good success with his weapons in all things he took in hand, he slew in the two holds more than twenty thousand.

[c] 1 Mac. 5. 6, 7. 24 Now Timotheus, [c] whom the Jews had overcome before, when he had gathered a great multitude of foreign forces, and horses out of Asia not a few, came as though he would take Jewry by force of arms.

25 But when he drew near, [‖] they that were with Maccabeus turned themselves to pray unto God, and sprinkled earth upon their heads, and girded their loins with sackcloth, B. C. 163. ‖ Or, *Maccabeus, and they that were with him.*

26 And fell down at the foot of the altar, and besought him to be merciful to them, and to be [f] an enemy to their enemies, and an adversary to their adversaries, as the law declareth. [f] Exod. 23. 22. Deut. 28. 7.

27 So after the prayer they took their weapons, and went on further from the city: and when they drew near to their enemies, they kept by themselves.

gether.] Rather, "the **leaders** of the people;" who, when the people were engaged in a campaign, would be their officers.

and accused those men.] The men had a formal trial. Judas was not the judge, but the prosecutor. They were condemned by their peers.

they had sold their brethren for money.] See *v.* 20.

23. *he slew in the two holds more than twenty thousand.*] Compare the comment on *v.* 17; and remark, that 9,000 only are said to have taken refuge in the towers (*v.* 18); that a certain number of these had been allowed to escape (*v.* 20): yet that at the final assault the slain are, as in the strongholds previously captured (*v.* 17), "twenty thousand"!

§ 3. CAMPAIGN AGAINST TIMOTHEUS. HIS SUPPOSED DEATH.

24–38. This campaign of Judas against Timotheus is probably the one briefly described in 1 Macc. v. 6–8, which terminates, like this, with the capture of a "Jazar" or "Gazara." It is true that this campaign begins near Jerusalem (*vv.* 26, 27), while that of the First Book is wholly in the Ammonite country; but we may reconcile the two narratives by supposing an omission of the earlier circumstances of the campaign by the author of 1 Macc., and an imperfect knowledge of the geographical data on the part of the present writer. Timotheus may have begun by invading Judæa and threatening Jerusalem, but may afterwards have withdrawn across the Jordan, whither Judas may have pursued him.

24. *Timotheus, whom the Jews had overcome before.*] See above, ch. viii. 30. The author of the First Book makes no mention of this earlier defeat.

foreign forces.] By "foreign forces" the writer means "hired mercenaries." On the employment of such troops by the Syro-Macedonians, see 1 Macc. iv. 35; 2 Macc. x. 14.

horses out of Asia not a few.] To mount a portion of his mercenaries, Gorgias purchased horses in various parts of Asia, as (probably) Media, Armenia, and perhaps Persia. The Median horses were especially famous.

25. *they that were with Maccabeus . . . sprinkled earth upon their heads.*] It was more usual to sprinkle ashes upon the head (2 Sam. xiii. 19; Job ii. 8, 12; Jonah iii. 6; Lam. ii. 10); but, if ashes were not at hand, earth was used (1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2, xv. 32; Neh. ix. 1; 1 Macc. xi. 71, &c.).

26. *fell down at the foot of the altar.*] This shews that Judas and his army were at Jerusalem, at the time when Timotheus invaded Judæa, and "drew near" to them.

and besought him.] *I.e.* "besought God," before whose altar they had prostrated themselves.

as the law declareth.] See Ex. xxiii. 22: "I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries."

27. *after the prayer they . . . went on further from the city.*] Rather, "they went on a **long distance** from the city"—across the Jordan into the country of the Ammonites, according to the author of the First Book (ch. v. 6). Timotheus had probably found that he could not attack the newly-fortified Temple hill (ib. iv. 60) with any prospect of success, and, after threatening it for a while, had removed into the Transjordanic territory.

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B. C. 163. 28 Now the sun being newly risen, they joined both together; the one part having together with their virtue their refuge also unto the Lord for a ‖pledge of their success and victory: the other side making their rage leader of their battle.

‖ Or, *warrant*, or, *surety*.

29 But when the battle waxed strong, [g] there appeared unto the enemies from heaven five comely men upon horses, with bridles of gold, and two of them led the Jews,

[g] See ch. 2. 21.

30 And took Maccabeus betwixt them, and covered him on every side with their weapons, and kept him safe, but shot arrows and lightnings against the enemies: so that being confounded with blindness, and full of trouble, they were killed. B. C. 163.

31 And there were slain *of footmen* twenty thousand and five hundred, and six hundred horsemen.

32 As for Timotheus himself, he fled into a very strong hold, called Gazara, where Chereas was governor.

they kept by themselves.] *I.e.* "they halted"—they did not at once engage the enemy, but encamped at a little distance.

28. *Now the sun, &c.*] Translate, "and when the sun was newly risen, **both sides advanced to the attack.**" Each army was equally eager to attack the other—there was a simultaneous advance.

their refuge . . . unto the Lord.] *I.e.* the fact that they had resorted to God, and cast all their care upon Him (see *v.* 23). This act of faith wrought in them a confidence of success, which had a supernatural foundation. Their adversaries were animated by mere natural courage and high spirit (*θυμός*).

29. *when the battle waxed strong.*] Rather, "waxed **fierce**"—*i.e.* when both sides fought bravely, and neither had any advantage over the other.

there appeared unto the enemies from heaven five comely men.] Compare ch. ii. 25, 26. The interference of angelic beings in the combats of men upon earth was widely credited in antiquity. Ares and Aphrodité took a prominent part in the battles under the walls of Troy (Hom. 'Il.' v. 840–63). A celestial warrior fought on the Greek side at Marathon, and carried dismay into the ranks of the Persians (Herod. vi. 117). When Delphi was attacked, two local demigods aided the Greeks who defended it, and put the assailants to flight (ibid. viii. 38, 39). At the battle of the Regillus Castor and Pollux lent their assistance to the Romans, and were mainly instrumental in securing them the victory (Dion. Hal. vi. 12). Such stories are poetic embodiments of beliefs entertained by the combatants, that they enjoyed supernatural protection. Our author is a firm believer in the reality of his apparitions. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; xi. 8.)

upon horses.] So the adversary of Heliodorus (ch. iii. 25), and the angel who assisted Maccabæus (ch. xi. 8).

with bridles of gold.] The horse on which the adversary of Heliodorus sat had complete harness of gold; the angelic assistant of Judas was clothed in a panoply of gold. So, in the Revelation of St. John, the "seven angels" have "their breasts girded with golden girdles" (ch. xv. 6). Gold is assigned to angels on account of its purity, beauty, and value.

two of them.] Literally, "*the* two"—*i.e.* "the principal two," whose chief business it was to protect Judas. (See the next verse.)

30. *covered him on every side with their weapons.*] Literally, "with their *panoplies*."

shot arrows and lightnings.] Employed against the enemy both human and divine weapons. So the deities who protected the temple of Delphi not only brought a storm of thunder and lightning upon the invaders (Herod. vii. 37), but also slew the hindmost of them, as they fled away, with spear and sword (ibid. 38).

being confounded with blindness.] Blindness was inflicted on Epizelus, according to the legend, by the near presence of the angelic warrior at Marathon (Herod. vi. 117). Here, however, the blindness is probably intended to have followed from the flashes of lightning.

31. *there were slain . . . twenty thousand and five hundred.*] An unusual affectation of exactness. The writer may have begun to suspect that he will not be believed, if he always makes the number of those slain in a battle exactly 20,000 (ch. viii. 30; x. 17, 23).

32. *a very strong hold, called Gazara.*] Not the "Gazara" of 1 Macc. xiii. 53; xiv. 34; xvi. 1, 19, 20, which was in the Shefélah, six miles east of Ekron (see the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 15), but the "Jazer," or Gazara, of the Transjordanic region, which was twelve or thirteen miles north of Heshbon, in the country assigned to Gad by Moses (Num. xxxii. 35). Compare 1 Macc. v. 8, and the comment *ad loc.*

where Chereas was governor.] Chereas, or

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B. C. 163. 33 But they that were with Maccabeus laid siege against the fortress courageously four days.

34 And they that were within, trusting to the strength of the place, blasphemed exceedingly, and uttered wicked words.

35 Nevertheless upon the fifth day early twenty young men of Maccabeus' company, inflamed with anger because of the blasphemies, assaulted the wall manly, and with a fierce courage killed all that they met withal.

36 Others likewise ascending after them, whiles they were busied with them that were within, burnt the towers, and kindling fires burnt the blasphemers alive; and others broke open the gates, and, having received in the rest of the army, took the city, B. C. 163.

37 And killed Timotheus, that was hid in a certain pit, and Chereas his brother, with Apollophanes.

38 When this was done, they praised the Lord with psalms and thanksgiving, who had done so great things for Israel, and given them the victory.

CHAPTER XI.

3 *Lysias, thinking to get Jerusalem,* 8 *is put to flight.* 16 *The letters of Lysias to the Jews:* 22 *of the king unto Lysias,* 27 *and to the Jews:* 34 *of the Romans to the Jews.*

NOT long after this, Lysias the king's [a]protector and cousin, who also managed the affairs, took [a] Gr. *tutor.*

rather Chæreas, is said in *v.* 37 to have been a brother of Timotheus. He is known to us only through the present writer.

33. *courageously.*] Rather, "gladly," "joyfully"—confident, as it would seem, that the siege would not be a long one.

34. *they that were within . . . blasphemed exceedingly.*] *I.e.* defied the Jews and their God. (See 1 Macc. vii. 35, 38, 42.)

35. *with a fierce courage.*] Literally, "with a courage like that of wild beasts." The "blasphemies" of the besieged had lashed them into a fury, and made them more like wild beasts than men.

36. *and kindling fires burnt the blasphemers alive.*] Compare 1 Macc. v. 5, 44; x. 84, 85; and see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 44.

37. *And killed Timotheus, that was hid in a certain pit.*] Timotheus reappears as alive in ch. xii. 2, 18–24, and certainly survived the capture of Gazara. (See 1 Macc. v. 11–40.) He may have been found hid in a cistern—a usual place of concealment (2 Sam. xvii. 18; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 8, § 1)—when the city fell, and have been made a prisoner; but he must have contrived to obtain his release, as he did also at a later period (2 Macc. xii. 25).

Chereas . . . Apollophanes.] Unknown persons, but for the present narrative. Chæreas was the commandant of the town (*v.* 32).

38. *they praised the Lord.*] Compare ch. viii. 27; ix. 7; xi. 9, &c. A formal service of thanksgiving, like a modern *Te Deum* after a victory, seems to be intended.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 4. First Campaign of Lysias against Judas.

1–12. The author of the First Book places this campaign in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, during the absence of the monarch in the eastern provinces (ch. v. 28–35); and with this agree the dates in *vv.* 21, 33, and 38 of the present chapter. We must therefore regard the writer of the Second Book as having misplaced the campaign by one or two years. It belongs to B.C. 165–4, Epiphanes not having died till B.C. 164–3. The two writers agree as to the locality of the campaign—Idumæa, and especially the region about Beth-zur; as to the great disproportion between the forces brought into the field on either side; and as to the complete discomfiture of the Syro-Macedonians. They differ chiefly in the details of the numbers engaged and slain. The author of the Second Book, or his authority, Jason of Cyrene, embellishes his narrative with an apparition (ἐπιφάνεια), and attaches to it an account of negotiations and treaties, whereof the author of the First Book knows nothing. This writer, on the other hand, professes to give (ch. iv. 30–33) the exact words of the prayer offered by Maccabæus before the battle.

1. *Lysias the king's protector and cousin.*] The true position and rank of Lysias is here for the first time acknowledged. He is no longer Λυσίας τις, "a certain Lysias" (ch. x. 11), but "the king's cousin"—no longer a "governor" whom the king has "set up," but his "protector" or "guardian." Unfortunately these acknowledgments are made at

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B. C. cir. 164. sore displeasure for the things that were done.

[a] 1 Mac. 4. 28. 2 [a]And when he had gathered about fourscore thousand with all the horsemen, he came against the Jews, thinking to make the city an habitation of the ‖Gentiles,

‖ Or, *Grecians.* 3 And to make a gain of the temple, as of the other chapels of the heathen, and to set the high priesthood to sale every year:

4 Not at all considering the power of God, but puffed up with his ten thousands of footmen, and his thousands of horsemen, and his fourscore elephants. B. C. cir. 164.

5 So he came to Judea, and drew near to Bethsura, which was a strong town, but distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs, and he laid sore siege unto it.

‖ *Maccabeus and his company.* 6 Now when ‖they that were with Maccabeus heard that he besieged the holds, they and all the people with lamentation and tears besought the Lord that he would send a good angel to deliver Israel.

a wrong date, *before* Lysias had entered on his office of "guardian."

took sore displeasure for the things that were done.] At the results of the Idumæan and Ammonite wars (ch. x. 14–37), according to the mind of the writer; at the failures of Nicanor and Gorgias in the campaign of B.C. 166–5, according to the author of the First Book. (See 1 Macc. iv. 26, 27.)

2. *when he had gathered about fourscore thousand.*] This is intended as an estimate of the footmen, whom the writer of the First Book reckons at 60,000 (1 Macc. iv. 28).

all the horsemen.] Five thousand, according to the same authority.

thinking to make the city an habitation of the Gentiles.] Literally, "of the Greeks." The campaign really fell at a time when the whole city was in possession of the Syro-Macedonians, before Judas had recovered any part of it. (See 1 Macc. iv. 28–59.) But our author imagined that it took place after the recovery, which, according to him, was a recovery of both "the temple and the city" (ch. x. 1). He could thus view Lysias as designing to put "the Greeks" once more in possession.

3. *to make a gain of the temple.*] In what way, is not clear. Perhaps by requiring an annual payment from those who worshipped in it.

as of the other chapels of the heathen.] Τεμένη should be translated "sacred precincts," not "chapels." (See the comment on 1 Macc. i. 47.)

to set the high priesthood to sale every year.] Jason had bought the high-priestly office of Epiphanes (ch. iv. 7, 8); and Menelaus had three years later done the same, outbidding Jason (ib. *vv.* 24–27). Lysias now, according to our author, conceived the design of holding an annual sale of the office. Fortunately for the Jewish nation, this extreme degradation was never reached.

4. *his fourscore elephants.*] This is a very improbable number. Antiochus the Great had but fifty-four elephants (Liv. xxxvii. 39) at Magnesia. Lysias, in his second expedition, had only twenty-two (2 Macc. xiii. 2), or at most thirty-two (1 Macc. vi. 30). Josephus, however, in one passage ('Bell. Jud.' i. 1, § 5), makes the elephants in the second expedition "eighty."

5. *he . . . drew near to Bethsura.*] Bethsura, or Beth-Zur, was at this time reckoned to Idumæa (1 Macc. iv. 29). It was a strong place, occupying a commanding position, in the border country of Judæa and Edom. (See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 29.)

distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs.] This is a mistake. The distance of Beit-Sur from Jerusalem is, at least, 160 furlongs. Two MSS. have σχοίνους for σταδίους, but our author habitually measures distances by stades (ch. xii. 9, 16, 17, 29), never by schœni.

he laid sore siege unto it.] Another mistake. Bethsura, at the time of Lysias's first expedition, was in the possession of the Idumæans, who were subject allies of the Syro-Macedonians. Lysias occupied it without any resistance (1 Macc. iv. 29).

6. *when they that were with Maccabeus heard that he besieged the holds.*] "He" refers to Lysias, whose (supposed) siege of Bethsura is looked upon as the beginning of a systematic attack upon, and occupation of, all the strongholds.

they . . . besought the Lord that he would send a good angel.] God had promised to "send an angel" before Israel to bring them safely into Canaan (Ex. xxiii. 20, 23; xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 2); and, more generally, to "give his angels charge over the righteous, to keep them in all their ways" (Ps. xci. 11; comp. Ps. xxxiv. 7). He had also, on various occasions (Josh. v. 13–15; Judg. vi. 11–23, xiii. 3–20; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17; 2 Kings vi. 17), allowed the angels, who are His ministers, visibly to appear to His servants. It was thus natural that pious Israelites should in times

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7 Then Maccabeus himself first of all took weapons, exhorting the other that they would jeopard themselves together with him to help their brethren: so they went forth together with a willing mind.

8 And as they were at Jerusalem, [b] there appeared before them on horseback one in white clothing, shaking his armour of gold.

[b] ch. 2. 21. & 10. 29.

9 Then they praised the merciful God all together, and took heart, insomuch that they were ready not only to fight with men, but with most cruel beasts, and to pierce through walls of iron.

10 Thus they marched forward in their armour, having an helper from heaven: for the Lord was merciful unto them.

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11 And giving a charge upon their enemies like lions, they slew eleven thousand *footmen*, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the others to flight.

12 Many of them also being wounded escaped naked; and Lysias himself fled away shamefully, and so escaped.

13 Who, as he was a man of understanding, casting with himself what loss he had had, and considering that the Hebrews could not be overcome, because the Almighty

of danger put up such a petition as that recorded in the text, not necessarily meaning to ask for a *visible* angelic manifestation, but only for the promised angelic aid, which might be given either visibly or invisibly. It is the author's belief that, on this occasion, as on many others in the course of the Maccabæan struggle, the aid was given visibly. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30.)

7. *to help their brethren.*] Besieged, as the writer supposes, in Bethsura. (See *vv.* 5, 6.)

8. *And as they were at Jerusalem.*] Rather, "And **there**, while they were at Jerusalem." Judas and his army are regarded as having their head-quarters at Jerusalem, which was really not yet recovered. (See the comment on *v.* 2.)

there appeared before them on horseback.] Compare the apparitions in chs. iii. and x.

one in white clothing.] White symbolised purity. Hence the garments of the Levitical priests were almost wholly white (Ex. xxviii. 40–43), even those of the High Priest ordinarily. Angels have white raiment (Ezek. ix. 2; Matt. xxviii. 3; Mark xvi. 5; Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10, x. 30), and saints in the glorified state (Rev. iii. 4, 5; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 14, &c.). So our Lord at His transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 2).

shaking his armour of gold.] Literally, "his *panoply*." "Panoply" is used by our author, in its etymological sense, for all the arms, both offensive and defensive, that a warrior wears. Here he is thinking especially of the shield and spear (or sword) in the two hands of the angel, which he "shook" as he led the way.

9. *to pierce through walls of iron.*] *I.e.* "walls however strong." (Compare Jer. i. 18; xv. 20.) The expression was almost proverbial.

10. *they marched forward in their armour.*] Rather, "in **preparation for battle**."

having an helper from heaven.] Rather, "having (with them) **their** helper from heaven."

11. *like lions.*] Compare 1 Macc. iii. 4, and the comment *ad loc.*

they slew eleven thousand footmen and sixteen hundred horsemen.] The Syro-Macedonian loss, according to the author of the First Book (1 Macc. iv. 34), was "about five thousand"—a far more probable number.

12. *Many of them also being wounded.*] Rather, "of these **the greater part** being wounded."

escaped naked.] *I.e.* "without their arms," having thrown them away.

§ 5. TERMS OF PEACE AGREED UPON BETWEEN JUDAS AND LYSIAS.

13–15. According to the author of the First Book, Lysias was so far from entertaining thoughts of peace in his heart at this time, that on his return to Antioch he immediately set to work to hire a vast number of mercenaries, with the object of invading Judæa as soon as possible with an army more numerous than the defeated one (1 Macc. iv. 35). The present writer has apparently confused the first expedition of Lysias with the second, at the end of which peace was actually concluded (ibid. vi. 55–61); or else he has been misled by the documents which he appends (*v.* 16–38), which he believed to be genuine and to belong to this year.

13. *as he was a man of understanding.*] Literally, "as he was not without intelligence"—an instance of *meiosis*.

what loss he had had.] Rather, "**the defeat which he had suffered**."

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B. C. cir. 164. God helped them, he sent unto them,

14 And persuaded them to agree to all reasonable *conditions*, and [c] *promised* that he would persuade the king that he must needs be a friend unto them.

[c] 1 Mac. 6. 58, 59, 60.

15 Then Maccabeus consented to all that Lysias desired, being careful of the common good; and whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews, the king granted it.

16 For there were letters written unto the Jews from Lysias to this effect: Lysias unto the people of the Jews *sendeth* greeting:

B. C. cir. 163.

17 John and Absalon, who were sent from you, delivered me the petition subscribed, and made request for the performance of the contents thereof.

18 Therefore what things soever were meet to be reported to the king, I have declared them, and he hath granted as much as might be.

because the Almighty God helped them.] Lysias is scarcely likely to have been actuated by a religious motive. He *may* have thought that the God of the Hebrews was a protector not to be despised; but it is more probable that he put aside altogether the religious aspect of the matter, and merely viewed the Jews as a brave and determined mountain people, whom it was very difficult to subdue. Still, he looked to succeed, if he could collect a larger and a better army (1 Macc. iv. 35).

14. *persuaded them to agree to all reasonable conditions.*] Rather, "persuaded them to **make peace upon perfectly just** conditions."

that he must needs be a friend unto them.] The Greek idiom will not permit of this translation. Ἀναγκάζειν is "to compel," and βασιλέα must be its object, not its subject. Lysias promised either to persuade or to compel the king to be their friend. One of the two verbs is redundant, and is probably a gloss, suggested by a scribe, who thought to improve upon his author.

15. *whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews.*] Maccabæus is supposed to have accepted the proposal of Lysias, and then to have represented to him what he thought must be understood by the phrase "upon perfectly just conditions" (ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις). Eupator, according to our author, accepted the interpretation of Maccabæus.

the king granted it.] Eupator is viewed by our author as in full possession of the kingly power. (See above, ch. x. 11, 13; xi. 18, 22–33.)

§ 6. LETTER OF LYSIAS TO THE JEWS.

16–21. This letter is clearly unsuitable to the time when Lysias had just suffered a severe defeat (*vv.* 11, 12). But it may well be a misdated document of the year B.C. 163–2, when Lysias's career of victory was stopped by intelligence of Philip's occupation of Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 55), and he patched up a hasty peace with the Jews (ibid. *vv.* 58–61). Its form and language, setting aside the date, are unexceptionable.

16. *For there were letters written.*] Rather, "For **the letter, which was written to the Jews from Lysias, was** to this effect."

Lysias unto the people of the Jews.] Compare 1 Macc. x. 25. The Syro-Macedonians had not yet acknowledged any right or authority as belonging to the Jewish leaders. Alexander Balas was the first to make such recognition, when he addressed Jonathan as "his brother" (ibid. *v.* 18).

17. *John and Absalon.*] "John" may have been the brother of Maccabæus, whom the writer has hitherto, by mistake, called Joseph (ch. viii. 22; x. 19). "Absalon" is not elsewhere mentioned. A forger would scarcely have invented, without necessity, two names.

delivered me the petition subscribed.] The "petition" is probably the document which Judas sent to Lysias, summing up what he considered to be the just claims of the Jews. (See the comment on *v.* 15.) It was "subscribed," *i.e.* appended to Lysias's letter, as sent, though not reported by our author. (Compare ch. ix. 25.)

made request for the performance of the contents thereof.] Rather, "**made inquiry concerning** the contents thereof;" *i.e.* asked whether the claims of the Jews, as stated by Judas, were allowed or no.

18. *what things soever were meet to be reported to the king.*] Some reference to Eupator had, no doubt, to be made, at any rate as a formality. (See 1 Macc. vi. 60, 61.) But it was probably Lysias himself who determined which of the Jews' demands were, and which were not, admissible.

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B. C. cir. 163.

19 If then ye will keep yourselves loyal to the state, hereafter also will I endeavour to be a means of your good.

20 But of the particulars I have given order both to these, and the other that came from me, to commune with you.

21 Fare ye well. The hundred and eight and fortieth year, the four and twentieth day of *the month* ‖Dioscorinthius.

‖ Or, *Dioscorus.*

22 Now the king's letter contained these words: King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias *sendeth* greeting:

23 Since our father is translated unto the gods, our will is, that they that are in our realm live quietly, that every one may attend upon his own affairs.

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24 We understand also that the Jews would not consent to our father, for to be brought unto the custom of the Gentiles, but had rather keep their own manner of living: for the which cause they require of us, that we should suffer them to live after their own laws.

25 Wherefore our mind is, that this nation shall be in rest, and we have determined to restore them their temple, that they may live

20. *both to these.*] *I.e.* to the Jewish envoys, John and Absalon.

and the other that came from me.] Rather, "the **others** that **come** from me"—*i.e.* the envoys whom I am now sending to you.

to commune with you.] Or "hold a discussion with you." Small matters of detail were to be settled between the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem and envoys whom Lysias sent to convey his letter.

21. *The hundred and eight and fortieth year.*] It has been already noticed (see the comment on *vv.* 1–12) that this was the year before the death of Epiphanes, which fell in the 149th year of the Seleucid era, B.C. 164–3. The expedition of Lysias, which terminated in a peace, fell into the 150th year (1 Macc. vi. 20; vii. 1), or B.C. 163–2. The present date is one year too late for the first, and two years too early for the second, expedition of Lysias.

the month Dioscorinthius.] No such month was known to the Greeks. There was a Macedonian month, Dius, the sixth of the year, corresponding nearly to our March, and a Cretan month, Dioscurus, which fell at the same time. But a month called Dioscorinthius is wholly unknown to the ancients. Our author has fallen into a mistake.

§ 7. Supposed Letter of Eupator to Lysias.

22–26. The genuineness of this letter is generally disallowed. In the first expedition of Lysias, he could hold no communication with the king, who was absent in Persia. In the second, letters were out of place, since the king was in the same camp with Lysias (1 Macc. vi. 28, 33, 47, 50, 57, &c.). The letter itself contains also inappropriate expressions, and at least one untrue statement.

22. *King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias.*] It is inconceivable that either Epiphanes or Eupator should have addressed Lysias as his "*brother.*" As "cousin" expresses equality of rank among modern European sovereigns, so did "brother" among the Asiatics. (See 1 Macc. x. 18, and compare 1 Kings xx. 32.) Lysias was a subject, and, though of the blood royal, would certainly not have been addressed as "brother" even by Eupator.

23. *Since our father is translated unto the gods.*] One Seleucid monarch (Antiochus I.) had taken the title of Θεός during his lifetime, and there is reason to believe that all were, more or less, objects of worship, at least to some of their subjects. Eupator might thus perhaps assume the apotheosis of his father after death.

they that are in our realm.] Rather, "**of** our realm," *i.e.* dependent upon it.

24. *the custom of the Gentiles.*] Rather, "of the **Greeks**." Compare 1 Macc. i. 54–59, ii. 15–18; 2 Macc. iv. 9–15, &c.; and for a similar mistranslation, see *v.* 2.

they require of us, that we should suffer them to live after their own laws.] This was, beyond a doubt, the main requirement made by Judas in his letter to Lysias (*v.* 15). Its concession by Lysias and Eupator is vouched for by the author of the First Book (1 Macc. vi. 59–61).

25. *we have determined to restore them their temple.*] The Syro-Macedonians never "restored their temple" to the Jews. Maccabæus recovered it by force of arms in B.C. 165–4, and from that time it remained continuously in the possession of the patriotic party. It is inconceivable that Eupator should have made the misstatement here ascribed to him.

that they may live according to the customs

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B. C. cir. 163.

according to the customs of their forefathers.

26 Thou shalt do well therefore to send unto them, and ‖ grant them peace, that when they are certified of our mind, they may be of good comfort, and ever go cheerfully about their own affairs.

‖ Or, *give them assurance.*

27 And the letter of the king unto the nation of the Jews was after this manner: King Antiochus *sendeth* greeting unto the council, and the rest of the Jews:

28 If ye fare well, we have our desire; we are also in good health.

29 Menelaus declared unto us, that your desire was to return home, and to follow your own business:

30 Wherefore they that will depart shall have safe conduct till the thirtieth day of Xanthicus with security.

B. C. cir. 163.

31 And the Jews shall use their own kind of meats and laws, as before; and none of them any manner of ways shall be molested for things ignorantly done.

32 I have sent also Menelaus, that he may comfort you.

33 Fare ye well. In the hundred forty and eighth year, *and* the fifteenth day of *the month* ‖ Xanthicus.

‖ Or, *April.*

34 The Romans also sent unto them a letter containing these words: Quintus Memmius and Titus Man-

of their forefathers.] This was, in fact, one of the main conditions of the peace of B.C. 163–2. (See 1 Macc. vi. 59.)

§ 8. Supposed Letter of Eupator to the Jews.

27–33. Again, the genuineness of the document is suspected. Eupator was not in a position to write letters of any binding authority. He had only to give a formal assent to the terms which Lysias proposed. Suspicious points of detail in the letter are: 1, the employment of Menelaus as their ambassador by the Jews; 2, the Latin character of the opening salutation; 3, the permission to depart under safe conduct during fifteen days; 4, the date. *five months* after the letter of Lysias to the Jews.

27. *unto the council.*] Or "the senate." (See 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44.)

28. *If ye fare well, &c.*] Compare ch. ix. 20, and the comment *ad loc.*

29. *Menelaus declared unto us.*] Grimm assumes that this "Menelaus" is not the High Priest of ch. iv. 23-50; v. 5, 15, 23, but some entirely different person, otherwise unknown. But it is far more probable that our author, or the inventor of the letter, whoever he was, intended the High Priest, the only known Menelaus of the day. The Jews, however, can scarcely have in fact employed so bitter an adversary as their ambassador.

30. *they that will depart shall have safe conduct.*] This permission in no wise suits the circumstances of either expedition of Lysias. In both, the Syro-Macedonians took a hasty departure, leaving the Jews to themselves. The Jews had on neither occasion any reason to wish to "depart," nor any need of "safe conduct" if they departed.

the thirtieth day of Xanthicus.] "Xanthicus" was the sixth Macedonian month, and corresponded nearly with the Jewish Nisan. It was the fifth month after Dius, which corresponded with Marchesvan.

31. *the Jews shall use their own kind of meats.*] Literally, "of expenses" (see Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 8); but "meats" are no doubt intended. (Compare Polyb. ix. 42, § 4.)

for things ignorantly done.] *I.e.* for infractions of the law through ignorance or accident. (Compare 1 Macc. xiii. 39.)

33. *the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.*] Nearly five months after the date of the letter of Lysias (*supra*, *v.* 21). The concocter of the letter has supposed Eupator to be at Antioch, Lysias in Judæa, and has therefore taken care to put an interval between the letters. But the interval is in any case too long, and Eupator was really in Judæa with Lysias (1 Macc. vi. 57–63).

§ 9. Supposed Letter of two Roman Commissioners to the Jews.

34–38. This fourth document is a manifest forgery. Judas had not as yet entered into communication with the Romans (1 Macc. viii. 17–32); nor did he do so till after the landing of Demetrius and the death of Nicanor (ibid. vii. 47; ix. 1). Moreover, neither of the two names given is found among the *legati* of Rome in Asia at the period.

34. *Quintus Memmius.*] The Memmii were a respectable Roman family of the time

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B. C. cir. 163. lius, ‖ambassadors of the Romans, *send* greeting unto the people of the Jews.

‖ Or, *consuls.*

35 Whatsoever Lysias the king's cousin hath granted, therewith we also are well pleased.

36 But touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king, after ye have advised thereof, send one forthwith, that we may declare as it is convenient for you: for we are now going to Antioch.

37 Therefore send some with speed, that we may know what is your mind.

38 Farewell. This hundred and eight and fortieth year, the fifteenth day of *the month* Xanthicus. B. C. cir. 163.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *The king's lieutenants vex the Jews.* 3 *They of Joppe drown two hundred Jews.* 6 *Judas is avenged upon them.* 11 *He maketh peace with the Arabians,* 16 *and taketh Caspis.* 22 *Timotheus' armies overthrown.*

WHEN these covenants were made, Lysias went unto the king, and the Jews were about their husbandry.

2 But of the governors of several places, [a] Timotheus, and Apollonius the *son* of Genneus, also Hieronymus, and Demophon, and beside them Nicanor the governor of Cyprus, cir. 163. [a] See ch. 10. 37.

(Liv. xli. 25; xliii. 5, &c.); but no *Quintus* Memmius is found, nor any Memmius at all among the commissioners sent into Asia. These are:

C. Sulpicius	in B.C. 165
Ma. Sergius	— — —
Cn. Octavius	— — —
Sp. Lucretius	— — —
L. Aurelius	— — —
Tib. Gracchus	— — 163
L. Lentulus	— — —
Servilius Glaucia	— — —

Titus Manlius.] A "Titus Manlius Torquatus" was Roman commissioner in Egypt in B.C. 163; but his colleague was Cneius Merula (Polyb. xxxi. 18, § 9); and he had no authority in Asia.

ambassadors of the Romans.] Rather, "commissioners." The Roman *legati* of this period were representatives of the republic, empowered to act very much as they pleased for the purpose of advancing Roman interests in the quarter to which they were sent. They had more practical functions, and far more freedom of action, than ambassadors ordinarily possess.

36. *touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king.*] See above, *v.* 18.

38. *the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.*] This letter is very improbably dated on the same day as that of Eupator (*v.* 33), nearly five months after that of Lysias (*v.* 21). If an authentic document, it would naturally have followed close upon Lysias's letter, on which it is a comment. An interval would then have occurred, during which Roman influence would have been used, and then Eupator would have announced his final decision. As it is, the Jews are asked to consult together, and to inform the Romans of their wishes after the final decision has been taken.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 10. The Jews vexed by the Provincial Commandants. Judas attacks Joppa and Jamnia.

1–9. According to our author, though peace had been made between Judas on the one hand, and Lysias and Eupator on the other, yet hostilities continued between the Jews and the provincial commandants. Particular captains and particular towns set themselves to vex and harass the obnoxious nation, which, while living in their midst, conformed to none of their usages, but maintained pertinaciously its own religion and its own customs. Among the towns which shewed the most violent hostility were Joppa and Jamnia, the latter contemplating, and the former executing, a treacherous outrage, and thus calling down on themselves the vengeance of Judas, who burnt the havens of the two towns.

1. *Lysias went unto the king.*] See the comment on ch. xi. 33.

2. *the governors of several places.*] Rather, "the commandants" (στρατηγοὶ, not ἐπιστάται).

Timotheus.] This is probably the same leader who is mentioned as an adversary of the Jews in ch. viii. 30–32, and ch. x. 24–37. In the latter place our author has wrongly represented him as slain. (See the comment on ch. x. 37.)

Apollonius the son of Genneus.] The epithet, "son of Genneus," distinguishes this Apollonius from two others—the "son of Thraseas," mentioned in ch. iii. 5, iv. 4, &c.; and the "son of Menestheus," mentioned in ch. iv. 21.

Nicanor the governor of Cyprus.] Rather, "the Cypriarch"—probably the highest *reli-*

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B. C. cir. 163. would not suffer them to be quiet, and live in peace.

3 The men of Joppe also did such an ungodly deed: they prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go with their wives and children into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant them no hurt.

4 Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city, as being desirous to live in peace, and suspecting nothing: but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less than two hundred of them.

5 When Judas heard of this cruelty done unto his countrymen, he commanded those that were with him *to make them ready*.

6 And calling upon God the righteous Judge, he came against those murderers of his brethren, and burnt the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that fled thither he slew. B. C. cir. 163.

7 And when the town was shut up, he went backward, ‖as if he would return to root out all them of the city of Joppe. ‖ Or, *with a purpose to return.*

8 But when he heard that the Jamnites were minded to do in like manner unto the Jews that dwelt among them,

9 He came upon the Jamnites also by night, and set fire on the haven and the navy, so that the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem two hundred and forty furlongs off.

gious official in Cyprus during the time that Antiochus Epiphanes held the island, Crates having been the civil governor (ch. iv. 29). Compare the terms "Asiarch" (Acts xix. 31), "Syriarch," &c. This "Nicanor" is most likely a different person from "the son of Patroclus," mentioned in ch. viii. 9–24, 34, 35; xiv. 12–39; xv. 1–37.

3. *The men of Joppe.*] Joppa was at this time in the possession of the Syro-Macedonians, who maintained a garrison there (1 Macc. x. 75). The inhabitants were of mixed race, in part Jewish, in part Syrian, probably also in part Greco-Macedonian. In the present passage, the non-Jewish element is spoken of as preponderating, the Jewish as a sort of colony of foreign settlers. (Compare 1 Macc. xiv. 34.)

did such an ungodly deed.] Rather, "did **the following** ungodly deed."

4. *Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city.*] These words shew that the massacre was not the private act of certain irresponsible persons, but was publicly determined on by the State. The Jews must have at first misdoubted the offer made to them, and have hesitated to accept it; whereupon a formal decree was passed to reassure them; and it was in reliance on this public act of the people that they embarked and met their doom. We cannot be surprised that Judas visited such a treachery with extreme severity (*v.* 6).

6. *calling upon God the righteous Judge.*] Compare Gen. xviii. 25; Ps. vii. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 8.

he . . . burnt the haven by night.] *I.e.* whatever was inflammable in it, as docks, wooden piers, landing-places, &c.

he slew.] Or, "put to the sword."

7. *when the town was shut up.*] *I.e.* "when he found that the gates of the town were closed, and that it could not be taken by surprise during the night."

as if he would return.] Rather, "**intending to** come again."

8. *the Jamnites.*] The inhabitants of Jamnia. On the position of Jamnia, see the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 15; and, on its importance, compare 1 Macc. v. 58, x. 69, xv. 40, with Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 8, § 6; 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18.

were minded to do in like manner.] Not, probably, to drown them treacherously—a plan which could scarcely prove successful twice—but to massacre them in one way or another. On the massacres of Jews in towns where they formed a minority of the population, see Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xviii. 9, §§ 8, 9.

9. *two hundred and forty furlongs.*] Yebna, the modern representative of Jamnia, is about 28 miles from Jerusalem, or 243 stades. The port is distant from the town about two miles, or 17 stades, more, making a total of 260 stades. The conflagration must have been very great to have been seen from such a distance.

§ 12. A BODY OF ARABS ATTACKS JUDAS, AND IS DEFEATED. HE MAKES PEACE WITH THEM.

10–12. It has been suggested that this is a variant account of the transactions related in 1 Macc. v. 37–39 (Grimm); but the scene of

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B. C. cir. 163.

10 Now when they were gone from thence nine furlongs in their journey toward Timotheus, no fewer than five thousand *men on foot* and five hundred horsemen of the Arabians set upon him.

11 Whereupon there was a very sore battle; but Judas' side by the help of God got the victory; so that the Nomades of Arabia, being overcome, besought Judas for peace, promising both to give him cattle, and to pleasure him otherwise.

12 Then Judas, thinking indeed that they would be profitable in many things, granted them peace: whereupon they shook hands, and so they ‖departed to their tents.

‖ Or, *went from place to place with their families and cattle.*

13 He went also about to make a bridge to a certain strong city, which was fenced about with walls, and inhabited by people of divers countries; and the name of it was Caspis.

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14 But they that were within it put such trust in the strength of the walls and provision of victuals, that they behaved themselves rudely toward them that were with Judas, railing and blaspheming, and uttering such words as were not to be spoken.

15 Wherefore Judas with his company, calling upon the great Lord of the world, [b]who without any rams or engines of war did cast

[b] Josh. 6. 20.

that encounter is the Transjordanic region, while the battle here mentioned took place little more than a mile from Jamnia. Wandering Arabs might be met with in almost any part of southern or eastern Palestine, and would be apt to attack any force to which they thought themselves superior. There is no evidence that these Arabs were in league with Timotheus.

10. *in their journey toward Timotheus.*] Having punished Joppa and Jamnia, Judas next proceeded against this powerful captain, the chief of the commandants left by Lysias to maintain the authority of Eupator in Palestine. (See *v.* 2.) He had, apparently, betaken himself to the Transjordanic territory, and was greatly harassing the Jews in those parts (1 Macc. v. 6, 11, 34, 40).

five thousand men on foot.] That the 5,000 were "men on foot" is not expressed, but is gathered from the context, and from the practice of the author to omit πεζοὶ in his estimates of the numbers of an army. (See ch. x. 31; xi. 2, 11.)

11. *Whereupon there was a very sore battle.*] Rather, "a **stout fight.**" If Judas had, as appears from 1 Macc. v. 20, eight thousand men with him, it might have been expected that he would have gained an easy victory. But Arab troops often fight with desperation, even against superior numbers.

promising . . . to give him cattle.] Almost the whole wealth of the nomadic Arabs consists in cattle. Tributary Arab tribes paid their tribute in beasts (2 Chr. xvii. 11; G. Smith, 'History of Asshur-bani-pal,' pp. 287, 288).

12. *they shook hands.*] Rather, "they **joined** hands;" *i.e.* pledged their faith to each other, by each grasping the other's right hand.

§ 13. JUDAS BESIEGES AND TAKES CASPIN.

13–16. The "Caspis" or "Caspin" of this passage is probably the "Casphon" of 1 Macc. v. 36, which was a strong city of the Transjordanic region, and is probably identified with Heshbon. The details here given are exegetical of the brief statement in the passage above quoted, that "Judas took Casphon."

13. *He went also about to make a bridge.*] It has been proposed to read γεφύραις for γεφυροῦν, and to translate (with the Vulgate) "a city strong through bridges" (Grimm). But there is no need of any change. If the city was protected by a deep moat or by ravines, Judas may have designed to make his approaches by means of a mound of earth carried across the obstacle. Γεφύραις would not readily pass into γεφυροῦν.

inhabited by people of divers countries.] The population was very mixed in the Transjordanic region. Amorites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabs were intermingled throughout the territory, which contained also a large number of Jews. (Compare 1 Macc. v. 9, 25, 39, 45.) There was also, no doubt, a sprinkling of Syro-Macedonians.

the name of it was Caspis.] The Vulgate has "Caspin;" and the Greek admits of this rendering. (Compare the "Casphon" of 1 Macc. v. 36.)

14. *behaved themselves rudely.*] Literally, "*somewhat* rudely."

15. *calling upon the great Lord of the world.*] Literally, "the great *Dynast*,"—*i.e.*

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B. C. cir. 163. down Jericho in the time of Joshua, gave a fierce assault against the walls,

16 And took the city by the will of God, and made unspeakable slaughters, insomuch that a lake two furlongs broad near adjoining thereunto, being filled full, was seen running with blood.

17 Then departed they from thence seven hundred and fifty furlongs, and came to Characa unto the Jews that are called Tubieni. B. C. cir. 163.

18 But as for Timotheus, they found him not in the places: for before he had dispatched any thing, he departed from thence, having left a very strong garrison in a certain hold.

19 Howbeit Dositheus and Sosipater, who were of Maccabeus' captains, went forth, and slew those that

the sovereign ruler of the universe. The expression used is a rare one.

without any rams.] The battering-ram was employed by the Assyrians as early as the time of Asshur-nazir-pal (B.C. 880). The Greeks used it in the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. ii. 76); and the Macedonians employed it with great effect from the time of Philip. By the Greeks and Romans the head of the implement was actually fashioned in the shape of a ram's head, whence the names κριός and *aries*.

engines of war.] Other "engines of war" known to the ancients were the *balista*, which hurled stones; the catapult, which threw darts; and the *helepolis*, which was a complicated machine of great size, combining the several engines already mentioned.

did cast down Jericho.] See Josh. vi. 20.

gave a fierce assault.] Literally, "rushed against the walls like wild beasts." Compare ch. x. 35, where a similar expression is used. In both cases the soldiers of Judas are represented as lashed into fury by the "blasphemies" of their adversaries.

16. *a lake two furlongs broad.*] There is a large reservoir near Heshbon, towards the south, a few yards from the base of the hill (Burckhardt, 'Travels in Syria,' p. 365), which seems to be alluded to in Cant. vii. 4, and which may have been the original basis of this "lake two stades broad." The description is marked by our author's vice of exaggeration.

§ 14. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS AGAINST CHARAX. DEFEAT OF TIMOTHEUS, WHO IS ALLOWED BY DOSITHEUS AND SOSIPATER TO ESCAPE.

17–25. The expedition against Charax for the relief of the Jews called "Tubieni," is omitted by the author of the First Book, who however mentions the sufferings of certain "brethren" who dwelt "in the places of Tobie" (1 Macc. v. 13). The defeat of Timotheus here given with some detail seems to be that mentioned by the author of the First Book in ch. v. 37–43. Our author, as usual, exaggerates the numbers of the troops engaged, and of the slain (vv. 19, 20, 23).

17. *seven hundred and fifty furlongs.*] This is a distance of somewhat over 86 miles, and is quite incompatible with the "Charax" intended being "Charax-Moab," or Karak, since that place is less than forty miles from Heshbon. Some other "Charax" must be sought for, in a northerly direction (where lay the "land of Tob"), not very far from Ashtoreth-Karnaim (v. 26). Charax, "palisaded camp," is a name which may well have belonged to many distinct localities.

to Characa.] Rather, "to **Charax**." "Characa" is merely the accusative case of the word.

the Jews that are called Tubieni.] Compare 1 Macc. v. 13. The "Tubieni"—"men of Tub"—correspond to the Ish-Tob, "men of Tob," mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8. Their country, the "land of Tob" (Judg. xi. 3), was a portion of Gilead, probably towards the north-west.

18. *as for Timotheus.*] See above, v. 10. Judas had set out from Jamnia with the intention of engaging the army of Timotheus.

they found him not in the places.] He was neither at Caspin nor at Charax.

for before he had dispatched any thing.] Rather, "for **having failed to accomplish** anything." The word ἄπρακτος conveys the idea of an attempt which had ended in failure.

he departed.] Rather, "he **had** departed." He had quitted Charax before Judas and his army arrived.

19. *Dositheus and Sosipater.*] The prevalence of Grecian names, even among the chief officers of Judas, is an indication of the extent to which the Hellenizing mania had affected even the soundest part of the nation. (Compare 1 Macc. viii. 17.)

who were of Maccabeus' captains.] Judas did not allow himself to be diverted from the

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B. C. cir. 163. Timotheus had left in the fortress, above ten thousand men.

20 And Maccabeus ranged his army by bands, and set ‖ them over the bands, and went against Timotheus, who had about him an hundred and twenty thousand men of foot, and two thousand and five hundred horsemen.

‖ *Dositheus and Sosipater.*

21 Now when Timotheus had knowledge of Judas' coming, he sent the women and children and the other baggage unto a fortress called [c] Carnion: for the town was hard to besiege, and uneasy to come unto, by reason of the straitness of all the places.

[c] 1 Mac. 5. 43, *Carnaim.*

22 But when Judas his first band came in sight, the enemies, being smitten with fear and terror through the appearing of him that seeth all things, fled amain, one running this way, another that way, so as that they were often hurt of their own men, and wounded with the points of their own swords.

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23 Judas also was very earnest in pursuing them, killing those wicked wretches, of whom he slew about thirty thousand men.

24 Moreover Timotheus himself fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, whom he besought with much craft to let him go with his life, because he had many of the Jews' parents, and the brethren of some of them, who, if they put him to death, should not be regarded.

25 So when he had assured them with many words that he would restore them without hurt, according to the agreement, they let him go for the saving of their brethren.

pursuit of Timotheus by the garrison which that commander had left behind him to threaten Charax, but, detaching a force under two of his principal officers to attack the garrison in its stronghold, himself pressed forward against the main army and the chief commander. (See *v.* 20.)

20. *set them over the bands.*] Rather, as in the Syriac, "set **captains** over the bands." Αὐτοὺς is a wrong reading, and should be changed into τούς.

an hundred and twenty thousand men of foot.] This is a very improbable number. The highest estimate of footmen elsewhere, even in a *royal* Syro-Macedonian army, is 110,000 (2 Macc. xiii. 2), which the author of the First Book reduces to 100,000 (1 Macc. vi. 30). It is therefore quite inconceivable that a mere "commandant" (see *v.* 2) should have collected 120,000. *All* the numbers in this chapter are greatly exaggerated. (See *vv.* 19, 23, 26, 28, &c.)

21. *a fortress called Carnion.*] The subsequent mention of the "temple of Atargatis" at Carnion (*v.* 26) identifies this place with the "Carnaim" of the First Book (1 Macc. v. 26, 43), which is generally allowed to be the "Ashtoreth-Karnaim" of Gen. xiv. 5. On the probable site, see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 26.

uneasy to come unto.] Guarded, as we learn from the First Book (1 Macc. v. 39–43), by a deep ravine or watercourse, dry in the summer time, which had to be crossed before an attack could be made on the fortress.

22. *Judas his first band.*] Compare *v.* 20. Judas had divided his troops into several "bands."

through the appearing of him that seeth all things.] A miraculous manifestation of the Divine presence is clearly intended, on a par with those mentioned in chs. iii. 25, 33; x. 29; xi. 8; xv. 27. The author of the First Book, though he mentions the battle (1 Macc. v. 43), says nothing of any such manifestation.

24. *Timotheus . . . fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater.*] This is not stated in the First Book, and is, apparently, disbelieved by Ewald and Dean Stanley, who say nothing of it. But the tale is not one which it would have been worth while to invent; and it may fairly be regarded as one of our author's contributions to the history of the period.

with much craft.] Rather, "with much **imposture**." The author means that Timotheus invented the whole story of his having Jewish captives in his power, who would be ill-treated if he were put to death.

§ 15. CAPTURE OF THE ATARGATEUM AT CARNION—FALL OF EPHRON—RETURN OF JUDAS BY WAY OF SCYTHOPOLIS TO JERUSALEM.

26–31. This passage runs parallel with 1 Macc. v. 44–54, with which it agrees in all the main particulars. It adds the facts, that Lysias had a house in Ephron, and that the inhabitants of Scythopolis (Beth-shan) lived on friendly terms with the Jews of the vicinity.

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B. C. 163.

26 Then Maccabeus marched forth to Carnion, and to the temple of ‖Atargatis, and there he slew five and twenty thousand persons.

27 And after he had put to flight and destroyed them, Judas removed the host toward Ephron, a strong city, wherein Lysias abode, and a great multitude of divers nations, and the strong young men kept the walls, and defended them mightily: wherein also was great provision of engines and darts.

28 But when Judas and his company had called upon Almighty God, who with his power breaketh the strength of his enemies, they won the city, and slew twenty and five thousand of them that were within.

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29 From thence they departed to Scythopolis, which lieth six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem.

30 But when the Jews that dwelt there had testified that the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them, and entreated them kindly in the time of their adversity;

31 They gave them thanks, desiring them to be friendly still unto them: and so they came to Jerusalem, the feast of the weeks approaching.

Its estimates of the numbers slain by Judas are of the usual exaggerated character. (See the comment on *v.* 20.)

26. *the temple of Atargatis.*] The author of the First Book has "the *holy precinct* (τέμενος) in Carnaim" (ch. v. 43), which was evidently large enough to afford a camping-ground to the remnant of the defeated army. Atargatis, or Derketo (Derketis), was the great Syrian nature goddess (Dea Syra), corresponding to the Phœnician Ashtoreth and the Babylonian Ishtar or Nanæa. The chief seats of her worship were Hierapolis (Mabog) and Aphek or Aphaca. On its essential impurity, see Euseb. 'Vit. Constant.' iii. 56; Lucian, 'De Dea Syra,' §§ 4–10.

27. *Ephron, a strong city.*] On the identity of "Ephron" with Gephrun (Polyb. v. 70) and its probable position, see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 46.

wherein Lysias abode.] The writer does not intend to say that Lysias was in Ephron at the time of the siege, but that he had a house there, in which he sometimes resided. There is no improbability in this statement.

and a great multitude of divers nations.] Compare *v.* 13.

28. *when Judas . . . had called upon Almighty God.*] Literally, "upon the Dynast." Compare *v.* 15.

29. *Scythopolis.*] Called "Beth-shan" in 1 Macc. v. 52, as in Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27, and generally in the canonical Books of the Old Testament—"Scythopolis" only here and in Judith iii. 10. Anciently the city belonged to the Canaanites, and from them probably received its name of Beth-Shean or Beth-Shan. The name "Scythopolis" (Σκυθῶν πόλις) is first found given to it in Polybius (v. 70, § 4), who wrote about B.C. 140, and afterwards occurs as the regular Greco-Roman name in Strabo, Pliny, Eusebius, Josephus, and the Itineraries ('Itin. Ant.' p. 197; 'Itin. Hierosol.' p. 586), maintaining itself till the time of William of Tyre, after which the old name recurs in the form of Beisan. Scythopolis is thought to have derived its name from a settlement of Scythians at the spot, made perhaps at the time of the great Scythic invasion of Palestine mentioned by Herodotus (i. 106), which took place about B.C. 600. It was at all times more a heathen than a Jewish city (Judg. i. 27; Mishna 'Aboda Zara,' i. 4; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18, § 3, &c.).

six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem.] This estimate is fairly correct. Beisan is distant from Jerusalem, as the crow flies, nearly 500 stades, and could not be reached by any ordinary route without an augmentation of the distance by at least one-fifth.

30. *the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them.*] This was not so at a later date. On the breaking out of the last Roman war, A.D. 65, the heathen inhabitants rose up against their Jewish fellow-citizens, and massacred them to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' *l. s. c.*).

31. *they came to Jerusalem.*] Compare 1 Macc. v. 54. It is a new fact, contributed by the writer of this Book, that the return immediately preceded the Feast of Pentecost. On the appellation "Feast of Weeks," see Deut. xvi. 10, 16, and compare Lev. xxiii. 15, 16.

§ 16. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS INTO IDUMÆA. GORGIAS IS NEARLY CAPTURED. DEFEAT OF HIS ARMY.

32–37. The expedition touched on by the author of the First Book in ch. v. 65 is here

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32 And after the *feast*, called Pentecost, they went forth against Gorgias the governor of ‖Idumea,

‖ Or, *Jamnia*, 1 Mac. 5. 58.

33 Who came out with three thousand men of foot and four hundred horsemen.

34 And it happened that in their fighting together a few of the Jews were slain.

35 At which time Dositheus, one of Bacenor's company, who was on horseback, and a strong man, was still upon Gorgias, and taking hold of his coat drew him by force; and when he would have taken that cursed man alive, a horseman of Thracia coming upon him ‖smote off his shoulder, so that Gorgias fled unto Marisa.

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‖ Or, *put by his arm*: or, *wounded him in the shoulder*: or, *struck him in the shoulder*.

36 Now when they that were with ‖Gorgias had fought long, and were weary, Judas called upon the Lord, that he would shew himself to be their helper and leader of the battle.

‖ Or, *Esdris*.

37 And with that he began in his own language, and sung psalms with a loud voice, and rushing unawares upon Gorgias' men, he put them to flight.

given with some detail. It appears that Gorgias was the leader against whom Judas contended. Judas had only a small army (*v.* 33), and was in danger of suffering defeat, but by an appeal to the religious feeling of his troops gained the victory. In the struggle Gorgias was almost captured by Dositheus, but escaped through the latter being wounded. No mention is made of Hebron, which, according to the author of the First Book, was captured by Judas.

32. *after the feast called Pentecost.*] Compare Tobit ii. 1. The name is a translation of the Hebrew יוֹם חֲמִשִּׁים, which was given to the Festival because it fell on the fiftieth day after the Passover sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16).

Gorgias the governor of Idumea.] Gorgias has been already mentioned as in league with the Idumæans against Judas (ch. x. 14, 15). He had, shortly before this, inflicted a defeat on a body of Jews who had attacked Jamnia under Azarias and Joseph (1 Macc. v. 56–60). His command seems to have extended over Idumæa and northern Philistia.

33. *Who came out with three thousand men.*] This translation makes the estimate one of the army of Gorgias. But there can be little doubt that the author intends to give the numbers of the army of Judas. (See Grimm *ad loc.*) Gorgias's forces were probably far more numerous. Translate—"**Now he** came out with three thousand men."

35. *Dositheus, one of Bacenor's company.*] It would seem that this "Dositheus" is not the commander of *vv.* 19, 24, or he would not have been called "a certain Dositheus" (Δωσίθεός τις), "one of Bacenor's men." He was, apparently, a common soldier.

was still upon Gorgias.] Rather, "**attached himself to** Gorgias;" *i.e.* made a set upon him—challenged an encounter, and would not be denied.

taking hold of his coat.] Rather, "catching hold of his **cloak**." The *chlamys* was a sort of cloak or scarf, fastened round the neck, and hanging loosely behind the warrior. (See Smith's 'Dict. of Antiquities,' cuts on pp. 196, 275, 276, 519, &c.) It was easily caught hold of, and gave the man who seized it a grasp of his foe which was not easily escaped.

a horseman of Thracia coming upon him.] The Thracians were renowned as light-armed troops, and served both on foot and horseback. They were constantly enrolled as mercenaries by the Epigoni, or "successors" of Alexander, and are found serving in almost all the large armies collected by them (See Polyb. v. 65, § 10; 79, § 6, &c.)

smote off his shoulder.] *I.e.* his arm at the shoulder. (Compare ch. xv. 30.)

Gorgias fled unto Marisa.] "Marisa," the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew "Mareshah," was the name of a city of Judah situated in the low Philistine plain, or Shefêlah. It was distant from Hebron about thirteen miles to the north-west, on the direct route to Ashdod. It seems to be represented by the modern "Marash" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 67, 68). The Syriac alteration of "Marisa" into "Samaria" is quite indefensible.

36. *when they that were with Gorgias had fought long and were weary.*] "Gorgias" is the reading of a few MSS. only; the great majority have "Esdris." A Jewish, and not a Syro-Macedonian, commander is certainly intended. Note that "Ezri" (= Esdris) occurs as a Jewish name in 1 Chr. xxvii. **26.**

37. *with that he began in his own language and sung psalms.*] Rather, "with that he **led off, in the national tongue, the war-cry that was joined with** psalms." Some well-known war-song must be meant.

Gorgias' men.] The army which Gorgias had just deserted. (See *v.* 3 .)

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38 So Judas gathered his host, and came into the city of Odollam. And when the seventh day came, they purified themselves, as the custom was, and kept the sabbath in the same place.

39 And upon the day following, Or, *at such time, &c.* ‖as the use had been, Judas and his company came to take up the bodies of them that were slain, and to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.

40 Now under the coats of every one that was slain they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is forbidden the Jews by [d] the law. Then every man saw that this was the cause wherefore they were slain.

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[d] Deut. 7. 25, 26.

41 All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened things that were hid,

42 Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble

§ 17. Burial of the Jewish slain. Discovery of idol-offerings upon their persons. Atonement made for them.

38–45. Judas, after the battle, occupied "Odollam" or "Adullam," and there rested during the Sabbath. On the day following he proceeded to bury the bodies of those soldiers belonging to his own side who had fallen in the fight. According to our author, it was found that all the slain had, concealed on their persons, objects which had been carried off from the idol temples of Jamnia. Hence their deaths were regarded as Divine judgments. Judas, having improved the occasion to warn the people against idolatry, made a collection for an offering to be sent to Jerusalem, in expiation of the sin which his soldiers had committed.

38. *the city of Odollam.*] Adullam appears as a Canaanite city in Josh. xii. 15 (compare Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12). In the division of the Holy Land it was assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 35). The place appears to have been in the Shefêlah. It is probably identified with the "Aid-el-Ma" discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, near which is a cave, "sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band were garrisoning the hold or fortress" ('Quarterly Statement' of Pal. Explor. Fund for Jan. 1881, p. 44). Aid-el-Ma is marked in the twenty-first sheet of the great map published by the Fund.

they purified themselves.] Contact with the heathen would have made most of them "unclean," more especially such as had killed an enemy (Num. xxxi. 19). The purification would be by means of ablution.

39. *as the use had been.*] Rather, "**according as necessity required.**" The burial of the slain could not be longer deferred without danger to the living from the setting in of decomposition.

to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.] This would scarcely have been possible in many cases, since the slain were, no doubt, from various and distant localities. They were probably all interred on the field of battle.

40. *under the coats.*] The χιτὼν is the close-fitting inner garment, corresponding to the modern "shirt," and in no way resembles our "coat." Evidently the soldiers sought to conceal the idol-offerings which they wore, as much as possible.

things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites.] Votive offerings in silver or gold, such as abounded in every heathen temple, are probably intended. A superstitious feeling had induced the soldiers of Judas to carry these off from the temples of the Jamnites, and suspend them about their persons as amulets, which would avert dangers. The fact is very important, as indicating an undercurrent of heathenish feeling and belief, even among those Jews who, on the whole, clave to the Law, and ventured their lives in its defence. Judas would naturally be shocked by the discovery, and, to check such a departure from true religion, he made it public, and put it before his soldiers, that the amulets, instead of averting danger, had attracted it, and been "the cause" wherefore those who wore them had been slain.

which is forbidden the Jews by the law.] The Law was very strict in forbidding any adoption of even innocent heathen rites, or any conformity with heathen religious practices. (See Ex. xx. 4, 23, xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Deut. xiv. 1, &c.) The particular practice here mentioned is not, however, forbidden in the Law expressly.

41. *the Lord, the righteous Judge.*] Compare above, *v.* 6.

who had opened, &c.] Rather, "who **makes manifest** the things which have been hid." The statement is quite general, though, no doubt, a special reference to the recent discovery is intended.

42. *might wholly be put out of remembrance.*] Literally, "might be completely

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B. C. cir. 163. Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forsomuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain.

43 And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:

44 For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.

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45 And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Eupator invadeth Judea.* 15 *Judas by night slayeth many.* 18 *Eupator's purpose is defeated.* 22 *He maketh peace with Judas.*

wiped out." Sin is "wiped out" by being forgiven, rather than by being forgotten. God can really never forget anything.

43. *two thousand drachms of silver.*] About eighty pounds of our money. Some MSS. give "three thousand;" the Vulgate, "twelve thousand." The money would be employed in the purchase of victims.

to offer a sin-offering.] On the law of sin-offerings, see Lev. iv. 2–35; v. 1–19; vi. 2–7. There is no indication in the Law that they were intended to be offered for the dead, nor any evidence to shew that they had ever been so offered before this occasion. Hence the anxiety of the writer to justify the act of Judas, which he does on general grounds.

doing therein very well and honestly.] Rather, "very well and **rightly**." Ἀστεῖος in the later Greek has the general sense of what is right and good.

he was mindful of the resurrection.] See the comment on ch. vi. 26; vii. 9.

44. *to pray for the dead.*] Offerings were supposed to be always accompanied by prayer. When a "sin-offering" was offered, it was, as a matter of course, accompanied by prayer that the sin for which the offering was made might be forgiven. (Compare *v.* 42.) The Jewish liturgies contain a form of "Prayer for the dead," called "the *Kaddish*," which is believed to be at least as old as the time of our Lord. (Farrar, 'Eternal Hope,' p. 216.)

45. *And also, &c.*] Verse 44 is parenthetic, being exegetical of the assertion in *v.* 43, that Judas "was mindful of the resurrection." Verse 45 is to be closely connected with the last clause of *v.* 43.

there was great favour laid up.] Compare ch. vii. 9, 11, 14, 23. The conviction of a happy future beyond the grave as reserved for the righteous was one of the chief animating principles of the Maccabæan revolt, and seems to have been confidently held by all classes. Judas regarded the sinners who had fallen as purged from their sin by the sin-offering and the prayers of the people, so that they passed into the class of those who "died"—or rather "**slept**"—in godliness, and became possessors of the "favour" laid up for that class.

it was an holy and good thought.] This clause is best detached from the preceding one, and taken as a sort of summary. The entire conception which Judas had formed on this matter was "holy and good."

he made a reconciliation.] Rather, "**the** reconciliation"—that which had been already mentioned (*v.* 43).

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 18. Great Expedition of Eupator and Lysias into Judæa.

1–26. This expedition is, beyond a doubt, identical with that which the author of the First Book describes in ch. vi. 23–63, and which he assigns to the 150th Seleucid year (ib. *v.* 20). It was provoked by attacks, which Judas was continually making, upon the Acra of Jerusalem, and the Syro-Macedonian garrison which held it (ib. 18–27). The army collected by Lysias was the largest ever brought against Judæa by the Syro-Macedonians. It was composed of foot, horse, chariots (2 Macc. xiii. 2), and elephants. The main campaign was on the Idumæan border, about the city of Beth-sura (1 Macc. vi. 31–50; 2 Macc. xiii. 19). The Syro-Macedonians had greatly the advantage over the Jews in the struggle; and the latter were only saved from complete subjugation by the sudden march of Philip on Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 35; 2 Macc. xiii. 23), which forced Lysias to bring the war to an end by a peace, under which the Jews were granted very favourable terms (1 Macc. vi. 59). The facts wherewith the author of the present Book enriches the history are his accounts of the

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IN the hundred forty and ninth year it was told Judas, that Antiochus Eupator was coming with a great power into Judea,

[a] ch. 11. 1.

2 And with him [a] Lysias his protector, and ruler of his affairs, having either of them a Grecian power of footmen, an hundred and ten thousand, and horsemen five thousand and three hundred, and elephants two and twenty, and three hundred chariots armed with hooks. B. C. cir. 162.

3 Menelaus also joined himself with them, and with great dissimulation encouraged Antiochus, not for the safeguard of the country, but because he thought to have been made governor.

4 But the King of kings moved Antiochus' mind against this wicked

execution of Menelaus (*vv.* 3–8), of the prayer and fast of Judas (*vv.* 10–12), of his night attack on the Syrian camp near Modeïn (*vv.* 14–17), and of the disturbance at Ptolemaïs on the return of the Syrians from Judæa to Antioch (*vv.* 25, 26). The details of the great battle between Lysias and Judas are given only in the First Book (ch. vi. 33–47).

1. *In the hundred forty and ninth year.*] Really in the 150th year, which began in October, B.C. 163, and terminated in October, B.C. 162. It is conjectured that the author of the Second Book counts the Seleucid years from B.C. 313, instead of from B.C. 312.

that Antiochus Eupator was coming.] As in ch. xi., so here, the writer speaks of Eupator as if he had an actual part in the conduct of affairs, whereas he was a mere boy, entirely under the direction and control of Lysias. Lysias took him to the war in order that he might not lose sight of him.

2. *Lysias his protector, and ruler of his affairs.*] Compare ch. xi. 1, and 1 Macc. vi. 17.

having either of them a Grecian power of footmen.] It is not at all likely that the Syro-Macedonian forces were, in any sense, partitioned between Eupator and Lysias. Lysias was in command of the entire army.

an hundred and ten thousand.] The component elements of the army of Lysias at this time are stated somewhat differently in the First and Second Books of Maccabees:—

In the First Book.		*In the Second Book.*	
Foot . .	100,000	Foot . .	110,000
Horse .	20,000	Horse .	5,300
Elephants	32	Elephants	22
		Chariots .	300

Josephus contradicts himself as to the numbers (comp. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3, with 'Bell. Jud.' i. 1, § 5), and cannot be regarded as a trustworthy authority. The numbers of the Second Book are here, on the whole, the most probable.

three hundred chariots armed with hooks.] Rather, "with **scythes**" or "**sickles.**" Scythed chariots were employed by the Persians at Cunaxa (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, § 10) and at Arbela (Q. Curt. 'Vit. Alex.' iv. 9; Diod. Sic. xvii. 53). In B.C. 220 they are said to have been brought by Molo against Antiochus the Great (Polyb. v. 53, § 10); and in B.C. 190 they were brought by Antiochus himself against the Romans (Liv. xxxvii. 41). There is thus nothing improbable in their employment by Eupator in B.C. 162. The number (300) seems, however, excessive; since Codomannus brought but 200 to Arbela (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 11).

3. *Menelaus also joined himself with them.*] Nothing is said of Menelaus having joined the expedition by the author of the First Book. It is conceivable, however, that he may have done so. Alcimus joined the expedition of Bacchides in the year following (1 Macc. vii. 9, 12). Menelaus's functions had ceased when the Temple was profaned (ch. vi. 2–4); and he had probably remained at Antioch during the interval between B.C. 168 and 162.

with great dissimulation.] Εἰρώνεια here is "simulation" rather than "dissimulation." Translate "with great **pretence of patriotism**."

not for the safeguard of the country.] *I.e.* "not really for the salvation of his country, as he pretended, but from a personal motive." Menelaus doubtless professed to see in the destruction of the Maccabean party and the full re-establishment of the Syrian yoke the only chance of prosperity for his unhappy country. So traitors argue at all times.

he thought to have been made governor.] Literally, "he thought to be established in his office." The "office" intended is that of High Priest, from which he had been, practically, deposed for five years.

4. *But the King of kings.*] This is probably the earliest application to God of a title frequently assumed by earthly sovereigns. It is found also in 3 Macc. v. 35, and in the Book of Enoch (ix. 4). The writers of the New Testament have adopted it, and given it the highest possible consecration. (See 1 Tim. vi. 5; Rev. xvii. 14, xix. 16.)

moved Antiochus' mind against this wicked

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B. C. cir. 162. wretch, and Lysias informed the king that this man was the cause of all mischief, so that the king commanded to bring him unto Berea, and to put him to death, as the manner is in that place.

5 Now there was in that place a tower of fifty cubits high, full of ashes, and it had a round instrument, which on every side hanged down into the ashes.

6 And whosoever was condemned of sacrilege, or had committed any other grievous crime, there did all men thrust him unto death.

7 Such a death it happened that wicked man to die, not having so much as burial in the earth; and B. C. cir. 162. that most justly:

8 For inasmuch as he had committed many sins about the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy, he received his death in ashes.

9 Now the king came with a barbarous and haughty mind to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father's time.

10 Which things when Judas perceived, he commanded the multitude to call upon the Lord night and day, that if ever at any other time, he would now also help them, being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple:

wretch.] The execution of Menelaus, if it took place as here narrated, must have been the work of Lysias far more than of Eupator, whose consent to it would be a mere matter of form, like the signature, by modern constitutional sovereigns, of a death-warrant. How Menelaus had offended Lysias, or why the latter wished him to be put to death, is not apparent.

the cause of all mischief.] Rather, "the cause of all the mischief." It is quite conceivable that this might be asserted, especially as the real originator of the mischief, Jason (ch. iv. 7–26), was a fugitive in a distant land (ch. v. 8), and could not be made the scapegoat.

unto Berea.] The "Berœa" here intended is, no doubt, that which lay halfway between Hierapolis and Antioch (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 19; Strab. xvi. p. 751), on the site of the modern Aleppo. It was not a place of much importance in ancient times.

as the manner is in that place.] We have no other evidence of the existence of this cruel custom *at Berœa;* but suffocation in a pit full of ashes was a recognised Persian punishment, and one frequently inflicted on offenders of a high class. (See Ctesias, 'Persic. Excerpt.,' §§ 48, 52; Val. Max. ix. 2, § 7.)

5. *a round instrument.*] Rather, "an instrument that turned round;" a sort of wheel, whereon a man could be placed, which turned with him, and, after making half a revolution, dropped him off it into the ashes.

6. *whosoever was condemned of sacrilege.*] Menelaus had been guilty of sacrilege (ch. iv. 32), but it is scarcely likely that he was condemned for it, since his sacrilege consisted in his plundering the *Jewish* temple. He was probably executed as a traitor. Still there was an appropriateness in his being awarded a punishment specially assigned by custom to sacrilegious persons.

there did all men thrust him unto death.] A tumultuary proceeding seems to be intended, when a man, taken in the act, was hurried by a mob to the tower, and violently pushed against the machine described above, which caught him, and bore him to his death.

8. *he had committed many sins about the altar.*] Menelaus had accompanied Epiphanes into the Temple and given the sanction of his authority to the profanation of the sanctuary and the altar then begun, and carried afterwards to such lengths (ch. v. 15, 23; vi. 2–5, &c.). In the view of the Jews he was guilty of the entire series of pollutions to which his acts had led the way, and which he had at no time withstood. His death at this time, at the instance of Lysias, and the scene of it, Berœa, are confirmed by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7). The author of the First Book passes the matter over in silence.

9. *the king came . . . to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father's time.*] Rather, "to do to the Jews the worst that had been done in his father's time." It would not have been possible to "do worse" than Epiphanes, who had profaned the Temple, put down the religion, set up idolatry, and commanded Lysias to slay or sell for slaves the entire nation (1 Macc. iii. 35–42). Eupator, or rather Lysias, came now with similar intentions (see *v.* 10).

10. *being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple.*] This does not appear from the First Book. In collecting, however, the unusually large army brought against Judæa on this

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11 And that he would not suffer the people, that ‖had even now been but a little refreshed, to be in subjection to the blasphemous nations.

‖ Or, *had had a little respite.*

12 So when they had all done this together, and besought the merciful Lord with weeping and fasting, and lying flat upon the ground three days long, Judas, having exhorted them, commanded they should be in a readiness.

13 And Judas, being apart with the elders, determined, before the king's host should enter into Judea, and get the city, to go forth and try the matter *in fight* by the help of the Lord.

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14 So when he had committed *all* to the ‖Creator of the world, and exhorted his soldiers to fight manfully, even unto death, for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth, he camped by Modin:

‖ Or, *Lord.*

15 And having given the watchword to them that were about him, Victory is of God; with the most valiant and choice young men he went in into the king's tent by night, and slew in the camp about four thousand men, and the chiefest of the

occasion (see *v.* 2 and the comment), Lysias can scarcely have had any other design than to carry out fully the object with which he had entered on his first expedition, which was the complete extirpation of the entire people (1 Macc. iii. 35). So far as human foresight can judge, the design would have been triumphantly carried out and the Jewish nation swept from the earth, had not Philip, at the most critical moment, marched on Antioch and forced Lysias to turn all his attention towards him. (See especially 1 Macc. vi. 47–54, where the extremity to which Judas was reduced is made far more apparent than it is by the present writer.)

11. *but a little refreshed.*] Rather, "but **for a short time** refreshed." It was three years only since the recovery of the Temple.

12. *lying flat upon the ground.*] The ordinary prostration in prayer is intended. (Compare 1 Macc. iv. 40; 2 Macc. x. 4.)

commanded they should be in a readiness.] Rather, "commanded that they should **come to him.**"

13. *with the elders.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 33. This is the first indication of Judas having so far organised a civil government as to have established a council of "elders." No doubt, however, from the time of the recovery of the Temple hill, the national character of the outbreak was recognised, and, while Judas commanded in the field, something like a civil power held possession of eastern Jerusalem. With this civil power he from time to time took counsel.

before the king's host should . . . get the city.] *I.e.* recapture the part of Jerusalem which Judas had recovered (ch. x. 1).

to go forth and try the matter.] *I.e.* to march against the enemy—not to wait within walls for the royal assault, but to take the field, and seek an opportunity for attack, as he had always done previously (1 Macc. iii. 11, 23; iv. 12; v. 33, 43; 2 Macc. viii. 6, 23, &c.).

14. *the Creator of the world.*] Compare ch. i. 24; vii. 23. The "Creator of the world" could not but be all-powerful, and able to give the victory to whomsoever He pleased.

for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth.] For all that they valued, either in Church or State—for the Divine laws, the Temple, Jerusalem, Judæa, their new freedom and self-government.

he camped by Modin.] The Syrian line of march was along the coast from Carmel, through the low plains of Sharon and Philistia. (See the comment on 1 Macc. vi. 31.) They were wont to attack Judæa either from the west or from the south. Judas therefore marched westward to the commanding position of Modin or Modeïn, whence he could observe the movements of Lysias, and watch his opportunity for striking a blow.

15. *the watchword . . . Victory is of God.*] Compare the watchword given in the battle with Nicanor (ch. viii. 23)—"Help is from God." It was especially necessary to give a watchword before a night attack.

he . . . slew in the camp about four thousand men.] It is strange that the author of the First Book says nothing of this daring exploit. Perhaps he omitted it, since it did not affect the result of the war. Lysias continued his march, only with greater caution than previously, and took up the position in Idumæa which he had probably from the first intended. It was the same position which he had occupied in his previous attack upon Judas (1 Macc. iv. 29).

the chiefest of the elephants.] It is not at

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B. C. cir. 162. elephants, with all that were upon him.

16 And at last they filled the camp with fear and tumult, and departed with good success.

17 This was done in the break of the day, because the protection of the Lord did help him.

18 Now when the king had taken a taste of the manliness of the Jews, he went about to take the holds by policy.

19 And marched toward Bethsura, which was a strong hold of the Jews: but he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men: B. C. cir. 162.

20 For Judas had conveyed unto them that were in it such things as were necessary.

21 But Rhodocus, who was in the Jews' host, disclosed the secrets to the enemies; therefore he was sought out, and when they had gotten him, they put him in prison.

22 The king treated with them in Bethsura the second time, gave his hand, took their's, departed, fought with Judas, was overcome;

all clear how this could be known, in the confusion and darkness of a night attack. One is led to suspect some confusion between this exploit of Judas and the later one of his brother Eleazar, who in broad daylight singled out the biggest of the elephants in the army of Eupator, attacked him and slew him, sacrificing his own life in the encounter (1 Macc. vi. 43–46).

with all that were upon him.] Literally, "with the crowd that was in his house." The "house" is the wooden tower on the elephant's back. This was believed by the Jews of Maccabæan times to have been occupied by above *thirty* men! (See 1 Macc. vi. 37.)

17. *This was done in the break of the day.*] Or, "This took place when the day was already breaking." Though the protection of the darkness was withdrawn, God's protection saved Judas from disaster.

18. *Now when the king had taken a taste, &c.*] A change of policy is indicated. The Syrians had started forth on their expedition confident in their overwhelming strength. Judas's slaughter of 4000 men in their camp not far from Modeïn, had dispelled this confidence and made them see the necessity of proceeding with caution. The rest of the campaign was carried on according to the most approved rules of military art (*διὰ μεθόδων*).

19. *And marched toward Bethsura.*] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 31.

which was a strong hold of the Jews.] Judas had seized it and fortified it, after the failure of Lysias's first expedition (1 Macc. iv. 61). Previously it seems to have been held by the Idumæans (ib. *v.* 29).

he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men.] This does not appear in the narrative of the First Book, where we have a description of a great battle between the hosts of Judas and Lysias in the vicinity of Bethsura, in which, though Lysias suffered certain losses, he was in the end completely victorious, forcing the army under Judas to retreat and leave Bethsura to its fate (1 Macc. vi. 42–47). It may be true, however, that Lysias made one assault upon the place which failed.

20. *For Judas had conveyed unto them.*] Rather, "**And** Judas [hereupon] **conveyed** unto them." It is meant that Judas took advantage of Lysias's failure to throw provisions into the town.

21. *Rhodocus.*] Nothing more is known of this traitor; for it is a wild fancy of Hitzig's that he was the author of the 86th and 88th Psalms.

disclosed the secrets.] Rather, "**their** secrets"—as their numbers, plans, weak points, and the like. Having to acknowledge, grudgingly, certain successes on the part of Lysias (*v.* 22), the author seeks to minimise the credit attaching to him for them by suggesting that they were attributable to treachery in the Jewish camp.

22. *The king treated with them in Bethsura, &c.*] In point of fact, Bethsura seems to have surrendered at discretion. The provisions were exhausted, and it was impossible to make any further resistance. (See 1 Macc. vi. 49, 50.)

fought with Judas, was overcome.] It is impossible to characterise this statement otherwise than as an absolute falsehood. Both the author of the First Book (1 Macc. vi. 47) and Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 5) admit the complete defeat of Judas, who retired with the remnant of his army to Jerusalem, whereupon Lysias, dividing his forces, pressed the siege of Bethsura to a successful issue, while at the same time he advanced upon Jerusalem and besieged Judas within its walls. Jerusalem itself must have surrendered, being well-nigh starved out, had not the news of Philip's march upon Antioch made it imperative upon Lysias to forego his

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23 Heard that Philip, who was left over the affairs in Antioch, ‖was desperately bent, confounded, intreated the Jews, submitted himself, and sware to all equal conditions, agreed with them, and offered sacrifice, honoured the temple, and dealt kindly with the place,

‖ Or, *rebelled.*

24 And accepted well of Maccabeus, made him principal governor from Ptolemais unto the Gerrhenians;

25 Came to Ptolemais: the people there were grieved for the covenants; for they stormed, because they would make their covenants void:

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26 Lysias went up to the judgment seat, said as much as could be in defence of the cause, persuaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch. Thus it went touching the king's coming and departing.

prize, and return in all haste to the Syrian capital. (See 1 Macc. vi. 48–60.)

23. *Heard that Philip, who was left over the affairs in Antioch, was desperately bent.*] Rather, "heard that Philip, **who had been left over the affairs, was entered on desperate courses at Antioch.**" Philip, "left over the affairs" of the empire by Epiphanes in his last moments (1 Macc. vi. 14, 15), returned to Antioch during Lysias's absence in Palestine, and there took the desperate, or at any rate the dangerous, course of setting himself up as actual ruler of the kingdom (ib. *vv.* 56, 63). Lysias, finding his position challenged, had to meet his rival without delay.

confounded.] Rather, "**was** confounded." "The king" is the grammatical, Lysias the rightful subject. At the receipt of the intelligence concerning Philip, Lysias was for a time "confounded," and scarcely knew what he should do. He soon, however, recovered himself, and took the needful steps.

intreated the Jews, submitted himself.] These terms are somewhat too strong; but they perhaps fairly represent the construction which the Jews put on Lysias's sudden change of front, and spontaneous offer of terms of peace to them (1 Macc. vi. 60).

sware to all equal conditions.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 59, 61. The chief proviso was, that the Jews should be allowed to "live after their own laws, as they did before."

offered sacrifice.] This statement is additional to those made in the First Book; but it is quite in harmony with them. Of course the act of sacrifice was performed by the Jewish priests.

dealt kindly with the place.] The writer of the First Book notes one exception. When the strength of the fortifications was seen, the Syro-Macedonian leaders, though they had sworn to leave all intact, broke their oaths, and demolished great part of the defences (1 Macc. vi. 62, 63). We must understand the present writer as meaning that they did no wanton injury to the sacred buildings.

24. *made him principal governor.*] Rather, "made Hegemonidas governor." (So the Syriac Version, and, among commentators, Wernsdorf, Hasse, Scholtz, and Grimm.) It is very unlikely that Judas would have been made governor, and still more unlikely that, if he had been made governor, the author of the First Book would not have mentioned it. The word ἡγεμονίδης, moreover, is not found elsewhere as an adjective.

unto the Gerrhenians.] The "Gerrhenians" should be the inhabitants of Gerrha, which lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura. But as even Rhinocolura belonged at this time to Egypt (Polyb. v. 80, § 3), it is impossible that Gerrha can be intended. Perhaps Γερρήνοι is a corruption of Γεραρηνοί (found in one MS.), and Gerar, not Gerrha, is pointed out as the southern limit of the Syro-Macedonian dominion.

25. *Came to Ptolemais.*] On the site and history of Ptolemaïs, see the comment upon 1 Macc. v. 15.

the people there were grieved for the covenants.] Ptolemaïs, as one of the most rising cities of these parts, was especially jealous of Jerusalem. It had taken a prominent part in the general rising which had followed the recovery of the Temple by Judas (1 Macc. v. 15), and had suffered shortly afterwards at the hands of Simon (ib. *v.* 22). Hence there was great indignation at Ptolemaïs when the favourable terms of peace granted to the Jews were made known to the inhabitants.

their covenants.] Rather, "**the** covenants"—*i.e.* the terms of peace between Judas and Eupator.

26. *Lysias went up to the judgment seat.*] Rather, "to the tribune"—the *rostra*—the place from which speeches were made to the people.

persuaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch.] The extreme brevity of the style in *vv.* 19–26 is very remarkable, and recalls the author's observations, in ch. ii. 29–32, on the duty of an epitomator.

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CHAPTER XIV.

6 *Alcimus accuseth Judas.* 18 *Nicanor maketh peace with Judas.* 39 *He seeketh to take Razis,* 46 *who, to escape his hands, killeth himself.*

AFTER three years was Judas informed, that Demetrius the [a] *son* of Seleucus, [a] having entered by the haven of Tripolis with a great power and navy,

[a] 1 Mac. 7. 1.

2 Had taken the country, and killed Antiochus, and Lysias his protector.

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3 Now [b] one Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling *with the Gentiles*, seeing that by no means he could save himself, nor have any more access to the holy altar,

[b] 1 Mac. 7. 5.

CHAPTER XIV.

PART V.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND THE JEWS IN THE REIGN OF DEMETRIUS SOTER.

§ 1. DEMETRIUS HAVING MADE HIMSELF KING, ALCIMUS COMPLAINS TO HIM OF JUDAS. NICANOR COMMISSIONED BY DEMETRIUS TO KILL JUDAS AND ESTABLISH ALCIMUS AS HIGH PRIEST.

1–14. Omitting the contest between Lysias and Philip (briefly touched in 1 Macc. vi. 63), our author passes to the time when Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV., having escaped from Rome, landed on the Syrian coast and commenced his struggle for the crown. At first he met with great success, defeating Lysias, and killing both him and Eupator. Being established as king at Antioch, he received an application from a certain Alcimus, who claimed that the high priesthood belonged to him of right, and besought Demetrius to establish him in the office, at the same time deposing Judas from his high position. Demetrius adopted the advice, and sent Nicanor against Judas, with orders to kill him and establish Alcimus as High Priest. The passage runs parallel with 1 Macc. vii. 1–26, but contains some remarkable differences from that narrative. According to the present writer, Demetrius responded to the appeal of Alcimus by the immediate appointment of Nicanor to the chief command against Judas, and that commander began by attempts to negotiate a peace. According to the author of the First Book and Josephus, the person sent to instal Alcimus was Bacchides (1 Macc. vii. 8; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2); and it was at a considerably later date that, on a special application from Alcimus, who found his position in Judæa untenable, Nicanor was sent. Nicanor's relations with Judas are also very differently represented by the two writers. According to the First Book, he was "a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel" (ch. vii. 26); according to the Second, he was altogether friendly, and was forced by Demetrius against his will to adopt hostile measures. On the whole, the representations of the author of the First Book appear to be most worthy of credit.

1. *After three years.*] Demetrius effected his landing, as our author intimates below (*v.* 4), in the 151st Seleucid year, or B.C. 162–1. The expedition of Eupator and Lysias was, according to him, in the 149th year (ch. xiii. 1)—B.C. 164–3, or only two years earlier. Thus our author must mean by his "three years" one entire year and fractions of two others.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus.] See the comment on 1 Macc. vii. 1.

having entered by the haven of Tripolis.] "Tripolis," now represented by Tarablous, was a port on the Syrian coast, about 70 miles north of Sidon, and 115 south of Seleucia. It was an old Phœnician settlement, said to have been a joint colony from Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus (Strab. xvi. 2); but had by this time been thoroughly Hellenized. The landing of Demetrius *at Tripolis* is confirmed by Porphyry ('Excerpt.' p. 71) and Eusebius ('Chron. Can.' i. xl. § 15).

with a great power and navy.] The author of the First Book says, on the contrary, that he landed "with a few men" (1 Macc. vii. 1), which is far more in accordance with the narrative of Polybius and with probability. His success was consequent on the revolt of the Syrian army, which seized its leaders, Lysias and Eupator, and went over in a body to Demetrius (ib. *v.* 2).

2. *Had . . . killed Antiochus and Lysias.*] The rebel army actually killed them, on Demetrius hinting a wish that they should so do (ib. *vv.* 3, 4).

3. *one Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully, &c.*] The writer seems to mean that Alcimus had held the high priesthood some time previously—perhaps before Jason—and now claimed to be reinstated in it; not that he had received the office from Lysias, as Josephus imagines ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7).

in the times of their mingling.] The time when Hellenism was rampant and a fusion of the Jews with the Syro-Macedonians was almost brought about. (See 1 Macc. i. 41–57; 2 Macc. iv. 7–19, vi. 1–9.)

by no means he could save himself.] Lite-

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4 Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year, presenting unto him a crown of gold, and a palm, and also of the boughs which were ‖used solemnly in the temple: and so that day he held his peace.

‖ Or, *thought to be of the temple.*

5 Howbeit, having gotten opportunity to further his foolish enterprize, *and* being called into counsel by Demetrius, and asked how the Jews stood affected, and what they intended, he answered thereunto:

6 Those of the Jews that be called Assideans, whose captain is Judas Maccabeus, nourish war, and are seditious, and will not let the realm be in peace.

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7 Therefore I, being deprived of mine ancestors' honour, I mean the high priesthood, am now come hither:

8 First, verily for the unfeigned care I have of things pertaining to the king; and secondly, even for that I intend the good of mine own countrymen: for all our nation is in no small misery through the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.

9 Wherefore, O king, seeing thou knowest all these things, be careful

rally, "there was no safety for him." If he had, like Jason, used his office to further the destruction of Judaism, he would no doubt have provoked a hostile feeling on the part of the more religious Jews, which he may have felt as continually threatening his life.

nor have any more access to the holy altar.] Of course, while the Maccabæan party had possession of the Temple, it was impossible that a renegade from the faith should be allowed to officiate at the altar.

4. *Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year.*] See the comment on *v.* 1.

presenting unto him a crown of gold.] Such presents were common at the time (Polyb. xxii. 13, § 10; 17, § 4; xxiv. 1, § 7;—Liv. xxxviii. 14, &c.), and without them no applicant could expect to obtain favour at the Syrian court.

and a palm.] A golden vine (Herod. vii. 27) and a golden plane-tree (Athen. 'Deipn.' xii. p. 414, F) were among the most precious ornaments of the great palace of the Persian kings. A golden palm is probably here intended, a work of art possessing the double value of precious material and artistic workmanship.

and also of the boughs which were used, &c.] Palm boughs are probably meant, such as were used at the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 15) and at the Feast of the Dedication (*supra*, ch. x. 7). This presentation to Demetrius might be regarded as a mode of congratulating him on his successes, since to the Greeks the palm was the sign of victory.

that day he held his peace.] Alcimus did not at once prefer his request, lest it should be too palpable that the present was a bribe. Menelaus had not been so scrupulous (ch. iv. 24).

5. *and being called into counsel.*] Rather, "**since he was** called into counsel." This was the opportunity.

6. *Those of the Jews that be called Assideans.*] On the meaning of the word "Assidean," see the comment on 1 Macc. iii. 43. Originally it was the name of a strict sect, but Alcimus now applies it to the whole of the patriotic party under Judas.

nourish war and are seditious.] *I.e.* are determined to resist to the uttermost the overthrow of their religion.

will not let the realm be in peace.] The realm could "be in peace" at any time, by the concession to the Jews of the right to retain the use of their own laws and religion. This both the Syrians and Alcimus knew very well. (See 1 Macc. vi. 59.)

7. *being deprived of my ancestors' honour.*] It is allowed on all hands that Alcimus was "of the seed of Aaron" (1 Macc. vii. 14), and so had had one of his ancestors a High Priest; but it is not clear that any other of his ancestors had ever enjoyed the honour. The statement that he had been "deprived" rests on the view put forward in *v.* 3, which is not borne out either by Josephus or by the author of the First Book.

8. *First, verily, &c.*] Alcimus puts forward two motives as actuating him: (1) regard for the king's interests; and (2) regard for the well-being of his countrymen. He keeps his own aggrandisement, which was his true motive, wholly in the background.

the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.] *I.e.* of the Assideans—the party that supported Judas (see *v.* 6).

9. *seeing thou knowest.*] Rather, "**when thou hast acquired a knowledge of.**" The suggestion is that the king should first inquire into the truth of Alcimus's assertions, and then, if he found them true, act upon them—a reasonable course to recommend.

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B. C. cir. 161. for the country, and our nation, which is pressed on every side, according to the clemency that thou readily shewest unto all.

10 For as long as Judas liveth, it is not possible that the state should be quiet.

11 This was no sooner spoken of him, but others of the king's friends, being maliciously set against Judas, did more incense Demetrius.

12 And forthwith calling Nicanor, who had been master of the elephants, and making him governor over Judea, B. C. cir. 161. [c] he sent him forth,

13 Commanding him to slay Judas, and to scatter them that were [c] 1 Mac. 7. 26. with him, and to make Alcimus high priest of the great temple.

14 Then the heathen, that had fled out of Judea from Judas, came to Nicanor by flocks, thinking the harm and calamities of the Jews to be their welfare.

15 Now when the Jews heard of Nicanor's coming, and that the hea-

our nation, which is pressed on every side.] It must be admitted that there was ground for this representation. The policy of Judas, whenever he was left to himself by the Syrians, was to harass and oppress, and so far as possible root out, the opposite party. No sooner was the peace made with Lysias than he proceeded to "make havock" among his adversaries (1 Macc. vii. 7), to put to death some and banish others (ibid. *v.* 6; compare ch. iii. 8, vi. 24, vii. 24, &c.), so that the opposite side had reason to complain.

11. *others of the king's friends.*] Rather, "**the remainder** of the king's friends." Alcimus, having been "called into counsel" (*v.* 5), is reckoned among the number of such persons. On the details of the complaints made, see 1 Macc. vii. 5–7.

12. *And forthwith calling Nicanor.*] It has been already noticed that, according to Josephus and the writer of the First Book, Demetrius called in the first instance, not on Nicanor, but on Bacchides. Bacchides, at the head of an army, accompanied Alcimus to Jerusalem, and installed him in the western city under the protection of the garrison of the Acra, after which, having met with no resistance in the field, he returned to Antioch (1 Macc. vii. 8–20). All this the present writer omits, being, apparently, unaware of it.

who had been master of the elephants.] Rather, "who had been **made** master of the elephants;" *i.e.* who had received this appointment on the accession of Demetrius to power. It has been argued that Nicanor could not have been appointed to the office at this time, since the elephants had been destroyed by the Romans before Demetrius landed in Syria (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 46); but we may question whether Rome was ever able to obtain the complete execution of her orders with regard to the Syrian elephants. Lysias had a number in Judæa in B.C. 162 (1 Macc. vi. 20, 30), and Nicanor seems to have had some in the same country in B.C. 161 (2 Macc. xv. 21). The younger Demetrius had an elephant corps in B.C. 145 (1 Macc. xi. 56).

making him governor over Judea.] Rather, "commandant in Judæa." A military, not a civil, office is intended.

13. *high priest of the great temple.*] Alcimus had been granted the high-priestly office by Demetrius, and proclaimed by Bacchides; but he had not been given possession of the Temple. It is possible that Nicanor was commanded to complete his installation by taking the Temple from the partisans of Judas, and handing it over to Alcimus as its proper master.

§ 2. EXPEDITION OF NICANOR. HIS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH JUDAS. ORDERED BY DEMETRIUS TO ARREST JUDAS, HE BREAKS WITH HIM AND THREATENS TO DESTROY THE TEMPLE.

15–36. According to the writer of the First Book, Nicanor, on reaching Jerusalem, made some attempts at negotiations with Judas, but without any honest intent, his design being to get possession of his person (1 Macc. vii. 27–30). Judas avoided his snares, and soon broke off communications with him. Our present author puts before us an entirely different view. According to him, Nicanor "loved Judas from his heart" (*v.* 24), and acted in the most friendly manner towards him, until Alcimus complained to Demetrius of his conduct; and Demetrius, having expressed disapproval of the negotiations, required his officer to break off friendly relations with the arch-rebel, to seize him, and send him a prisoner to Antioch. It was in consequence of these peremptory orders that Nicanor took a hostile tone towards Judas, required the patriots who held the Temple to give him up, and, when they professed inability, threatened the Temple itself with destruction.

15. *they cast earth upon their heads.*] Compare ch. x. 25.

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‖ Or, *were joined to them.*

then ‖were up against them, they cast earth upon their heads, and made supplication to him that had established his people for ever, and who always helpeth his portion with manifestation of his presence.

16 So at the commandment of the captain they removed straightways from thence, and came near unto them at the town of Dessau.

17 Now Simon, Judas' brother, had joined battle with Nicanor, but was somewhat discomfited through the sudden silence of his enemies.

18 Nevertheless Nicanor, hearing of the manliness of them that were with Judas, and the courageousness that they had to fight for their country, durst not try the matter by the sword. B. C. cir. 161.

19 Wherefore he sent Posidonius, and Theodotus, and Mattathias, to make peace.

20 So when they had taken long advisement thereupon, and the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith, and it appeared that they were all of one mind, they consented to the covenants,

21 And appointed a day to meet in together by themselves: and when the day came, and stools were set for either of them,

22 Judas placed armed men ready in convenient places, lest some treachery should be suddenly practised

him that had established his people for ever.] See Deut. xxviii. 9; xxix. 13. The promise was, however, conditional, and was forfeited when the conditions were broken.

who always helpeth his portion.] Israel is called God's "portion" (*khêleq*) first in Deut. xxxii. 9. A similar phrase is used by Jeremiah (xii. 10) and Zechariah (ii. 12). The word implies a peculiar right of exclusive ownership.

with manifestation of his presence.] The writer has probably in his mind, especially, the sensible manifestations in which he believes so firmly. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30; xi. 8; xii. 22.) But he no doubt intended to include spiritual manifestations also.

16. *the captain.*] *I.e.* Judas.

they removed . . . from thence.] From the place where they were assembled, probably Jerusalem, *i.e.* the eastern city.

came near unto them at the town of Dessau.] The "town" or rather "**village**" of Dessau is otherwise unknown, unless we identify it (as Ewald suggests) with the "Adasa" of 1 Macc. vii. 40.

17. *Simon . . . had joined battle with Nicanor.*] We have no other mention of this encounter. It probably took place while Nicanor was on the march. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 321, note 2.)

through the sudden silence of his enemies.] Ἀφασία is not simple "silence," but "speechlessness" caused by consternation. Such "speechlessness" on the part of an enemy could not produce a defeat. Probably we should translate, with Grimm, "through the sudden consternation into which they were thrown by their enemies." The ἀφασία was on the part of Simon's men—not of Nicanor's.

18. *the courageousness that they had to fight for their country.*] Rather, "their courage **in the battles that they had fought** for their country."

durst not try.] Rather, "**shrank from trying.**"

19. *he sent Posidonius . . . to make peace.*] The writer of the First Book admits the fact of the negotiations (1 Macc. vii. 27–29), but represents them as broken off almost immediately, on the discovery that they were not sincere, but a device for seizing the person of Judas. Our present author allows that Judas had suspicions, but represents Nicanor as honest, and declares that peace was actually made. It is difficult to suppose that the circumstances related in *vv.* 20–29 are wholly fictitious.

20. *when . . . the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith.*] By "the multitude" must be meant the mass of the troops. (Compare *v.* 41.)

21. *appointed a day to meet in together by themselves.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 29.

when the day came.] It is doubtful whether the words used can have this sense. Grimm translates, "And Judas came to the discussion."

stools.] *I.e.* "seats of honour."

22. *Judas placed armed men ready.*] As a measure of precaution. On any appearance of treachery, they would have started from their hiding-places, and rushed forward to give him protection. According to our author, the suspicions of Judas were unfounded, and the precautions taken unnecessary.

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by the enemies: so they made a peaceable conference.

23 Now Nicanor abode in Jerusalem, and did no hurt, but sent away the people that came flocking unto him.

24 And he would not willingly have Judas out of his sight: for he loved the man from his heart.

25 He prayed him also to take a wife, and to beget children: so he married, was quiet, and took part of this life.

Or, *lived together with him.*

26 But Alcimus, perceiving the love that was betwixt them, and considering the covenants that were made, came to Demetrius, and told him that Nicanor was not well affected toward the state; for that he had ordained Judas, a traitor to his realm, to be the king's successor.

27 Then the king being in a rage, and provoked with the accusations of the most wicked man, wrote to Nicanor, signifying that he was much displeased with the covenants, and commanding him that he should send Maccabeus prisoner in all haste unto Antioch.

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28 When this came to Nicanor's hearing, he was much confounded in himself, and took it grievously that he should make void the articles which were agreed upon, the man being in no fault.

29 But because there was no dealing against the king, he watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.

30 Notwithstanding, when Maccabeus saw that Nicanor began to be churlish unto him, and that he entreated him more roughly than he was wont, perceiving that such sour behaviour came not of good, he gathered together not a few of his men, and withdrew himself from Nicanor.

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31 But the other, knowing that he

23. *Nicanor . . . sent away the people that came flocking unto him.*] Rather, "that **had come** flocking to him." The reference is to the "heathen" that had come to him "by flocks," when he set out on his expedition against Judas (*v.* 14). These he now dismissed to their homes, either as a blind, or honestly thinking that he would have no need of their services.

24. *he would not willingly have Judas out of his sight.*] Literally, "he kept Judas in sight continually." Contrast the statement made by the writer of the First Book: "After it was known to Judas, that he (Nicanor) came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and *would see his face no more*" (1 Macc. vii. 30).

25. *He prayed him also to take a wife.*] He represented to him that the time of war and struggle was over, and that it would be well for him now to contract the ties which every Jew was expected to contract—to marry and have children. According to our author, Judas followed his advice, "married, and was quiet, and took part of this life,"—*i.e.* became a peaceable citizen.

26. *Alcimus . . . considering the covenants that were made.*] Rather, "**taking with** him the treaty that had been made." Alcimus contrived to get a copy of the treaty, and took it with him to shew to the king.

he had ordained Judas . . . to be the king's successor.] Such a design as this could never have entered into the head of Nicanor or of any one else, and Alcimus would have been very silly to have accused him of it. The design really imputed is an intention to instal Judas as "**his own** successor" in the government of Palestine. Alcimus desired this post for himself.

28. *he was much confounded in himself.*] Rather, "**perplexed.**" "Confounded" is too literal a translation.

the man.] *I.e.* Judas.

29. *he watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.*] Here the writer of the Second Book becomes of accord with the author of the First. He admits that Nicanor, while still pretending friendship towards Judas, sought to arrest him (1 Macc. vii. 29, 30). Judas perceived the change in Nicanor's sentiments, though no doubt he intended to conceal them.

30. *withdrew himself from Nicanor.*] Literally, "concealed himself." The author of the First Book says that he quitted Jerusalem and went to Caphar-salama, whither Nicanor followed him at the head of his army. A battle was fought between the two, and Nicanor was defeated with the loss of 5000 men (1 Macc. vii. 31, 32). Nicanor and his beaten troops returned to Jerusalem.

31. *knowing that he was notably prevented by Judas' policy.*] Literally, "perceiving that

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was notably prevented by Judas' policy, [d] came into the great and holy temple, and commanded the priests, that were offering their usual sacrifices, to deliver him the man.

[d] 1 Mac. 7. 33, &c.

32 And when they sware that they could not tell where the man was whom he sought,

33 He stretched out his right hand toward the temple, and made an oath in this manner: If ye will not deliver me Judas as ‖a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus.

‖ Gr. *bound.*

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34 After these words he departed. Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven, and besought him that was ever a defender of their nation, saying in this manner;

35 Thou, O Lord of all things, who hast need of nothing, wast pleased that the temple of thine habitation should be among us:

36 Therefore now, O holy Lord of all holiness, keep this house ever undefiled, which lately was cleansed, and stop every unrighteous mouth.

he was notably *out-generalled* by Judas"—*i.e.* "outwitted, overreached."

came into the great and holy temple.] The author of the First Book tells us that he "went up *to Mount Sion*," and that there "certain of the priests and elders *came out of the sanctuary* to him," and proposed to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered continually for the Syrian king, but says nothing of Nicanor being received within the Temple walls. Still it is possible that he may have been admitted into the outer court. But the party of Judas remained masters of the Temple, which Nicanor could only impotently threaten. (See *v.* 33.)

commanded the priests . . . to deliver him the man.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 35. Nicanor seems to have supposed that Judas was somewhere within the Temple fortress.

33. *He stretched out his right hand toward the temple.*] Rather, "toward the sanctuary" (εἰς τὸν νεών). The ναὸς of this passage is to be carefully distinguished from the ἱερὸν of *v.* 31. Nicanor was in the one; he stretched out his hand towards the other.

break down.] Rather, "raze—utterly destroy."

and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus.] The Syro-Macedonian worship of Dionysus, or Bacchus, has already appeared in ch. vi. 7. It was evidently felt that there was something specially repugnant to Jewish ideas in the cult, which was therefore both threatened and, when opportunity served, actually enforced upon the nation. Dionysiac orgies were of the most disgusting character. (See Döllinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. pp. 154–156.)

34. *Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 36, where we are told that the priests "entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping." The threat of Nicanor was felt as a terrible blasphemy.

a defender of their nation.] Literally, "of *our* nation"—a transition from the third to the first person which gives the narrative greater liveliness.

35. *O Lord of all things.*] Rather, "O Lord." The phrase τῶν ὅλων is not to be attached to Κύριε, but to ἀπροσδεής.

who hast need of nothing.] Compare 3 Macc. ii. 9, and Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' viii. 3, § 3, where a similar clause is introduced into Solomon's consecration prayer. The αὐτάρκεια of God has been a favourite theme with theologians (Clem. Alex. 'Homil.' ii. 44; Pearson, 'Exposition of the Creed,' Art. 1, pp. 94, 95, &c.).

the temple of thine habitation.] Even in the absence of the Shechinah, which, according to Jewish tradition, never shewed itself in the second Temple, the building was still regarded as the "habitation" of God—His house, in which He dwelt. (See Ezra vii. 15, 19; Ps. cxxxv. 21; Zech. ii. 12, 13, vii. 2, &c.) Hence the extreme wickedness of profaning it, or even threatening it.

36. *O holy Lord of all holiness.*] *I.e.* "holy Lord, the source and fount of all other holiness in things or beings."

and stop every unrighteous mouth.] This clause is omitted in some MSS. It is, of course, an allusion to the "unrighteous mouth" of Nicanor (*v.* 33). The author of the First Book makes the prayer of the priests mainly an imprecation of evil on Nicanor's head (1 Macc. vii. 38).

§ 3. NICANOR ORDERS THE ARREST OF RAZIS, WHO, RATHER THAN BE MADE PRISONER, COMMITS SUICIDE.

37–46. The story of Razis rests solely on the authority of the present writer, being

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37 Now was there accused unto Nicanor one Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a lover of his countrymen, and a man of very good report, who for his kindness was called a father of the Jews.

38 For in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles, he had been accused of Judaism, and did boldly jeopard his body and life with all vehemency for the religion of the Jews.

39 So Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that he bare unto the Jews, sent above five hundred men of war to take him:

40 For he thought by taking him to do the Jews much hurt.

41 Now when the multitude would have taken the tower, and violently broken into the outer door, and bade that fire should be brought to burn it, he being ready to be taken on every side fell upon his sword;

wholly untouched by either Josephus or the author of the First Book. Though probably exaggerated in its details, it is likely to be true in respect of its main substance, since so full and circumstantial an account of the death of a Jew of rank under such extraordinary and painful circumstances is not likely to have been invented. The name Razis may be compared with the Reesaias of 1 Esdr. v. 8. The temper displayed is not unsuitable to a Jew of the period—an age when heathen sentiments and rules of conduct penetrated deeply among the mass of the more religious Jews and largely influenced their conduct. (Compare the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 51.)

37. *one of the elders of Jerusalem.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 33, where certain of the elders of Jerusalem are said to have gone out to meet Nicanor.

who . . . was called a father of the Jews.] See Job xxix. 16, "I was a father to the poor;" and compare Ecclus. iv. 10; 1 Macc. ii. 65. In the East a protector is commonly called a "father."

38. *in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles.*] Not the times before the Hellenizing movement, especially promoted by Jason (ch. iv. 7–22), set in, but the early days of the persecution, when the religious Jews fled from the cities of Judah into "secret places" (1 Macc. i. 53; ii. 31), in order to continue the exercise of their religion, and thus separated themselves wholly from the Gentiles.

he had been accused of Judaism.] Judaism, the mere confessing oneself to be a Jew, had been made a crime by Epiphanes (ch. vi. 6), just as Christianity was by the early Roman emperors. Death was the punishment of persistence, as appears by the narratives in chs. vi. 18–31, vii. 1–42.

did boldly jeopard his body and life.] It does not appear how Razis escaped; but we may be sure that it was by no unworthy compliances.

39. *Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that he bare unto the Jews.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 26. Nicanor probably felt it necessary to rebut the accusations of Alcimus (*v.* 26) by some act of violence which should be sure to come to the king's ears. It does not appear that he was really actuated by hatred of the Jewish people.

sent above five hundred men of war to take him.] This can scarcely have been necessary. It must almost certainly have been done to draw attention and remark.

41. *when the multitude.*] *I.e.* the 500 soldiers. Compare *v.* 20.

would have taken the tower.] Rather, "**were at the point of taking** the tower." It is difficult to explain the use of the article before the word "tower," unless by supposing the abbreviator to follow his author in so doing, but to have omitted a previous reference to the fact that Razis took refuge in a tower. Gorionides says that he took refuge in his private house, which may, however, have possessed a "tower" or "keep" of its own.

and violently broken into the outer door.] Rather, "and **were forcing** the outer door." The αὐλαία (or αὐλεία) θύρα is the door leading from the street into the αὐλή, or main court of the mansion. It consisted of two flaps or valves meeting in the middle. Hence the singular θύρα of this clause is followed by the plural, θύραι, in the next.

and bade.] Rather, "and **were commanding**."

he . . . fell upon his sword.] Suicide was most rare among the Jews until the time of the Zealots (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 7; iv. 1). Saul's suicide is doubtful (compare 1 Sam. xxxi. 4 with 2 Sam. i. 6–10). Samson's act, if it is to be considered a suicide, is that of a very mixed and imperfect character. There is no praise, no approval, no allowance of suicide in the inspired Scriptures. Even a heathen (Plato) could see that it was desertion of the post in which a man had been placed by God ('Phædo,' § 6). The author of the present Book evidently approves of

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42 Choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth:

43 But missing his stroke through haste, the multitude also rushing within the doors, he ran boldly up to the wall, and cast himself down manfully among the thickest of them.

44 But they quickly giving back, and a space being made, he fell down into the midst of the void place.

45 Nevertheless, while there was yet breath within him, being inflamed with anger, he rose up; and though his blood gushed out like spouts of water, and his wounds were grievous, yet he ran through the midst of the throng; and standing upon a steep rock,

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46 When as his blood was now quite gone, he plucked out his bowels, and taking them in both his hands, he cast them upon the throng, and calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again, he thus died.

CHAPTER XV.

5 *Nicanor's blasphemy.* 8 *Judas encourageth his men by his dream.* 28 *Nicanor is slain.*

BUT Nicanor, hearing that Judas and his company were in the strong places about Samaria, resolved without any danger to set upon them on the sabbath day.

it under certain circumstances. He admires Razis, who acts "manfully" (*v.* 42), "boldly" (or "nobly") and "courageously" (*v.* 43). It has been forcibly argued from this, that he is not an inspired writer. (See Grimm *ad loc.*)

42. *to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth.*] Grimm translates—"otherwise than beseemed his *nobility of character*." In either case, the motive is a low and selfish one, resting upon pride and self-conceit, not a motive that could in any way justify even a doubtful action.

43. *through haste.*] Literally, "through the haste *of the struggle*;" *i.e.* the haste which the struggle necessitated.

the multitude also.] Compare *v.* 41. "The multitude" are the 500 men-at-arms (*v.* 39).

up to the wall.] Rather, "up on the wall." He ran up the steps which led to the top of the tower and mounted on the parapet of the wall.

44. *he fell down into the midst of the void place.*] Κενεῶν has this meaning in Nonnus and the Greek Anthology. Among the classical writers it means "the flank"—"the hollow between the ribs and the hip." Some would translate here—"he fell on his loins" or "on his belly." But the A.V. is probably right.

45, 46. The description of these last two verses is in the worst possible taste. It is disgusting, horrible, and a heap of impossibilities. If the narrative up to the end of *v.* 44 is true, we may be quite certain that Razis was killed by his fall, and did not rise from the ground after he struck it. The author has an unfortunate habit of gloating over the details of horrid deaths (ch. vii. 3–13; ix. 5–10, &c.), and here outdoes himself in coarseness and ferocity of description.

46. *calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again.*] Compare ch. vii. 11. The doctrine of the "resurrection of the body" is evidently held by the writer in its plainest and most literal sense.

CHAPTER XV.

§ 4. NICANOR DESIGNS TO ATTACK JUDAS ON THE SABBATH, BUT IS BALKED OF HIS PURPOSE.

1–6. The author does not seem to be aware that it had been determined, even under Mattathias, that defensive warfare was permissible on the Sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 41); since which time no Syro-Macedonian leader could expect to gain much by choosing that day for attacking the patriots. Apparently, he supposes that Judas would not have offered resistance on the Sabbath. But, had that been the case, the insurrection must have been strangled in its birth. The present passage has thus no historical value.

1. *Judas and his company were in the strong places about Samaria.*] Capharsalama, where Nicanor engaged Judas before his denunciations against the Temple (1 Macc. vii. 31–35), was on the Samaritan border; but Adasa, where Judas had now stationed himself (ib. *v.* 40), was much nearer Jerusalem, being in the immediate vicinity of Beth-horon, and not far from Bethel. Thus the writer's geography is at fault, no less than his history.

resolved without any danger to set upon them.] This had been done once, and once only, in the course of the war—viz. at its very commencement. (See 1 Macc. ii. 32–38.) The Jews had then offered no resistance and been massacred. Subsequently a common-sense view prevailed; and while the Jews,

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2 Nevertheless the Jews that were compelled to go with him said, O destroy not so cruelly and barbarously, but give honour to that day, which he, that seeth all things, hath honoured with holiness above *other days*.

3 Then the most ungracious wretch demanded, if there were a Mighty one in heaven, that had commanded the sabbath day to be kept.

4 And when they said, There is in heaven a living Lord, and mighty, who commanded the seventh day to be kept:

5 Then said the other, And I also am mighty upon earth, and I command to take arms, and to do the king's business. Yet he obtained not to have his wicked will done.

6 So Nicanor in exceeding pride and haughtiness determined to set up a publick monument of his victory over Judas and them that were with him.

7 But Maccabeus had ever sure confidence that the Lord would help him:

8 Wherefore he exhorted his people not to fear the coming of the

whenever they could, rested on the Sabbath, they held themselves free to fight if attacked. It is certainly strange that the writer did not know this.

2. *the Jews that were compelled to go with him.*] This, too, is probably unhistorical. It was not the habit of the Syro-Macedonian commanders to impress the devout Jews into their service, and force them to bear arms against their compatriots. They do not seem even to have enrolled in their armies the Jews who sided with them.

he that seeth all things.] Rather, "He that **overseeth** all things"—that has the oversight and management of them.

3. *the most ungracious wretch.*] See the comment on ch. viii. 34. It is sinfulness, not ungraciousness, that is charged against Nicanor.

if there were a Mighty one.] Literally, "a Dynast," "a Ruler." Nicanor does not doubt the existence of a dynast in heaven—he would probably have admitted many such dynasts: what he doubts is, whether any one of them has commanded the observance of the seventh day.

4. *they said, There is in heaven, &c.*] Their reply was—"The Lord who liveth in heaven is himself a Mighty one, who has commanded the observance of the Sabbath day."

5. *And I also am mighty upon earth.*] Rather, "a mighty one." The point of the story is that Nicanor, in a certain sense, places himself on a par with God. "There is perhaps a Mighty one in heaven who has commanded one thing; but there is also a Mighty one upon earth—myself—who commands the contrary. Which will you obey?" It is implied that the Jews in his army (*v.* 2) preferred to obey God, and that, in consequence, his design came to nought. Grimm's objection, that their number cannot have been large enough to induce him to alter his plans, is an objection, not to this view of the author's meaning, but to the historical character of his narrative.

6. *So Nicanor . . . determined.*] Rather, "**Now** Nicanor **had** determined." He had made up his mind to destroy the whole party of Judas at one fell swoop, and then to set up a grand monument to commemorate his victory. The monument was to follow the general character of the Greek "trophee."

§ 5. MACCABÆUS RAISES THE SPIRITS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN BY PUTTING BEFORE THEM VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS, AND ESPECIALLY BY RELATING TO THEM A VISION WHICH HAS APPEARED TO HIM.

7–16. There is nothing improbable in this narrative. Judas, reduced to great straits, at the head of a force consisting of no more than 3000 men (1 Macc. vii. 40), and opposed to a large army of Syro-Macedonians under a leader of repute, was likely to use every effort to raise the spirits of his soldiers, and may well have encouraged them to engage, not only by employing the ordinary topics, but by telling them of a vision that he had had. On the eve of a battle, great commanders of a sensitive temperament are liable to have strange dreams. (See 'Records of the Past,' vol. iv. p. 43; Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 24; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xi. 5, &c.) And, as the thoughts of Judas during the day were turned especially toward the subject of Divine aid (*v.* 7), they may well have shaped his dreams at night into the form here given. We may even go further, and say that the occasion would not have been an unworthy one for an actual Divine vision. Israel was brought very low. Had the three thousand not been animated by a confident hope, they would probably have suffered complete defeat, and the national movement might have been crushed. This was not in accordance with the Divine

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B. C. cir. 161. heathen against them, but to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven, and now to expect the victory and aid, which should come unto them from the Almighty.

9 And so comforting them out of the law and the prophets, and withal putting them in mind of the battles that they won afore, he made them more cheerful.

10 And when he had stirred up their minds, he gave them their charge, shewing them therewithal the falsehood of the heathen, and the breach of oaths.

11 Thus he armed every one of them, not so much with defence of shields and spears, as with comfortable and good words: and beside that, he told them a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed, which did not a little rejoice them. B. C. cir. 161.

12 And this was his vision: That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and a good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in condition, well spoken also, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands prayed for the whole body of the Jews.

13 This done, in like manner there appeared a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty.

14 Then Onias answered, saying, This is a lover of the brethren, who

will, and something beyond natural means may have been employed to prevent it.

8. *to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven.*] See above, ch. viii. 5, 6, 18, 23, 24, 36; x. 16, 17, 25, 29; xii. 22, &c.

the victory and aid which should come unto them.] Judas was confident on account of his vision. He was not always so certain of victory. (See 1 Macc. iv. 10, ix. 10; 2 Macc. xi. 7.)

9. *And so comforting them out of the law and the prophets.*] There is no "so" in the original. A fresh mode of encouragement is intended, additional to those previously mentioned. This was probably the reading of certain appropriate passages from the Law and the Prophets aloud before the people. (Compare ch. viii. 23.)

that they won afore.] Rather, "that they had won"—the battles against Apollonius (1 Macc. iii. 11), Seron (ib. *vv.* 23, 24), Gorgias (ib. iv. 14, 15), Lysias (ib. *vv.* 34–36), Timotheus (ib. v. 43; 2 Macc. viii. 30), and others.

10. *he gave them their charge.*] Probably to seize their arms and begin the march (Grimm).

shewing them . . . the falsehood . . . the breach of oaths.] According to our author, there had been an actual peace concluded between Judas and Nicanor, which the latter had been compelled by Demetrius to "make void" without having any excuse to offer for so doing (ch. xiv. 27, 28). If this were so, Judas had ample foundation for his complaints, without raking up such bygone matters as the treachery of Apollonius in B.C. 168 (ch. v. 25) or the misdeed of the Joppites in B.C. 164 (ch. xii. 3, 4).

11. *a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed.*] It is not very clear what our translators meant by this. The MSS. have two readings—ὄνειρον ἀξιώπιστον ὕπαρ τι and ὄν. ἀξ. ὑπέρ τι. If we prefer the former, we must translate "a dream worthy of belief, which was a sort of waking vision;" if the latter, "a dream worthy of belief beyond aught else." In neither case is any doubt intended to be cast on the reality of the vision.

12. *Onias, who had been high priest.*] Compare ch. iii. 1. Onias III. is meant, who held the high-priestly office from B.C. 198 to B.C. 175.

a virtuous and a good man.] On the character of Onias, see above, ch. iii. 1, 4, 5; iv. 2. On his murder by Andronicus, see ch. iv. 34, 35.

gentle in condition.] Rather, "in behaviour."

13. *a man with gray hairs and exceeding glorious.*] Literally, "a man conspicuous for gray hairs and glorious appearance."

14. *Onias answered, saying.*] Judas had recognised Onias, whom he had doubtless known, but could not tell who was his companion. Onias "answered" his thought or look of inquiry.

This is a lover of the brethren.] Literally, "the lover," *i.e.* the one among the saints who loves them beyond all others. It is not clear why Jeremiah should have been assigned so prominent a position; but there are several

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prayeth much for the people, and for the holy city, *to wit*, Jeremias the prophet of God.

15 Whereupon Jeremias holding forth his right hand gave to Judas a sword of gold, and in giving it spake thus,

16 Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.

17 Thus being well comforted by the words of Judas, which were very good, and able to stir them up to valour, and to encourage the hearts of the young men, they determined not to pitch camp, but courageously to set upon them, and manfully to try the matter by conflict, because the city and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger.

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18 For the care that they took for their wives, and their children, their brethren, and kinsfolks, was in least account with them: but the greatest and principal fear was for the holy temple.

19 Also they that were in the city took not the least care, being troubled for the conflict abroad.

indications that he occupied a leading place in the thoughts of the later Jews. (See ch. ii. 1–8; Matt. xvi. 14; 2 Esdras ii. 18.) Dean Stanley says that he "had come to be regarded as almost the Patron Saint of Palestine" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 321).

15. *Jeremias . . . gave to Judas a sword of gold.*] The "sword" of this passage (ῥομφαία) is to be distinguished from the "sword" (μάχαιρα) of 1 Macc. iii. 12, which Judas had hitherto employed. The ῥομφαία was the long broadsword of the Thracians—a much more formidable weapon than the short μάχαιρα or ξίφος; and though given only in vision, indicated an increased power of slaughtering enemies. By "a sword of gold" we are to understand a sword with a golden hilt, and with the blade also, perhaps, inlaid partly with gold. On the appropriation of gold to the dress, arms, and accoutrements of divine personages, see the comment on ch. x. 29.

16. *with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.*] Rather, as Dean Stanley translates, "And with it thou shalt **crush thine enemies**." The whole idea of the vision was, that such a powerful aid was vouchsafed from heaven as would utterly crush and destroy the entire force of the Syro-Macedonians.

§ 6. THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TO THE CONFLICT. THE PRAYER OF JUDAS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE ENGAGING.

17–24. Animated to the highest pitch of confident daring by the exhortations of Judas, and especially by his narrative of his vision, the small company of Jews insisted on marching at once against the enemy, being eager to engage. They felt that the battle would be decisive of their fate as a nation. If they were successful, all would be well; if the contrary, the country, city, Temple would be lost. The writer represents them as chiefly anxious about the Temple—so lately recovered, so greatly in danger of being again lost, so blasphemously threatened by their proud enemy. Friends, brethren, kinsfolk, even wife and children, were of less account than the recently purified sanctuary (ὁ καθηγιασμένος ναός). At Jerusalem the peril was equally clearly seen, and the issue expected with even greater anxiety. The two armies drew near. Judas, "with his small band, saw the large and variegated host of the Syrians approach, the furious elephants snorting in the centre, the cavalry hovering on the wings. It was, if ever, a time and place to invoke the Divine aid which supports the few against the many" (Stanley). Judas's prayer is given with substantial agreement by the authors of both the First and the Second Book (1 Macc. vii. 41, 42; 2 Macc. xv. 22–24). It invoked upon the proud blasphemer of the day the fate of Sennacherib.

17. *the words of Judas, which were very good.*] Rather, "which were **altogether noble**."

to encourage the hearts of the young.] Rather, "to **revive the spirits**." It is implied that they had been drooping and depressed.

they determined not to pitch camp.] The author of the First Book says, that Judas "pitched in Adasa" (ch. vii. 40). The present writer does not contradict the statement. He only means that, after hearing the account of the vision, the army on the same day encountered the enemy.

the sanctuary.] Grimm translates, "the religion;" but it is better to understand by τὰ ἅγια, "the Temple building," and by τὸ ἱερὸν, "the sacred enclosure."

18. *the care that they took.*] Rather, "the **anxiety** that they **felt**."

was in least account.] Rather, "in **less** account." No doubt it was very great; but it was not *so* great as their anxiety for the Temple.

19. *they that were in the city took not the least*

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B. C. cir. 161.

20 And now, when as all looked what should be the trial, and the enemies were already come near, and the army was set in array, and the beasts conveniently placed, and the horsemen set in wings,

21 Maccabeus seeing the coming of the multitude, and the divers preparations of armour, and the fierceness of the beasts, stretched out his hands toward heaven, and called upon the Lord that worketh wonders, knowing that victory cometh not by arms, but even as it seemeth good to him, he giveth it to such as are worthy:

22 Therefore in his prayer he said after this manner; O Lord, [a]thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias king of Judea, and didst slay in the host of Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand:

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[a] 1 Mac. 7. 40, 41. ch. 8. 19.

23 Wherefore now also, O Lord of heaven, send a good angel before us for a fear and dread unto them;

24 And through the might of thine arm let those be stricken with terror, that come against thy holy people to blaspheme. And he ended thus.

25 Then Nicanor and they that

care.] Dean Stanley notes that the hills about Beth-horon, near which the fight took place, "are visible from Jerusalem." Thus the city was in the greatest excitement. Translate, "They that were in the city **experienced no common agony.**"

20. *when as all looked what should be the trial.*] Rather, "what should be the **decision**"—how the matter should end.

the beasts conveniently placed.] By "the beasts" are clearly meant "the elephants." It has been argued that Nicanor could have had no elephants, since, shortly before Demetrius obtained the throne, certain Roman commissioners had forced Lysias to surrender the Syrian elephant-force, and had massacred the unfortunate animals (Grimm on 2 Macc. xiv. 12). Such a massacre certainly took place (Polyb. xxxi. 12; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 46). But it is open to question, (1) whether Lysias surrendered the *whole* force; and (2) whether Demetrius did not supply the place of those that were killed by fresh purchases. The onerous conditions of the treaty of Magnesia were, as much as possible, evaded by the Syrian kings.

the horsemen set in wings.] Rather, "**on the wings.**" Compare the arrangement of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia (Liv. xxxvii. 40).

21. *the divers preparations of armour.*] Livy says of the army of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia—"Regia acies *varia* magis multis gentibus, *dissimilitudine armorum* auxiliorumque erat" (*l. s. c.*). Nicanor's army probably presented a similar variety on a smaller scale.

called upon the Lord that worketh wonders.] Or, according to another reading, "called upon the wonder-working, **all-seeing** God."

22. *thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias.*] See 2 Kings xix. 35; 2 Chron. xxxii. 21; Is. xxxvii. 36.

and didst slay.] Some MSS. give καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, "and he slew," for καὶ ἀνεῖλες, "and didst slay." The difference is unimportant.

23. *send a good angel before us.*] Compare ch. xi. 6.

24. *those . . . that come against thy holy temple.*] Rather, "that **came.**" The reference is to the past action of Nicanor recorded in ch. xiv. 31–33.

§ 7. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF NICANOR. TREATMENT OF HIS BODY. APPOINTMENT OF NICANOR'S DAY.

25–36. The two armies advanced to the encounter, the Syrians with trumpets and singing, the Jews with calling on God and prayer. There was scarcely any struggle. Nicanor fell in the first onset (1 Macc. vii. 43), and his army "cast away their weapons and fled" (ib. *v.* 44). The rout was complete. Our author calculates the slain at 35,000; but the older historian does not venture on any estimate. On the return from the pursuit, Nicanor's body was found, and on account of his blasphemies was treated with indignity. The head and right arm were struck off and carried to Jerusalem, where they were held up before the Syrian garrison in the Acra by way of derision. The head, after the tongue had been cut out, was actually nailed to the wall of the heathen fortress. The tongue which had blasphemed was chopped into small pieces and thrown to the birds. The hand and arm that had been stretched out to threaten the Holy Place was fastened to the "Beautiful Gate"—thence called "the Gate of Nicanor." Finally, in commemoration of the victory, the day of its occurrence, the 13th of Adar, was appointed for annual observance, and became known as "Nicanor's day."

25. *Nicanor and they that were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.*] On

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were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.

26 But Judas and his company encountered the enemies with invocation and prayer.

27 So that fighting with their hands, and praying unto God with their hearts, they slew no less than thirty and five thousand men: for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.

28 Now when the battle was done, returning again with joy, they knew that [b] Nicanor lay dead in his harness.

29 Then they made a great shout and a noise, praising the Almighty in their own language.

30 And *Judas*, who was ever the chief defender of the citizens both in body and mind, and who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life, commanded to [c] strike off Nicanor's head, and his hand with his shoulder, and bring them to Jerusalem.

31 So when he was there, and had called them of his nation together, and set the priests before the altar, he sent for them that were of the tower,

32 And shewed them vile Nicanor's head, and the hand of that blasphemer, [d] which with proud brags he had stretched out against the holy temple of the Almighty.

33 And when he had cut out the tongue of that ungodly Nicanor, he

B. C. cir. 161.

[b] 1 Mac. 7. 43.

B. C. cir. 161.

[c] 1 Mac. 7. 47.

[d] ch. 14. 33.

the use of "trumpets" by the Syrians see ch. v. 31. The "songs" intended are war-songs—properly "songs of triumph after a victory" (Liddell and Scott *ad voc.*), but sometimes also sung before one (Thuc. i. 50, iv. 43; Æsch. 'Pers.' l. 393; Xen. 'Cyrop.' iv. 1, § 6; Plut. 'Vit. Lycurg.' § 22), in anticipation of it. Nicanor and his men were no doubt confident of victory.

27. *fighting with their hands, and praying unto God with their hearts.*] Dean Stanley compares the conduct of Cromwell's Ironsides ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 322).

they slew no less than thirty and five thousand men.] Compare the estimates in ch. x. 17, 23; xii. 23, 26, 28. The graduation by sums each 5000 more or less than the others (20,000, 25,000, 30,000, 35,000) indicates the roughness of the estimate. At the same time the fact that this is the largest amount of slain recorded by the author indicates that he considered the defeat to be the most crushing that the Syrians suffered at the hands of Judas.

for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.] Once more a miraculous appearance, generally visible to the army, seems to be meant—an appearance whereof the earlier historian has no knowledge. (Compare ch. iii. 25, 33; ch. x. 29, 30; ch. xi. 8; and ch. xii. 22.)

28. *when the battle was done.*] Literally, "when they were come from the business." The "business" of the pursuit and slaughter is intended.

they knew that Nicanor lay dead.] Rather, "they **perceived**." Dean Stanley supposes that he was recognised by the splendour of his armour ('Lectures,' &c., vol. iii. p. 323).

29. *in their own language.*] The use of this phrase seems to imply that Greek was already the tongue most frequently spoken by the Jews.

30. *Judas . . . who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life.*] Rather, "who still retained the love for his countrymen **that he had in his youth**."

to strike off Nicanor's head and his hand.] The head and hand had both sinned—the head, in that the brain conceived the blasphemous thought of ch. xiv. 33, and the mouth uttered it; the hand, in that it was stretched out threateningly against the Most High. It was not the habit of the Jews to mutilate the bodies of the slain; but the case of Nicanor was regarded as exceptional, and so as justifying exceptional treatment.

with his shoulder.] Rather, "with the **arm**." Compare ch. xii. 35.

31. *he sent for them that were of the tower.*] The chief men of the Acra are evidently intended. They were certainly not under his authority, and he could not *require* their attendance. But he may have sent for them on the plea of negotiations (Grotius), or simply telling them that he had something of importance to communicate. It was for them to attend or not as they pleased. According to our author, they obeyed his summons.

32. *shewed them vile Nicanor's head and the hand, &c.*] Not only certifying to them Nicanor's death, but making them aware, at any rate in part, of the punishment with which it had been determined to visit his blasphemy.

which . . . he had stretched out against the holy temple.] See ch. xiv. 33, and compare 1 Macc. vii. 47.

33. *when he had cut out the tongue of that*

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commanded that they should give it
51. by pieces unto the fowls, and hang up the reward of his madness before the temple.

34 So every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord, saying, Blessed be he that hath kept his own place undefiled.

35 He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower, an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord.

36 And [e] they ordained all with a common decree in no case to let that day pass without solemnity, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before [f] Mardocheus' day.

37 Thus went it with Nicanor: and from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their power. And here will I make an end.

38 And if *I have done* well, and as

B. C. cir. 161.

[e] 1 Mac. 7. 49.

[f] Esth. 9. 17, 21.

ungodly Nicanor.] The object was to emphasize the guilt of this particular member, which had committed the chief sin. No doubt there was a ghastly horror and savagery about the act; but it was striking, dramatic, and well calculated to make the Syrians cautious of repeating such wild threats as those which Nicanor had uttered. Compare the alleged treatment of the head of Cyrus by Tomyris (Herod. i. 214) and the Parthian treatment of the head of Crassus (Florus, iii. 11, § 11; Dio Cass. xl. 27).

unto the fowls.] *I.e.* "the birds of the air."

and hang up the reward of his madness before the temple.] "The reward" (or rather "punishment") of Nicanor's madness seems to be the severed right hand and arm, which, according to tradition, was "nailed to the main eastern entrance of the inner court of the Temple, known long after as the Gate Beautiful, but also as 'the Gate of Nicanor' from this terrible reminiscence" (Stanley, 'Lectures,' *l. s. c.*).

34. *every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord.*] "Crying toward heaven" is a common expression in the First Book, where the name of God is generally avoided. "Praising toward heaven" is a rare expression, but may be understood to mean, "with eyes and hands lifted up heavenwards." The word translated "glorious" means probably "present to aid," and glances back at *v.* 27.

35. *He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower.*] *I.e.* upon the external wall of the Acra. Compare the fastening of Saul's body by the Philistines to the wall of Beth-shan (1 Sam. xxxi. 10).

36. *they ordained all with a common decree.*] A decree of the Council of Elders, which was the chief civil authority at Jerusalem (ch. x. 8; xi. 27; xiv. 37), is probably intended. It was recognised that the civil power might lawfully appoint days for commemoration of events important to the nation with a religious ceremonial. (See Hooker, 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' v. 81, § 6.)

to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 49.

which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar.] "Adar" (Addaru) was the name of the twelfth month in the Babylonian Calendar ('Records of the Past,' vol. i. p. 164); and this name seems to have been adopted by the Jews during the Captivity from the Babylonians. Still it is quite possible that the Syrians knew the month by the same name. Or the writer may call the language which the Jews brought back from Babylon "the Syrian tongue."

the day before Mardocheus' day.] See Esther ix. 21.

§ 8. Epilogus, or concluding Remarks of the Author.

37–39. The author states his reason for concluding his work at this point, and invites the judgment of his readers on the manner in which he has accomplished his task. He has sought to give them a tempered draught, neither too stimulating nor too tasteless. The proof that he has succeeded will be in their satisfaction.

37. *from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their power.*] This is scarcely true, if the entire city is meant; since the Acra and the whole western hill remained in the possession of the Syrians until the time of Simon, B.C. 142–1. (See 1 Macc. xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36.) It may have been true of the eastern city, if the author wrote before the time of John Hyrcanus, who was forced to surrender the entire city to Antiochus Sidetes in B.C. 133. Most critics, however, suppose that he wrote considerably later than this.

And here will I make an end.] In the original this clause stands in the closest connection with what precedes. Translate—"Matters having thus gone with Nicanor and the Hebrews having from that time forth

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B. C. cir. 161. is fitting the story, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.

39 For as it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone; and as wine mingled with water is pleasant, and delighteth the taste: even so speech finely framed delighteth the ears of them that read the story. And here shall be an end. B. C. cir. 161.

had the city in their power, I also will here bring my relation to an end." The author means that he ends where the danger to the (eastern) city and Temple ended.

38. *if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.*] Observe that the writer claims no inspiration—no divine assistance at all. The work is his own composition, and if defective is so through his defects. He only claims to have done as well as he could.

39. *as it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone.*] To drink wine untempered with water would be regarded in the East as naturally leading to intoxication. To drink water alone was probably reckoned unwholesome. (See 1 Tim. v. 23.)

speech finely framed.] Rather, "the arrangement of the narrative." The pleasure, *i.e.*, of reading a history depends on the arrangement of its various facts and circumstances by the author, who must mingle "wine" with "water"—or highly-wrought and exciting passages with others of a more level and tamer cast—if he would give satisfaction to the reader. How far he has done this, the author leaves the reader to say.

THE END OF THE APOCRYPHA.

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